ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS

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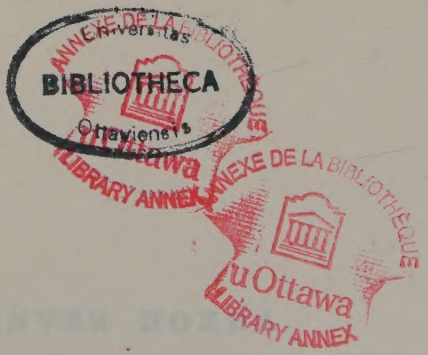
WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

ENVER HOXHA

SELECTED WORKS



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ENVER HOXHA

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AT THE CC OF THE PLA

ENVER HOXHA

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FOREWORD

The second volume of the «Selected Works» of comrade Enver Hoxha in English comprises documents of the period from November 1948 to November 1960.

The documents of this volume reflect the correct Marxist-Leninist line the PLA has pursued in the internal and external fields.

They bring out the revolutionary struggle of the PLA to translate into life the radical turn marked by the 1st Congress of the Party and in overcoming the extraordinary economic difficulties, the struggle to carry out the decisions of the 2nd and 3rd Congresses of the Party for the solution of the problems of the construction of the economic base of socialism and of the development of the productive forces. They emphasize the efforts of the PLA for the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, for the safeguarding and strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity and the further democratization of the internal life of the Party, the strengthening of the defence potential of the homeland, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the enhancement of the revolutionary vigilance to cope with the severe pressure of internal and international reaction.

The documents of this period reflect the gigantic struggle of the Albanian people for the mass-scale collectivization of the countryside on a socialist basis, for raising the wellbeing of the working masses on the basis

of the further industrialization of the country and the all-round progress of agriculture.

In the external field, they bring out the consistently internationalist stand of the PLA and its principled political and ideological struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

A good many of these documents were written in one of the most complicated situations for the international communist and workers' movement, which was a consequence of the revisionist decisions and theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Many communist and workers' parties, and the CPSU in the first place, were in utter ideological confusion. Consequently, in the Soviet Union and in a number of socialist countries, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic and social order had begun to slip into bourgeois-revisionist degeneration. Taking advantage of the great international authority of the CPSU and of the Soviet state, the Soviet leadership brought strong and unrelenting pressure to bear on the leaderships of the other communist and workers' parties to replace the Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The Khrushchev clique, which had usurped power in the Party and the Soviet state, did its utmost to remove from leadership all those who refused to adopt the revisionist course.

The same pressure was brought to bear on the PLA and its leadership. But far from submitting, the Party waged a stern struggle against it. The works of comrade Enver Hoxha of this period reflect the revolutionary stand and the determination of the PLA to continue along its Marxist-Leninist road. They reflect the Party's courage and wisdom in overcoming the obstacles and difficulties, finding its bearings correctly in these extremely complicated situations, with Marxism-Leninism as its compass.

In these conditions, the PLA centred its attention on two main issues: first, on preserving the proletarian revolutionary character of the Party and its line, and second, on preserving the unity of the international communist movement, first and foremost, of the socialist camp, on defending Marxism-Leninism on an international plane.

The PLA did not publicly oppose the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU right from the start for two reasons. First, because at that time, a public debate would have been to the great advantage of the enemies of communism, who had launched a frenzied assault against Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp, and especially against the Soviet Union, as the first and most powerful socialist state. Second, because the PLA was not yet finally convinced that N. Khrushchev and his group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and hoped that the Soviet leadership would realize and correct their mistakes. Therefore, at that time, the PLA defended the Soviet Union and the CPSU, considering this as a struggle for the defence of socialism, of Marxism-Leninism, of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist and workers' movement.

Nevertheless, the PLA maintained attitudes differing in essence from the Soviet views in regard to the acute international problems:

— to the revisionist thesis on the change of the nature of imperialism in the present epoch it opposed the Marxist-Leninist view on the inalterably aggressive character of imperialism;

— to the thesis on securing world peace mainly through talks between the heads of the great powers it opposed the view of securing peace through strengthening the unity of the socialist countries and uniting all peace-loving peoples in a single front against imperialism, es-

pecially US imperialism, through national liberation and socialist revolutions;

— to the thesis on the peaceful road as the chief road for the transition to socialism it opposed the view of preparing for the armed struggle as the chief road for the transition to socialism;

— to the thesis on the dying out of the class struggle in socialism it opposed the view of the class struggle continuing as an objective and unavoidable phenomenon for the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism, etc.

At a time when, under the influence of the CPSU, the majority of the communist and workers' parties had ceased their struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the PLA continued this struggle without let up and with the greatest severity, not only because Yugoslav revisionism was the enemy of Marxism-Leninism and constituted a danger to the whole international communist and workers' movement but also because the struggle against it greatly assisted the struggle against every kind of revisionism, especially against the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Although the sharp edge of the struggle of the PLA was directed against Yugoslav revisionism, it was readily understood that the blow was directed against revisionism in any country and in any party, that the theses used against Yugoslav revisionism were opposed to the theses of the 20th Congress.

The PLA did not lack courage to point out all its hesitations, doubts, and opposing views, to the CC of the CPSU through party channels, without making these differences public, because that would have meant putting weapons in the hands of the enemies of communism. It tried to resolve these differences through talks and consultations in a comradely spirit, as things should always be done between fraternal working class parties. However, the

further Khrushchev and the other revisionist leaders went down the road of the re-establishment of capitalism in their countries, down the road of collaboration with American imperialism and world reaction against communism and the world revolutionary movement, the more thoroughly the real features of the Soviet revisionists became recognized. And the more clearly the betrayal of the Soviet leadership came into the open, the more fierce became the struggle of the PLA for the exposure and ideological and political destruction of Khrushchev revisionism.

This volume also contains the Speech delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1960. In line with the directive of the CC of the PLA, comrade Enver Hoxha made a direct criticism there of the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress, as well as of the Soviet leadership for defending and spreading a series of anti-Marxist views and for engaging in activity which was anti-socialist and anti-communist activity through and through.

The documents of this period reflect the split between the correct revolutionary line of the PLA and the regressive line of the revisionist leadership of the CPSU and of a number of other communist and workers' parties. At that period, however, the clash had scarcely begun and could not have the depth and severity it was to assume later. Therefore, the documents of this volume should always be judged bearing in mind the time and circumstances in which they were written.

The documents published in this volume have been taken from volumes 5 to 16 of Enver Hoxha's Works, and from the Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. III. Part of the documents, especially the reports to the Congresses of the Party, are published in an abridged form.

REPORT AT THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE CPA[1] "ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE NEW TASKS OF THE PARTY"

November 8, 1948

(*Extracts*)

II[2]

CONSTRUCTION OF NEW ALBANIA

The complete liberation of Albania was the result of the heroic fight of the Albanian people, who spared nothing to win freedom and independence, but on the contrary put all their strength into the liberation war. At the same

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[1] The 1st Congress of the CPA was held in Tirana from the 8th to the 22nd of November 1948. The report on the activity of the CC was delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha. The report analysed all the activity of the Party, assessed the victories achieved and thoroughly disclosed the circumstances and causes of the mistakes made in the implementation of the line of the Party as a result of the hostile interference of the Yugoslav revisionists. It laid down the main guidelines for the construction of the bases of socialism, in which the fundamental economic task was to lift the country out of its great backwardness through the rapid development of the forces of production, with socialist industrialization of the country as the essence of this task.

Parallel with this, great importance was attached to lifting agriculture from its state of backwardness and its development through the socialist re-organization of the countryside. The development of the country called for the continuation of the

time, the liberation of Albania was the result of the unexampled heroism and the correct and farsighted policy of our Communist Party which placed itself at the head of the people, to lead them and play the historic role of the decisive leader of their destiny. Without the leadership of our Party, our people could not have achieved the great victories which gave them freedom and established genuine democracy in our country.

The liberation of Albania and of our people should be dedicated, also, to the heroic war of the peoples of the Soviet Union, to the glorious Soviet Army, led by the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, and by the leader of great genius, Stalin. Our unwavering faith in them enabled us to follow the right path and to avoid making mistakes. It is inconceivable that we and many other much greater and more powerful nations of Europe could have won freedom without the heroic war of the Soviet Union, which was the primary factor of the victory.

Each victory we achieved in the military and political field was closely linked with the military and political victories of the Soviet Union. By struggling for its correct line based on Marxism-Leninism, by viewing matters from the angle of the correct policy of the Soviet Union, by linking its war closely with the heroic war of the Soviet Union, our Party achieved all these victories for our people. Likewise, our people linked their war closely with

struggle for the elimination of the cultural backwardness, the deepening of the cultural and ideological revolution. The Congress crowned the victory of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and Trotskyism, and armed the Party with great experience of the struggle against modern revisionism.

[2] The 1st chapter of the report on "The Struggle of the People and of the Communist Party of Albania for Liberation" has been omitted in this volume because the main problems of that period have been dealt with in Volume I.

the war of all the enslaved peoples who were fighting fascism, and in the first place with the war of the neighbour peoples of Yugoslavia and Greece.

Right after the liberation of the country, the Democratic Government of Albania was faced with important tasks which it had to carry out by means of a total mobilization of our people, with the organization of the people's power and of the central and local apparatuses, and a thorough purge of the remnants of fascism and reaction in our country which, without doubt, would attempt to raise their heads and sabotage the great work of the reconstruction of our terribly war-ravaged country.

In the first place it had to do away with the remnants of fascism and disarm all the beys and the bourgeoisie of the country, who had fattened themselves under fascism on the blood of the people, by gambling with their lives, ready at any moment to sell our people to the foreigner. The National Liberation War defeated the privileged class in our country by eliminating its armed support, Italian fascism and German nazism. Reaction in our country was finished militarily and had lost any hope of attacking our people from within, other than with the aid and support of the Anglo-American reaction. Therefore, in the first months after liberation the people's courts were set up, which tried the war criminals with severity and great justice.

On the other hand, it was also imperative to disarm reaction and the bourgeoisie of the country from the economic aspect, and to this end our people's power has been merciless. All the property of the traitors and quislings[3] was promptly confiscated and nationalized; the

[3] The confiscation and nationalization of all the property of traitors and quislings was carried out according to the Law On the Confiscation of the Portable and Fixed Assets of Political Fugitives, dated December 15, 1944.

holdings and assets of profiteering merchants were seized, and they were forced to pay the taxes on war profits[4]; all the enterprises and factories of profiteering merchants were confiscated, for they had amassed their wealth by exploiting the blood and sweat of the people. The beys and agas who had sucked the blood of the peasantry for centuries on end were driven from their lands, and in this way the division of land among the peasantry was prepared, that is to say the real application of the Land Reform began. At the same time, the Party and the people's power nationalized all the mines and enterprises that were held as concessions, or owned by foreigners. In this way, the state sector of the economy was formed on which our people's power would rely for the reconstruction of the devastated country. The people's power found the country in a deplorable situation. Entire regions had been razed and the population was without shelter, there was little food, the bridges had been blown up, the roads destroyed, the means of communication were almost non-existent, and any transport of supplies was extremely difficult. The people's power quickly got bridge repairs underway, and in record time 2,031 metres of bridges were usable, which enabled the revival of the traffic. The repair of bridges continued through 1946, 1947, up till 1948; during this period an additional 1,094 metres of bridges were built. Similarly, all the power stations which had been either destroyed or damaged by the war, were repaired and put into operation, the rebuilding of the burned out houses was begun, as well as the reconstruction of all the old factories and workshops which existed, but which had been badly damaged by the war. In the course of these

[4] This refers to the Law On Extraordinary Taxes on War Profits, dated January 13, 1945.

four years, the Party and the people's power undertook a series of important construction projects such as port repairs, irrigation and drainage canals, industrial buildings, constructions of a general nature, the building of the Durrës-Peqin and Durrës-Tirana railway[5].

An extraordinary effort has been made by our people, who were fully mobilized for the reconstruction and worked with heroism unprecedented in the history of our country for the building of a better life, for the construction of socialism in our country. Innumerable sacrifices were made and deeds of untold heroism performed by our working class, in the first place, to implement the directives of the Party and state successfully. The morale of our workers, of our heroic youth, of our peasants who poured in to work in various enterprises, on construction sites and land improvement schemes, of the women of Albania who mobilized themselves on a very broad scale, was high. Our entire people, under the leadership of the working class, of the Party and of their people's government, with toil and sweat, but untiring, changed the face of war-ravaged Albania in an extremely short time. Voluntary work put in by the broad masses of the people, with our workers at their head, immeasurably lightened the burden on the people's power, so that all this construction was possible at a time when we were just emerging from that great war which had cost us so many human lives and so much damage to our economy. However, our people, who had fought with such heroic spirit for the liberation of the country and the establishment of their own democratic people's power, had grasped quite clearly that they had to place all their hopes for progress, first of all, in their own inexhaustible and powerful forces, and that this time, although it was true that they would be working for them-

[5] These were the first railways built in Albania.

selves, and not for others, would be working and aiding their Party and people's power, which would most certainly lead them along the road of wellbeing, the road of socialism. The orientation which the Party and the people's power gave the construction in our country was most correct. It responded, in the first place, to the urgent needs of the moment and to the sure perspective on the road to socialism, on which our Communist Party is leading the country.

The result of such a correct orientation was that there was an obvious and satisfactory improvement in the life of our people from the first years of liberation, that the problem of food supplies was solved in the earliest post-war days, there was no more starvation, and immediate measures were taken for the re-organization of the means of communication which were totally destroyed, which constituted one of the most difficult and most important problems in our country.

Our future orientation in the field of construction will be towards building new factories and suitable houses for our workers, as well as for the needs of the state and the population. The railway and road network will be extended and its state improved. New investments will be made in industry and agriculture to increase the productivity of our mines and our land.

INDUSTRY AND MINES

Our country has natural conditions for the development of light industry. We have olive trees and all the possibilities exist for growing tobacco, cotton, sugar-beet, etc. After the nationalization of small factories and workshops, the people's power re-established them, bringing them together, and locating them in suitable places according to sound regional and technical criteria, and took

measures for their responsible technical and financial management, by rationalizing the distribution of the few technicians existing at that time.

Italian capital impeded the development of our small-scale industry. Even those factories they allowed us to build, such as cigarette factories of quite high productivity, were for their needs. As is known, industrial development is based on electric power. In our country where there are vast water and other power resources, these were entirely neglected. In the time of the regime of Zog and under fascist occupation only a few thermal power stations were built. It is self-evident that, in this way, the power supply for industry was meagre and expensive. We have made the most of this meagre inheritance, while our present factories, in the majority of cases, are equipped with their own motors. In 1938 there were 13 power stations with an installed capacity of 3,200 kW and with an average annual output of 3,000,000 kW/hours. In the 1939-1944 period their capacity was raised to 4,700 kW, with a yearly output of 6,500,000 kW/hours, whereas today, it is 7,400 kW with a yearly output of 9,200,000 kW/hours. In 1945 the total annual output of power was much lower than in 1939. But this was increased with the serious efforts made to put the industry on an efficient basis during 1946-1947, when all industry passed completely into the hands of the state. During 1947 we went from preliminary temporary organization over to the organization of industrial enterprises on a self-supporting basis[6]; 46 enterprises of a general national character were set up, as well as 13 other enterprises of a local character.

[6] A method of planned management of the economic activity of socialist enterprises, according to which they must cover all expenses for production with, and at the same time secure a certain amount of accumulation from, the income from the sale of their products.

A wide-scale rationalization of industry was carried out. Smaller units were combined into larger ones such as in the case of oil presses, textiles and knitwear factories, engineering workshops, etc. In 1947, more than 45,000,000 leks went into investments, while in 1948 more than 300,000,000 leks have been allocated for investments. Together with the organization and improvement of our light industry, its production has also improved and increased, and though still far from meeting the needs of the people, the production capacity for oil, macaroni, soap, leather, footwear, etc. has been expanded. There was a rise, also, in the number of workers of whom there were no more than 3,000 in 1938.

In industry, our orientation will be towards increasing the number of industrial projects. . . Under the terms of the agreement of July 25, 1947, during the coming two years we shall receive from the Soviet Union a large textile combine[7] of 21,000 shuttles and a capacity of over 20,000,000 metres of fabrics per year, a sugar refinery of an annual capacity of 10,000 tons of sugar, and a leather factory of an annual capacity of 500 tons of tanned leather. With the setting up of these factories the needs of the country for such items will be fulfilled in general. Construction work on the textile combine together with the workers' town of 4,600 inhabitants, as well as on the sugar refinery, will start in March 1949, and at the end of 1951 these projects will be commissioned. The textile combine and the leather factory will employ more than 2,500 workers. Besides these factories, during the 1949-1950 period, the Party and the state envisage the setting up of a factory for the production of vegetable oil, a timber treatment plant, a cement factory, a footwear factory, as well as the

[7] The "J.V. Stalin" textile combine, inaugurated in November 1951.

completion of work in the Selita hydro-power station[8] and a survey of the possibilities of exploitation of other water-power resources. Besides this, the capacity of the brick works will be expanded, and work will be started on the cotton textile factory, on the spare parts plant, while the equipment and rationalization of some existing industrial units will be completed.

Our country is rich in minerals. So far it is reckoned that 25 to 26 different minerals are found here. During the occupation all our mines were partially destroyed through the actions of the National Liberation Army[9], and later blown up by the Germans, but today they have all been reconstructed thanks to the work and great sacrifice of our working class and our people. Today our mines employ more than 4,000 workers, and they are all run by our workers, educated by our Communist Party.

Great prospects exist for the development of our mines. In the first place, the output of oil, bitumen, chromium, coal, copper, etc., will be increased. The building of a new oil refinery with a capacity of 500 tons of crude oil treated daily, which will satisfy the needs of our country for fuels and lubricants, is envisaged for 1949-1950. It is also envisaged to considerably raise the output of oil, as well as that of bitumen, chromium, coal, blister copper, etc. Such a correct orientation of our Party for the large-scale development of industry is a sound basis for our advance towards socialism. This orientation will strengthen the working class, which leads the broad masses of the people in the building of a better life. We owe the extension and strengthening of our light and heavy industry to the great

[8] The "V.I. Lenin" hydro-power station, inaugurated in November 1951.

[9] This was done deliberately to prevent the enemy from exploiting these riches of the people.

aid of the Bolshevik Party, to comrade Stalin, and to the Soviet state, who help us unsparingly in this respect as in all other respects, so that our people may strengthen and modernize their economy, and see better days. All the working masses of our country, with the working class and with their heroic vanguard, the Communist Party of Albania, at the head, will be eternally grateful to the Bolshevik Party and comrade Stalin for this great and sincere aid, which strengthens both our economic and our political position, which safeguards the sovereignty and independence of our state, and they will mobilize all their forces so that industry, agriculture, and other fields may yield ever more concrete results for the progress of our country.

AGRICULTURE

WHAT HAS THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION GIVEN THE WORKING PEASANTRY

The people's revolution marked the end of the impoverishment and degradation of the peasantry. The victory in the war encouraged the peasants, who saw with their own eyes the overthrow of the feudal class as a result of the struggle of the entire working people led by the Party. From the powerful voice of the Party they heard that the beys and agas were done forever and should no longer be recognized as owners of the land, that debts and interests should no longer be paid to them.

The political changes and the changes in the state administration, which are the result of our people's revolution and of the brilliant leadership of our Communist Party, loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, enabled the peasants to breathe freely. These changes made them realize that their day had come, that they had been born again, and this time, not to suffering and misery, but to

lead a life which, with their own sweat and under the leadership of the Party, would keep improving from day to day.

In bourgeois revolutions, the transformations in the economy bring about the transformations in state power, whereas in the case of people's revolutions[10], changes begin immediately in the state power, and it is the task of the latter, the people's power, to effect the changes in the economy, to construct the economic system in keeping with the interests of the victors in revolution, in keeping with the interests of the working people.

It is true that, as we said, work on this aspect started in the course of the war; during the war the traitors were attacked along with the occupier; it was in the course of the war that the class differentiation took place, but the main work in this direction had to be carried out after liberation.

The building of a new people's economy called for radical reforms of an economic character; it was the duty of the Party towards the working masses to create better economic conditions.

Of these reforms, the Land Reform[11] was the most important and urgent. It changed the old relations in land ownership once and for all, liberated the peasantry from centuries-old injustice and oppression, made the poor farmers owners of the produce of the land which they had

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[10] People's revolutions which are led by the party of the working class and developed as socialist revolutions.

[11] Under the Law on Land Reform, land holdings exceeding the size provided for by the Law were expropriated without compensation and distributed to the landless and landpoor peasants free of charge and as private property. Each head of a family was given up to 5 ha of land. The sale, purchase and leasing of land were prohibited. Part of the expropriated land was not distributed but was transformed into state property. The state farms, which marked the birth of the socialist sector in agriculture, were set up on this land.

worked on behalf of the beys and agas, sensibly restricted the exploitation of man by man, crushed and liquidated for ever the economy of the feudal lords who had deceived and robbed the poor peasant strata for centuries.

In the policy of our Party for the countryside and in the application of the Land Reform we have also had some shortcomings. This explains why, despite the slogans urging the peasants not to recognize their former masters, a law on agricultural rent was drafted according to which, until the complete implementation of the Land Reform, the peasant-farmers were compelled to give the owners up to 30 per cent of the produce of the land, a law which was not well received, and aroused discontent among the peasants. Likewise, at the beginning, the Law on the Land Reform did not allow the adoption of radical measures of expropriation[12].

But these shortcomings, which are of secondary importance as opposed to the successes achieved in our work in favour of the peasantry, were quickly corrected.

The implementation of the Land Reform had these results:

Category of landowners	Number of landowners	Expropriated		
		Arable land in ha	Olive trees	Number of draught animals
Landowners expropriated totally[13]	8,714	54,499	287,944	5,923
Landowners expropriated partially[14]	10,641	64,997	125,259	
State holdings[15]	—	50,000	—	—
Estates of religious institutions[13]	—	3,163	61,024	—
	19,355	172,659	474,227	5,923

To profit from expropriated land were:

Family group	Number of families	Ha of land	Olive trees	Number of draught animals
Poor families	48,667	155,159	238,727	5,923
Landless families	21,544			
State sector	—	17,500	235,500	—
	70,211	172,659	474,227	5,923

Prior to this, not only the best pieces of land, the most fertile parts, but also the forests, pastures, and water sources were completely in the hands of feudal owners and were exploited for their benefit.

The distribution of the land by the Land Reform was completed on November 17, 1946 to the astonishment and dismay of the enemies. But even after this the process of re-adjusting the relations based on land ownership

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[12] Both the Law on Agricultural Rent of January 14, 1945, which recognized the right of landowners to take from the peasant-farmers 20-30 per cent of their production for the 1944-45 season, and the Law on Land Reform of August 29, 1945, which allowed the landowners to retain 20-40 ha of land, were influenced in their formulation by the opportunist stand of Sejfulla Malëshova, who, with the interference of the Yugoslav leadership at the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA in November 1944, was coopted as a member of the CC and of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA. After the war he engaged in anti-state and anti-party activity.

[13] This group includes the big estate owners, merchants, as well as those officials, religious institutions, and peasants who did not till the land themselves.

[14] This group includes all those who tilled the land themselves but who owned more land than provided for by the Law on Land Reform.

[15] These were big estates worked by the peasants as share-croppers usually paying one third of the product as rent under the system of feudal relations. With the implementation of the Law on Land Reform this land was distributed among the peasants entitled to it under the Law.

continued and this was necessary, because in the beginning many mistakes were made; even today there are still mistakes, therefore the efforts to put them right should be continued.

The application of the Land Reform ensured:

a) the liquidation of feudalism;

b) the creation of conditions for the transition from small individual economies, which engendered capitalism in the countryside, to collective, cooperative, socialist economies;

c) the creation of the conditions for the improvement and modernization of agriculture, which are indispensable prerequisites for the healthy development of our entire people's economy.

The Land Reform was not a technical-administrative measure of our organs of people's power, nor was it an easy job. The question was to overthrow a class which had been ruling for centuries, a class with all its political and economic traditions.

The distribution of land presented its specific difficulties, it was a struggle in itself. The Party was fully mobilized, and together with it, all the working peasantry. As for the kulaks, in the beginning they sought to arouse doubts among the peasants, saying that, "It takes years, technicians, to carry out the Land Reform". They supported the slogans of the clergy, "The land belongs to God", etc. However, when they found that such slogans were of no avail in coping with the powerful attack of the working masses guided by the Party, some of them managed to join even the poor peasants' committees[16] in order to sabotage their work, to help themselves and their relatives.

[16] These were created by the Party for the rapid and fair implementation of the Land Reform.

According to the Marxist principle that the sharpening of the class struggle makes the enemy more savage and more determined to fight, the kulaks even went to such lengths as to throw bombs at the peasants who took their land. The people's courts showed that the expropriation of the land was the most painful blow to the bourgeoisie in the countryside.

However, despite the shortcomings of the Law at the start, which derived from the influence of the land policy of the Trotskyite leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, despite the deliberate sabotage of some technicians, despite the resistance of opposition elements, despite the lack of data and cadres for such an undertaking, thanks to the work of the Party and to the full support of the mass of the poor and middle peasants, the Land Reform was carried out, and one year afterwards the first title deeds were distributed, and in general the job was well done.

The peasants discovered from real facts that they were in power, discovered the great concern and interest in them of the Party and the people's power. This gave our peasant a courage he had never had; it made him conscious of his strength, convinced him that, just as he had won the war under the leadership of the Party, so with the Party he could achieve new successes.

The peasants were convinced that only the Party, inspired by the Marxist-Leninist teachings, relying on the great achievements and the invaluable experience of the motherland of socialism, the great Soviet Union, was capable of implementing such a reform in the interest of the working masses.

The triumph of the people's revolution opened a brilliant page in the history of the peasantry, just as it had done for the entire working people. The distribution of land, no doubt, was the first step, but the Party and

the state were not satisfied with just this in their policy concerning the peasantry which had thrown off its two-fold yoke but had suffered heavy damage in the war. Despite their good will, the poor peasants were not in a position to recover without assistance. The Party and the state did not fail to tackle this task. Aid in this respect has been allsided, and, with the strengthening of the people's power, it has been increased from year to year.

In administering this aid, our policy has been, and will be, that the cooperatives and poor peasants should benefit first of all.

The changes in the ownership and relations in regard to land, the beginnings of the use of advanced means, the great material assistance from the state, and the new political and social conditions in our country brought about a new situation for the peasantry. The sweat and toil of the poor peasants no longer go to the benefit of the landowners of yesterday; the peasants own the fruits of their labour. Whereas prior to liberation the labouring peasants were serfs, exhausted, ragged, famished, and despised, with the victory of the National Liberation War they were rescued from that plight and are now perceptibly improving their economies, convinced that under the leadership of the Party and with ceaseless work they will see still better days.

We can express ourselves in comrade Stalin's words:

> *"Now the countryside cannot any longer be termed a stepmother to the peasant"**.

As is known, up to the liberation of Albania, land was mainly the property of feudal owners, kulaks and, partially, of poor peasants. As a result of the seizure of the power by the people, following the changes in the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 52 (Alb. ed.).

economic, political and social relations, apart from the private sector in agriculture, conditions were created for setting up two new sectors: the sector of cooperatives of the socialist type, and the entirely socialist state sector.

A. *Agricultural cooperatives.* — Our country did not have cooperatives before. The cooperatives form a new sector of the agricultural economy with a socialist basis. The Party and state will do their utmost to extend this sector through all-round material, organizational, instructional, political and cultural assistance.

In this case we bear in mind what Lenin writes:

> *"A social system emerges only if it has the financial backing of a definite class. . . At present we have to realize that the cooperative system is a social system we must now give more than ordinary assistance, and we must actually give that assistance"*.*

The cooperative sector is new in our country, but the party members and all the peasantry should thoroughly understand that the cooperatives are sound organizations which nothing can stop from marching ahead and, as comrade Stalin has said, from becoming

> *". . . levers of the economic progress, the levers of the socialist development of agriculture"**.*

The agricultural cooperatives constitute the highest form of the coordination of personal interests with general interests of the state. We should be clear about the words of Lenin:

> *". . . for small-scale farming will not bring deliverance from want"***.*

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 526 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 162 (Alb. ed.).

*** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, p. 152 (Alb. ed.).

Agriculture must ensure the people's food, raw material for industry, and its share of the national income in a planned way. Planned economy can exist only through the state sector and the cooperative sector, whereas small, individual private property cannot ensure this, and is frequently the cause of anarchy in production. In small economies the farmer is obliged to plant everything he needs, without studying the conditions for production. This can be avoided in the larger, collectivized economies, in which the most suitable land can be reserved for each crop.

Besides this, the small farmers on their own land do not utilize their forces rationally, they are slow to understand the need to apply advanced methods of agrotechnology, and lack the means to buy or use mechanized farming equipment, which has a great influence on the improvement of production. Because of all these main advantages and others which are numerous and significant, because, as Lenin says, cooperation is a fundamental and main link in the construction of socialism in the countryside, because cooperation is in a position to cover all the major fields of the political, economic and cultural life of the peasantry, our Party and state will unreservedly support this cooperative road. . .

In the cooperatives wooden ploughs are no longer used.

The cooperatives occupy first place in the use of chemical fertilizers, in fighting plant and animal diseases, in livestock breeding (some of the cooperatives have built or are in the course of building modern stalls), in land improvement, irrigation and drainage, etc.

The agricultural cooperatives have set the example in fulfilling and overfulfilling the obligations of grain deliveries, and have sold all their surplus products only to the buying and selling and consumer cooperatives.

The participation of women in production has increased enormously and a stern struggle is being waged against illiteracy in the cooperatives. Particular importance has also been attached to meeting the great need for cadres. Today, the ordinary peasants, who up till yesterday were scarcely given a thought, are successfully carrying out their work as accountants, team leaders, agricultural technicians, secretaries, chairmen of cooperatives, and good organizers.

In local or national mass actions, the cooperativists are the first volunteers, and not only that, but they set the example of will-power, discipline, and productivity at work. For instance, from among 14 cooperativist youths of Dobraç who went in the first shift to work on the railway 13 came back home as shock-workers. However, along with these successes, there are many shortcomings in the work in the agricultural cooperatives, and over matters of principle at that.

Above all, the agricultural cooperatives were not set up on an entirely socialist basis; their Constitution and all their organizational forms were based on, or copied point by point from, Yugoslav practice, as a result of the work of the anti-Marxist leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.

We are thankful to the Bolshevik Communist Party of great Stalin who helped us correct those mistakes and follow the Marxist-Leninist road faithfully in the entire economic policy in the countryside.

The distortions existing in the old Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives were the following:

— forty per cent of the product was distributed according to the land and 60 per cent according to the work contributed to the cooperative, which was in the interest of kulaks even more than in the past. This manner of distributing the product permitted exploitation and the

revival of capitalism within the cooperatives — a thing which has aroused discontent and has greatly hindered the strengthening of the cooperatives and the regular participation in work of all the cooperative members.

— the number of livestock and the amount of land left to the cooperative families for personal use was not limited. Thus, there were cases when cooperative members worked most of their days, not for the cooperative but on their individual plots, around their houses or looking after their livestock outside the property of the cooperative.

These and other shortcomings, such as the failure to fix the minimum number of days every member should work for the cooperative during one year, the provision that, for a cooperative to be set up, at least 25 to 30 peasant families and over 200 hectares of land were necessary, etc. account for the fact that work in the cooperatives has not gone as well as it should have done, and conditions were not created for the setting up of more cooperatives.

But, besides these, as a result also of this Constitution, other mistakes were also made in the cooperatives which, in the first place, are:

1. — Lack of a sound organization resulting also from insufficient leading ability and lack of experience of work.

2. — Lack of a detailed and complete plan and incorrect distribution of forces.

3. — Lack of vigilance, a serious shortcoming, which weighs heavy on some party organizations.

In general, the background of the members has not been carefully studied when setting up agricultural cooperatives. It has not been clearly understood that only the poor and middle peasants may become cooperative members. In some cooperatives, in Shkodra especially, kulaks, elements consciously working to destroy the cooperative, hostile elements who had wormed their way to preserve their privilege over the land, elements who

are now being thrown out, at first managed to join the cooperatives.

And then, there are cases when party work has gone well up to the setting up of the cooperative, but has stopped at that. Such a thing is totally wrong. Lacking experience of the work and organization, a newly set up cooperative stands in great need of the help of the people's power and the Party. It has only one positive thing — the desire to work collectively. And this should be channelled.

Comrade Stalin says:

> *"It would be all the more a mistake to believe that the members of the collective farms have already become socialist. No, a great deal of work has to be done to remould the peasant collective farmer to set right his individualistic mentality and to transform him into a real working member of a socialist society"*.*

Then, without letting go the fact that kulaks infiltrate into cooperatives, it is impermissible to leave the cooperatives to their fate. And this is explained by comrade Stalin in this way:

> *"There are bound to be elements of the class struggle in the collective farms as long as there still remain survivals of individualistic, or even kulak, mentality, as long as there still exists a certain degree of material inequality"**.*

Up till recently the agricultural cooperatives maintained insufficient contact with, and received insufficient help from, the General Cooperatives' Committee. The question of the centralization of cooperatives as group organizations

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 161 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 160.

was wrongly understood — it was supposed that the state had no right to involve itself in their affairs. They were left to themselves. In order to help them, the Party and the people's power should lead them, coordinate their work with the state plan, and make them an inseparable part of the economic system of the people's democracy in its development towards socialism.

In order to improve this state of affairs, from the 11th to the 13th of last September, an initiating commission, relying on the principles and the Constitution of the advanced collective farming economies of the great Soviet Union, drafted a new Constitution which, presented to the cooperativist peasants for approval, was adopted enthusiastically.

This draft-Constitution, which was drawn up on correct Marxist-Leninist lines, of course, further sharpened the struggle of the kulaks, and as a result, their opposition became more active.

The new draft-Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives is a success for our Party, because it places the cooperatives on correct Marxist-Leninist foundations, and it is a success for the agricultural cooperatives themselves, for they wanted this Constitution long ago. It is a guarantee for the progress of the existing cooperatives, and for a big increase in the number of cooperatives. Now there are many requests from the peasants for the assistance of the people's power in organizing themselves into cooperatives. Therefore, it is the duty of the party organizations to carefully study the draft-Constitution of the cooperatives.

But this does not mean that with the new draft-Constitution, or with the approval of the Constitution, our work is accomplished. The persuasion of the poor and middle peasants of the advantage and necessity of going from poor, little, isolated economies, to large, united, co-

operative, socialist economies, can be achieved only through great political and organizational work by the party organizations.

Without such work, and an uninterrupted one at that, even if set up, the cooperatives will either be disbanded or always remain weak. Comrade Stalin has said:

"Their economic successes, their stability and life depend totally and completely on the successes of organizational work and the political work of the Party, for without this prerequisite economic successes would be built on sand".*

The setting up of agricultural cooperatives, the growth of the collective peasant economy, the socialist transformation of the countryside strengthen the positions of the Party and its close links with the peasant masses. On this question, Lenin writes:

*"Only if we succeed in proving to the peasants in practice the advantages of common, collective or artel farming, in helping them by means of collective or artel farming, will the working class, which wields state power, be really able to convince the peasants that its policy is correct and thus secure the real and lasting following of the millions of peasants"**.*

Cooperativism is our future, therefore the cooperativists must prove themselves worthy of the socialist work they have undertaken; they must spare nothing to make their work go well, must use the means of work and production carefully, must become a vivid example for the other peasants about them, extend the area under cultivation day by day, and increase the number of new members all the time; and never for a moment should they forget

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 107 (Alb. ed.).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 30, pp. 210-211 (Alb. ed.).

that they, too, only a little time ago, were in individual economies.

B. *The state sector of agriculture.* — This is an entirely socialist new sector, which, as we said, was born after the liberation of the country and included farms, nurseries and olive groves, organized into state agricultural enterprises.

If someone should say that the state had its own land even prior to that, he would be forgetting that the state of that time was fundamentally different from the present state; he would be forgetting that our state sector is different from the feudal and capitalist state sector which always represents the interest of some individuals and is not only not in opposition to the private sector, but assists it, because it is part and parcel of this sector.

Our state is not directed by the economy, but it directs the economy.

The role of the state sector in agriculture is great; it is the sector in which the revolutionary movement for production and science in agriculture will grow and develop. It is the sector in which mechanization and the most advanced agrotechnical methods will find full application, it is the sector which will become the example for, and will aid, the agricultural cooperatives and other peasants with selected seeds, seedlings, breeding stock and with specialized cadres. It will help in the solution of the problem of supplying the towns and industrial centres with vegetables, fruit, milk and other products.

The Party and the state will give special attention to the strengthening and growth of our state farms because, although their role is still small at present, they will become very important.

On the party members and all the workers in these enterprises falls the task of making this very important,

entirely socialist, sector of agriculture play the role it should: the role of pace-setter in the uplift and modernization of agriculture, of following the example of the Soviet state farms.

It is necessary to strengthen and modernize the internal organization of work on a self-supporting basis. Our farms, nurseries, and olive groves should become centres for the dissemination of scientific methods of work. They must carry out regular crop rotation, make tests and experiments in every direction, ensure the selection and improvement of all field crops and livestock, and increase the amount of best quality seeds, saplings, and breeding stock. Our state farms should apply the most up to date and fruitful methods of agrotechnology, and utilize the teachings of revolutionary Soviet science, based on Marxism-Leninism. The mechanized work, crop rotation, the use of chemical fertilizers and agrotechnical methods should not only yield record harvests, but should also cost less than in the agricultural cooperatives and in the private sector.

Our state farms should constantly increase their activity for the cultural and vocational education of their worker personnel, must increase the number of learner-workers and become centres which, through their example, disseminate their experience, not only among the neighbouring agricultural cooperatives and peasants, but also among those more distant, and extend day by day the area of previously unworked land they plant to crops. The Party and state will ensure that the role of this sector becomes greater day by day, because this is the basis for the rapid progress of agriculture, it is the school where all the peasants and agricultural cooperatives may learn in practice about modern technique.

. . . Consistent in their line of assisting the peasantry, the Party and government set up the machine and tractor

stations (MTS)[17] as enterprises of a socialist character, which had the task of helping the cooperatives and the poor peasants, in the first place, to cultivate the land they had gained.

By assisting the poor and middle peasants the machine and tractor stations created the technical bases for the transition to higher socialist forms of working the land.

Working on the principle of achieving ever higher agricultural yields, the machine and tractor stations are assisting on a very broad scale in the introduction and dissemination everywhere of advanced agrotechnical methods in agricultural process.

The machine and tractor stations play a role of great importance in the development and strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives. An important factor for the progress of agricultural cooperatives and of agriculture in general is, undoubtedly, the wide-scale utilization of farm machinery in various agricultural processes, simply for the fact that the replacement of primitive means with modern ones permits the increase and improvement of production and, as a result, the raising of the living standard of the labouring masses of the countryside.

Taking into account the major role and importance of the mechanization in agriculture, the Party and government have given and will give in the future particular at-

[17] In order to become exemplary and modern socialist economies, the agricultural cooperatives needed an advanced material-technical basis. To this end, in 1947, the machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up as state socialist enterprises in agriculture, and were used as a special form of the great aid which the state provided for the peasantry in an organized way to establish and strengthen the new cooperativist order. The MTS's were the foundation stone of the new material-technical basis of socialist agriculture, the powerful political and organizational means by which the Party propagated amongst the peasants the necessity for, and the benefits of, collectivization.

tention to the further development of the MTS, therefore we shall not spare capital investments for this purpose. . .

In the present situation the extension and strengthening of mechanization of agriculture and, in the first place, the mechanization of the cooperative sector, on the broadest possible scale, emerges as a major task of great importance.

The machine and tractor stations should become the main factors for the application of advanced agrotechnical methods in agriculture, as a new, more advanced form for the development of agriculture on a socialist basis.

C. *The private sector of agriculture.* — The application of the Land Reform — a result of the establishment of our people's power — was a mortal blow to capitalism and feudalism in agriculture, but this does not mean that a homogenous class was created in the countryside. Today in our countryside there are poor and middle peasants and kulaks — the latter, though they have lost part of their land and are deprived of the possibility of having others work for them, are doing their utmost to regain their lost positions.

It is true that the kulaks have been expropriated, either completely or partially, and have lost their privileges, but as individuals, and as a certain mode of thinking, they will exist for many years yet.

The policy of the Party is to effect a correct differentiation, to give maximum support to the poor peasants, to support and educate the middle peasants, and together with the former, help them join the agricultural cooperatives, and to wage a relentless struggle against the kulaks and their mentality. Our main slogan will be: restriction of kulaks in the countryside[18].

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[18] This implies the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks.

Under the present conditions of the countryside, the role of the private sector is extraordinarily great. We should keep in mind the fact that, of 317,000 ha of arable land, 288,630 ha, or 91.05 per cent are in private hands. Precisely for this reason, for the time being, the agricultural economy will rely on this sector.

The people's revolution created new conditions for our peasants and for the development of agriculture. If large tracts of land suitable for growing grain, but which were utilized only as pastures, had not been taken from the beys by force, there could have been no thought of the improvement of our agriculture.

The peasants supported and took part in the National Liberation War, not only because the Party told them that this was how they could get the occupiers and internal exploiters off their backs, but also because it assured them that in this way the existing relations would be radically changed, and conditions for a new life would be created, a life which would enable the labouring peasants to raise their economic and cultural level and improve their life from day to day, from year to year.

The peasants, who had gained the land and had the aid of the people's power from its earliest days, were charged with the task of increasing production to ensure the bread, which could not be achieved without the extension of the area planted and the use of new agrotechnical methods. With a view to raising the wellbeing of the peasants and of the entire people, the Party called on the peasants to mobilize themselves to till the maximum area and work it better.

The first to respond to this task were the poor peasants, those who gained their land from the Land Reform. And the results in this respect are very good. . .

. . . . . .

OUR TASKS IN THE FIELD OF AGRICULTURE

Comrades,

Even a brief glance at the social, political and economic changes, and in particular at the changes in our agricultural economy in the course of this period, will show that despite all the difficulties, obstacles, and the fierce struggle of capitalist elements in the countryside, the Party and government managed to find a correct solution to the problems of agriculture[19] during this period. However, we should not relax and think that everything has been done, and done faultlessly at that. In the years to come, we are faced with great tasks and majestic projects in agriculture; therefore, if we do not analyse all the shortcomings and errors that have been made in agriculture, if we do not submit them to criticism and do not recognize them as mistakes, as the Party teaches us, then we shall find it difficult to carry out our tasks in the future.

In our agricultural economy, political and economic changes have started to take place; the relations of men to the land are being changed, and men themselves are changing. These changes should place our agriculture in the truly socialist road, and to achieve this the following tasks must be put before the Party and the sector of agriculture:

I. *Extending cropland and increasing yields*:

1. — From year to year we should extend the area of land under cultivation by opening up new land, draining marshes and swamps, by extending the area of vineyards, olive groves and other crops in the hill country. We have

[19] In implementing its policy in the countryside, the Party was guided by the Leninist slogan "Reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the middle peasant, struggle against the kulak".

the possibility to extend the arable area to more than 4,000,000 ha within the next four or five years.

2. — Along with the extension of the cultivated area, we should raise the average yields of our fields by not less than 25 per cent. This will enable us in the future to ensure our people the agricultural products and bread they need.

3. — With a view to ensuring a stepping-up of the drive for increased yields in agriculture it is necessary to get down immediately to the work of organizing a sound basis of seeds. Likewise, it is necessary to study in detail the question of the use of different seeds in connection with the present situation of agriculture in our country.

4. — It is necessary to solve as soon as possible the problem of technical cadres, of agronomists of middle school training, etc., with the aim of meeting the needs for agronomists, especially in the main agricultural regions.

5. —Agronomical knowledge should be disseminated by every means among our peasantry, and every effort should be made to have our peasantry apply the most advanced methods of working the land and tending the different crops; the use of chemical and organic fertilizers should be increased.

6. — Explanatory work is necessary to raise and strengthen the sense of discipline among the labouring peasants, so that they fulfil the pledges they have taken to improve the quality of work in agriculture, to till the new land which is given them additionally, keeping to timetable for the planting, hoeing and other jobs, so as to harvest crops and make their deliveries to the state on time.

II. *Developing the sector of agricultural cooperatives:*

1. — It should be borne in mind that the setting up and development of this sector is a question of major im-

portance for our Party. We must constantly study, direct, and strengthen the cooperative movement in the countryside.

2. — We should intensify the explanatory work in the countryside concerning the cooperative movement, its importance and the role it plays in raising the wellbeing of the peasantry.

3. — The peasants, who express the desire to set up an agricultural cooperative, should be given all-round help in the organization of the work and, later, in the strengthening of the cooperative. As well as this, they should be assisted to organize the working of the social property according to the agronomical requirements and supported through the necessary agricultural credits. The experience and the practice of the existing agricultural cooperatives should be used as a means of persuasion among the peasants.

4. — Any violation of the principle of voluntary joining in cooperatives is absolutely impermissible, and the democratic principles in the existing agricultural cooperatives must not be infringed.

In the existing cooperatives:

a) It is necessary to eliminate completely all the errors and shortcomings stemming from the application of the former Constitution, which, as it stood, reflected the anti-Marxist-Leninist principles of the Trotskyite Yugoslav leadership, and revived capitalist relations in the agricultural cooperatives.

b) The cooperatives should be strengthened by means of increasing the agricultural inventory, the draught power, and buildings, increasing the number of livestock belonging to the cooperative, extending the cropland and increasing yields.

c) It is important to eliminate the shortcomings stemming from rewarding the members according to the amount of land contributed to the cooperative, to liquidate the personal irresponsibility at work, and egalitarianism which have hindered the raising of yields and norms of work, which in turn have hindered the economic development of the cooperatives.

d) The doors of the existing cooperatives should be more widely opened for the admission of new members from the ranks of the poor and middle peasants, who understand and embrace the cooperativist road. It is necessary to condemn those instances when new members are refused admission to the cooperative simply because they had not joined it from the very beginning.

e) It is indispensable to purge the cooperatives of the kulaks and merchants who have smuggled themselves into them and undermine them from within by spreading harmful, venomous rumours, by doing counter-revolutionary work, and by issuing slogans against the Party and its work for the further development of the cooperatives.

f) We should never for a moment forget that the cooperative member of today was an individual peasant only yesterday, and therefore badly needs education in the spirit of loyalty to our cause of collectivism, in the spirit of working for the common interest of the cooperative economy, so we have the duty to work more systematically and with greater dedication for the political education of the cooperative members. We must increase and educate our activists among the cooperative members and the leading cadres of the cooperatives. This is the key to successes in the cooperatives.

III. *In the state farms:*

1. — The party committees and the basic party organizations in the state farms should fully mobilize them-

selves for the continuous development of these state farms, so that they become examples for our peasants in the scientific work of socialist agriculture. These state farms should become a major source, not only of spreading the experience in socialist agriculture, but also of the distribution of seeds, breeding stock and other agricultural products for our peasantry.

2. — Taking into account our possibilities, we should plan the setting up of a number of new state farms, and take concrete measures for the extension and consolidation of the existing ones, by equipping them with the necessary means and technicians.

3. — A number of state farms should liquidate the backwardness in their economies through better management, increase of yields, the rational utilization of all the land according to the most advanced methods of agronomy, the utilization of all machinery, means, and forces they possess. They should be organized better and more economically, enforcing a regime of frugality in handling their finances and materials, utilizing all possible means of improving the situation by lowering the cost of production.

4. — It is necessary to put an end to the shifting of cadres in the state farms which is caused by an incorrect organization of work, pay scales which are unfair and give no incentive, by failure to provide housing and favourable living conditions, as well as by the poor political work among the masses. It is our duty to establish the cadres in the state farms, to create the necessary living and working conditions for them, to organize the problem of pay correctly, and to work systematically for the general uplift of the political level of the workers. We should not forget that the cadres, the decisive workers in state farms, just like the working class in industrial

enterprises, are the base of our Party from which it draws new forces.

IV. *In the work of the machine and tractor stations*:

1. — It is necessary to constantly increase the fleet of tractors and, on this basis, to systematically expand the machine and tractor stations and extend the area under their service; to use the capacity of the tractors and other farming machines to reach the norms fixed for them, and take all measures for the fulfilment and overfulfilment of these norms. As a rule, the machine and tractor stations should, in the first place, carry out their work in agricultural cooperatives, then in the fields of the poor peasants and, in due course, in those of the middle peasants.

2. — Timely repair of machines, meeting all requirement as to quality, should be strictly abided by. Measures for the building and equipment of the repair shops with tools and machines should be taken. It is important to do away with personal irresponsibility for the maintainance of tractors, to put in order the organization of work and its just remuneration. In the MTS tractors and machines must be used to the maximum, economizing fuel and waging a systematic struggle to cut down costs.

3. — A determined struggle has to be waged against slipshod work, raising the quality of field work under the agrotechnical rules in force. It is essential to determine accurately, according to contracts, the obligations of the machine and tractor stations towards the cooperatives and the working peasantry for good quality and expedient work and, when the terms of the contracts are not met, to see to it that the damaged party has its right of compensation taken into consideration. The cadres and workers of the machine and tractor stations should also be brought to account for irresponsible work.

4. — The expansion of the fleet of tractors and of other farming machines requires a three-four fold increase in the number of qualified cadres in the machine and tractor stations; uninterrupted work with the existing cadres for a perceptible rise of their qualification is required. If we want our cadres to be educated and raised to a higher level, we should take care of, and create favourable living conditions for, them.

V. *In the private sector:*

1. — The Party and all the basic organizations should never forget that the sector which is most important at the moment, in regard to size, is the private, individual farm sector which is not very productive, but which constantly gives rise to the possibility of the revival of capitalism. Therefore, in view of the present conditions of the party work in the countryside, we should bear in mind the words of great Lenin:

> *"The task at the present moment is to come to an agreement with the middle peasant — while not for a moment renouncing at the same time the struggle against the kulak, and firmly relying solely on the poor peasants. . . "*.

2. — We should most resolutely restrict the scope of activity of the kulaks by a proper application of the progressive taxation on their holdings. We should help the poor peasants with credits and implements, and explain the road of cooperation to the poor and middle peasants and encourage them to set out on it, as the only road ensuring the progress of the working peasantry. We should bear in mind that the process of transition to cooperation is a difficult and long one . . .

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 207 (Alb. ed.).

PEOPLE'S EDUCATION AND CULTURE

. . .

A. *People's education.* — As is known, the foundation of the development of culture is, first of all, the organization of people's education. The founders of Marxism-Leninism always regarded the school as an important weapon in the struggle for the liberation of the working masses. Marxism-Leninism has long ago exposed the hypocritical legend of the bourgeoisie about the apolitical character of education and the school, which, according to the bourgeoisie, stands above classes and above parties.

> *"Education"*, comrade Stalin says, *"is a weapon, the effect of which depends on who has it in his hands and against whom is it used."**

> *"Our work in the sphere of education"*, Lenin said in 1918, *"is part of the struggle for overthrowing the bourgeoisie. We publicly declare that education divorced from life and politics is lies and hypocrisy."***

In the instructions and principal documents of Lenin and Stalin we see that the tasks in education are defined as the transformation of the school from a weapon of domination of the bourgeois class into a weapon of the complete elimination of the division of society into classes, into a weapon of the communist transformation of society.

In his brilliant programmatic speech at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol in 1920, Lenin defined the distinction of principle existing between the Soviet school and the old school of the time prior to the revolution, and pointed out the need to make critical use of the old culture.

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* J.V. Stalin, "Questions of Leninism", 10th Rus. ed., p. 610.

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 83 (Alb. ed.).

Speaking of the importance of the systematic and persistent mastering of knowledge, Lenin stressed that,

> *"You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with knowledge of all treasures created by mankind"*.*

To avoid the separation of science from life, of theory from practice, Lenin insisted on such an arrangement of education as would enable the youth to apply the knowledge acquired in life and to take an active part in the construction of the new life.

The school should be the bearer of the ideas and principles of the policy of the Party, of its tasks and objectives among the working masses; it should implant in them the new socialist principles of education, educate the children of all strata of the population according to these principles, fight against any sort of ideology alien to us as well as against its alien influence on our children. These are the principal instructions of Marxist-Leninist science on questions of education, which we should not forget.

What is the situation in the field of people's education?

The first task was that, in order to make education fully accessible to the people, it had to be acquired beginning from the low elementary school up to the higher institute of learning.

Schooling was made free of charge and available to all the working masses, regardless of their sex, material conditions, religion, free from superstitions and prejudices.

The school network and the number of pupils attending grew at a furious rate.

In 1938 there were 643 elementary schools, which were attended by less than one fourth of the school-age children, that is, about 52,024 pupils, and very few completed the

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 320 (Alb. ed.).

course, while in 1945, that is, in the first year after the liberation of Albania we had 928 elementary schools attended by 78,000 pupils; in 1947 the number of elementary schools grew to 1,755 with 140,000 pupils, while in 1948 the number of schools reached 1,893.

Likewise, the number of 7-year and secondary schools increased several times over. In 1948 we have 107 7-year schools and 18 secondary schools. In some mountain districts summer season schools are opened, and in those places where it was impossible to open schools, the practice of travelling teachers has been used.

During these years hundreds of new schools were built. For the children living a long way from school, hostels were opened at some schools where pupils live and attend courses on state bursaries.

The favourable conditions created as a result of the liberation of Albania for the development of the people's education, enabled us to come closer to the realization of one of the most important achievements of the cultural revolution — the implementation of the principle of compulsory universal primary school attendance in town and countryside.

In his speech at the 16th Congress of the CPSU(B), comrade Stalin said:

> *"The chief thing is now to pass to universal compulsory elementary education. I say 'the chief' thing, because this would be a transition, a decisive step in the cultural revolution"*.*

In the 1947-1948 school-year, from a total of 2,602 inhabited centres in Albania, compulsory universal primary education was applied in 2,378 of them, comprising

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 291-292 (Alb. ed.).

93.7 per cent of the school-age children. This is a great achievement of our people.

A clear proof of the great concern of the state for the people's education are the funds allocated for the needs of culture and education.

The old school system was not unified. There were state and private gymnasiums, pro-gymnasiums, elementary schools, religious schools, and so on, all of them with differing lengths of their courses, not unified with other schools. The schools were under the influence of one or the other reactionary or imperialist group, British, French, Italian, Catholic, Muslim, etc.

The programs were not compulsory for all schools, and were never carried out. Each teacher used the textbooks he pleased. Therefore, the problem of our people's school was to realize the principle of unified schooling.

Since the reform of 1946-1947, our system of people's education gives every citizen of our country the possibility to go, without any obstacle, through all grades of school, from the lowest to the highest. A single type of school with one length of course has been established: elementary school — four years, 7-year school — seven years (counting in the four years of the elementary school), and secondary school — four years. Admission to school has been fixed at the age of seven.

The unification of the programs has been carried out; the teaching programs are the law of the school life and are the same for all schools, in each particular subject and grade.

The present school programs envisage for the pupils a more profound, more extensive, more all-sided knowledge than that provided by the old school.

The high level of science, and the unity of theory with practice, which contribute to the attainment of a high

ideological level, are the important principles and distinguishing features of the new school we are creating.

While omitting the unnecessary things, like teaching religion, Latin, and ancient Greek, the socalled science "On Life", etc., great attention has been attached to the thorough teaching of the mother tongue and literature, mathematics, physics, chemistry, history, geography, biology, and the Constitution.

During this school-year the subjects of Marxism-Leninism and Russian language were introduced in all our secondary schools. All subjects, bearing in mind their specific features, are intended to form in the pupils and students the dialectical materialist world outlook, to inculcate in them the habits of dialectical reasoning.

Out-of-school activities, which did not exist in the old schools, are becoming an inseparable part of the teaching-educational process of the school. The work outside the classroom and outside the school constitutes an important means for the communist education of children. It complements and develops the knowledge pupils have acquired during their classes, imparts the habits of social work, takes them off the streets and out of mischief.

One of the principal problems in the field of the people's education was the necessity of radically reorganizing the school, of changing the principles of its entire activity, of changing the ideological content of the lessons. The school had to become genuinely revolutionary, different in principle from any school of the bourgeois state.

Lenin has said that,

". . . we must replace the old system of instruction, the cramming and the old drill with an ability to acquire the sum total of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something to be learned by rote, but something

*that you yourself have thought over, something that will embody conclusions inevitable from the standpoint of present day education".**

Our school is faced with historical demands: to educate men and women developed from all aspects, highly trained and cultured, boundlessly loyal to their homeland and the people, who know how to integrate theory with practice and to apply their knowledge in life.

Naturally, the school cannot solve these problems if it does not reconstruct its own work in a radical manner.

". . . with the transformation of the old, capitalist society", said Lenin in his speech at the 3rd Congress of the Komsomol, *"the upbringing, training, and education of the new generations that will create the communist society, cannot be conducted on the old lines."***

Our school is called upon to educate the new man liberated from the slave mentality of the capitalist society, the man with unflinching will, honest, who is undaunted by hardships and knows how to cope with them.

Are we able to reconstruct the school in this way?

A great deal has been done in this direction in the course of recent years; new programs, text-books, the teaching methods, have all been worked out and given to the schools; work with the teachers has been organized, and a new method of administration has been established.

However, in essence, this work is hardly begun, and so far very little has been done.

The quality of the lessons and the educational work among students are still at a very low ideological and scientific level. The main causes are the low ideo-political

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 321 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 315.

and scientific level of the teachers as well as their weak training in teaching methods.

One of the decisive conditions for the improvement of the quality of work in schools is the solution of the problem of teaching cadres.

Lenin has said:

> *"Our school teacher should be raised to a standard he has never achieved, and cannot achieve, in bourgeois society"*.*

Comrade Stalin, highly praising and extolling the role of the teacher, has stressed:

> *"The phalanx of school teachers is one of the most essential units of the great army of working people in our country who are building a new life on the basis of socialism"**.*

Teachers have been entrusted with a sacred and highly esteemed task, the education of the new generations, which are growing up, and have the good fortune to assist in the great work of the educational uplift of workers. Our main problem is that we must uplift the teacher, make him one of our first assistants; we must liberate the teacher from the old prejudices, in the spirit of which he has been educated, and in the first place we must free him of the hypocritical guise of the apolitical school.

The bulk of teachers have started their duties at school after the liberation of Albania. In the 1938-1939 school-year, we had no more than 1,400 teachers. Of the 3,100 teachers we have at present in the elementary schools, only 800 have graduated from the teacher training secondary school, more than 1,300 teachers have graduated from

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 520 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 3 (Alb. ed.).

7-year schools, or have passed through only the second or third grade of the secondary school, and nearly another thousand have only elementary schooling. Of the 143 secondary school teachers, 48 have completed or begun higher education.

Our Party should insist that the local party organizations and the Ministry of Education decisively and rapidly improve the whole work for the education and training of teaching cadres.

The Albanian teacher should clearly and consciously understand the main principles of the new school, by basing himself on the experience of the Soviet school. To this end he should also learn the Russian language. Teachers should be active participants in the great social-political and cultural-educational work among our people and should win their love and respect.

First of all, it should be explained to the teacher that he cannot educate the man politically mature in regard to his ideals and his efforts, in his way of reasoning, without being linked with the reality around him, without being in touch with all the problems facing us. In order to fight those viewpoints which are alien to the socialist ideology and to the people, in order to oppose all unhealthy and reactionary attitudes which might exist in the pupils' minds, in the course of his work the teacher must implant in them sound political convictions and views. In all the educational activity among the pupils, teachers should be clear about the advantages of the political order existing in Albania and the socialist prospects opened since liberation, of the progressive and revolutionary spirit of the ideas of the road along which the Soviet Union and the people's democracies are proceeding, emphasizing the great humanitarian character of these ideas. At the same time, we should expose before the youth all the rotteness of

the capitalist bourgeois order, the fallacy of its ideas, the false glorification of capitalist democracy, and we should struggle to eliminate the reactionary bourgeois culture of Western Europe in our country.

Similarly, of great importance is the organization of vocational-technical education. The lack of qualified cadres is one of the most serious difficulties in the construction and development of our country.

As well as 815 students attending higher studies abroad, in the Soviet Union and in other friendly countries of people's democracy, for the first time in our country the Higher Pedagogical Institute has been set up, with the branches of language and literature, history, geography, mathematics, physics, biology, and chemistry.

After liberation, secondary vocational-technical schools were created and developed.

Of extraordinary importance is the liquidation of illiteracy and the schooling for adults. As is known, in old Albania 83 per cent of the population was illiterate. During recent years, in broad collaboration with the mass organizations, a mighty work has been done for the liquidation of illiteracy. In 1945-1946, the number of illiterates aged 14-40 years was about 317,000. During 1945-1948, 233,342 people enrolled in courses to eliminate illiteracy, of whom 109,189 have learned to read and write.

As is known, although good results have already been achieved, with more highly organized efforts and work, bearing in mind the great desire and enthusiasm of the masses for learning, still greater progress could be and should be achieved.

Besides the courses for the liquidation of illiteracy, a network of evening schools for adults has also been set up. In 1946, 10,010 people graduated from these schools. In 1947-1948 there were 570 evening primary

schools with 21,350 pupils attending, 26 7-year schools with 2,059 students, and 3 secondary schools with 338 students. But in the work of these schools there are many shortcomings, and the proper care has not been devoted to them either by our party organizations or by the organs of people's education and the mass organizations.

The physical training and moral education of children has become the concern of the state, society and the Party. For the first time the organization of pre-school education of children has been given proper importance. The organization of a network of pre-school institutions such as kindergartens, etc., solves the important problem of the participation of women in production and lays sound foundations for the spiritual and physical education of children.

. . . In the management of affairs in people's education as well as in every other sector, it is important not to forget the teachings of comrade Stalin, who says:

> *"To give good leadership means: first, to find the correct solution to the question. . . second, to organize the implementation of this correct solution. . . third, to organize the checking on the implementation of this solution . . ."*.

Our Party should consider the question of education as a political question, and the whole activity of school as part of our struggle for the construction of socialism.

B. *The cultural uplift of the masses.* — Prior to liberation, cultural and educational work among the masses of the population in Albania was at an extremely low level. During the National Liberation War, in the partisan units and in the liberated regions various arts groups, such as drama troupes, choirs and musical ensembles, were set up;

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 133 (Alb. ed.).

a network of propagandists who played an important role in the cultural development of the masses, was organized.

After the liberation of Albania various cultural and educational institutions such as culture homes, libraries, reading halls, drama troupes, etc., were set up. In these cultural centres representations and exhibitions were organized, conferences and reports, which served thousands of people, were held. But it must be stressed that as yet these centres have not developed properly and have not fully played their important role, have not yet succeeded in becoming genuine cultural centres and broadly serve the masses.

The drama activity of amateur troupes is making good progress. Theatre troupes were set up both in cities and villages. Special courses have been organized to train the leaders of these troupes.

The development of the activity of libraries indicates the rise of the cultural level of the people. During the past year, the National Library of Tirana has increased its book fund with the addition of 65,000 new books, and now it possesses 130,858 volumes.

In 1946 there were 6 libraries with 96,219 books; in 1947 there were 10 libraries with 132,634 books, and in 1948 the number of books rose to 186,686. In 1947 the number of books lent for reading was 79,834, while during the first 7 months of 1948 alone 75,682 books were lent to readers. In 1947 the number of libraries set up in the countryside was 72, and in 1948 their number rose to 373[20].

But not everything is yet in order in our work on the literary front; many of our writers devote little of

[20] Some of the statistical data used in this part of the report are not completely accurate, because at that time the statistics service in Albania was not yet up to the mark and had not provided full and scientifically compiled data.

their efforts to creative work, and the young writers have not been assisted, educated and encouraged properly.

The rise of the political consciousness and of the cultural level of the masses is gauged also by the increase in the circulation of periodicals.

In pre-liberation Albania only a few newspapers and periodicals were published, and their circulation did not exceed 8,000 copies.

In 1948, more than 25 newspapers and periodicals with a total circulation of one million copies were published, and this circulation goes on increasing. Thus, for example, in 1945 the newspaper "Bashkimi" had an average circulation of 4,700 copies daily, in 1946 its circulation rose to 14,000 copies, in 1947 it attained the level of 17,000 copies, and now it comes out in 27,000 copies daily.

The Institute of Scientific Research, set up after the liberation of Albania, has 65 members and is made up of: 1) the Section of Language and Literature; 2) the Section of History, Sociology and Economy; 3) the Section of Natural Sciences; 4) the Library. This Institute is engaged in a wide range of studies, and its activity is being developed in various fields. But it should be stressed that the scientific work of the Institute has only just started. Therefore, it is in great need of help. The Institute has not yet made a sufficiently close approach of the actual problems of the development of the people's economy of Albania and of the use of its wealth. The Party should devote more care to the development of scientific work.

As is known, sports enjoy great popularity in our country. But taking into account the significance of physical culture and sports as an important educational means for the physical tempering of the new generations, for bringing up healthy people of strong will, the Party, the government, the organizations of the masses,

and especially the organizations of physical culture, should give the physical culture a still greater impetus. They should devote greater attention to the organization and development of physical culture and sports among the masses of the people, especially among the youth.

The Communist Party of Albania attaches particular importance to the development of all forms and kinds of cultural and educational, political and scientific work, to the development of the people's education, of the upbringing and teaching of children. The ideas expressed by comrade Stalin on revolutionary and socialist culture, on the use of technology, on the education of communist morals and patriotism, on the communist stand towards work, should serve us as a guide and a program of action, adapted to our national conditions and the requirements of our people[21].

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THE STRENGTHENING OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER OF THE COUNCILS

. . . With the complete liberation of Albania, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was elected at the Congress of Përmet with legislative and executive attributes, was in fact the Provisional People's Assembly. From its election it had governed new Albania through the medium of the Anti-fascist Committee, and was now governing it through the medium of the Democratic

[21] The Congress criticized the Yugoslav revisionists and their lackeys in Albania for their endeavours to introduce the spirit of negating the traditions and cultural values of the Albanian people in the field of education, arts, and culture, and laid down the task that education and culture should be based on the national values, given a deeply socialist content, and become the property of, and serve, the people.

Government of Albania which was appointed at the 2nd Meeting of this same Council in Berat. The tasks of the Anti-fascist Council and of the Democratic Government after liberation were to stabilize the situation created by the war, to undertake the rapid reconstruction of the country, to set up national liberation councils everywhere, and to prepare the people's general elections for the purpose of convening the Constituent Assembly, to definitely decide the form of the regime, and give new Albania its Founding Constitution. After the initial recovery, the Party and the state power were faced with the task of calling together the Constituent Assembly, and the drafting and approval of the Founding Constitution of our new state. The victories of the people had to be consecrated in the Founding Constitution. The foundations of the people's democracy and our Republic were laid in the mountains, in the bloody war against occupiers and traitors. The convening of the Constituent Assembly, the proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania, and the approval of the Constitution represented the aspirations of our people. The Party and the government fulfilled these desires. On December 2, 1945, the election day, which has great historic importance for our people, they voted freely to elect their representatives, and with the political maturity gained in the course of the great war of liberation, they knew how to make proper use of the right to vote. In the regimes of the past they had lost this right, because of the anti-popular and anti-democratic character of the election laws; the will of the people was trampled underfoot and there was only the whip of the prefects and sub-prefects. But on December 2, 1945 the people elected their own men and defined their duties. The instruction of the people was carried out and the People's Republic was proclaimed, the regime of the common people, which represented the aspirations of the people, the interests

and ideals of the working masses. The Constituent Assembly approved the Founding Constitution, which was one of the most progressive of the world. It consecrates the principle that our state power stems from the people and belongs to the people, and in our People's Republic this is not a formal principle. In a country where the people and the Party are in power, the sovereignty of the people is a reality. Our Constitution consecrates the principle of free elections, by direct, universal, equal and secret ballot. The elections to the Constituent Assembly and, later on, the elections to the people's councils of the localities and districts, were carried out on the basis of this great democratic principle. The Constitution consecrates the principle of the right of the electors to recall the representatives of the people, and the people have used this right against all the enemies who worked against their interest. The Constitution defined the rights of citizens and guaranteed their observance. The Constitution laid the foundations, and is the source, of our new legislation.

With the approval and proclamation of the Founding Constitution of our People's Republic, the people's councils were clearly defined as the basis and as organs of the people's power. The people's councils are organs of the people's power in the localities and districts, as well as powerful organizations through which the Party and the state organize the state leadership. Through the medium of the people's councils our Party is linked with the broad working masses in the field of state activity. The work for the organization of the people's councils continued to develop and improve. Although it was in line with the decisions of the Conference of Peza and Labinot, of the Congress of Përmet and the 2nd Meeting of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council held in Berat, this form of organization was not complete. Follow-

ing liberation, the modernization of this state power began and the tasks and competences of the people's councils and their executive committees were broadened, because, as organs of the people's power, they were facing important problems under the new conditions. They had to become a strong weapon in the hands of the Party and of the people's power for the elimination of the remnants of fascism, for the disarming of reaction and the bourgeoisie, for the building of the people's economy, for the all-round running of the country, they had to become a strong weapon for the construction of socialism. The participation of the people could not be limited simply to the election of these councils, but had to be extended to the actual administration of their affairs.

Therefore, the election of new councils in the local administrative units was necessary. The election of the new councils would also bring about a change in their social content. Hostile elements, village kulaks, who became obstacles to the smooth running of the work of the councils and to the implementation of our laws and reforms, had managed to infiltrate into the local organs of our people's power. There are such elements still in the people's councils, but the surge of the work and ruthless struggle should flush them out. Honest persons, loyal to the cause of the people, and from the ranks of the people, who have fought for the people unreservedly, these are the ones who should be in the councils. Workers, poor and middle peasants, and patriots, old and new fighters for the cause of socialism, should be there.

Shortly after the proclamation of the Constitution, the People's Assembly approved the Law on the People's Councils, and later the Law on the Elections to these councils. In the elections of the 15th and 22nd of February this year the participation of the people was overwhelming — 98-99.5 per cent, and 99 per cent of the

participants voted for the Democratic Front. In the 15th of February elections 13,415 representatives of the people and their substitutes, of whom 705 are women, were elected to the people's councils of localities. In the 22nd of February elections, 4,520 members and their substitutes, including 309 women, of worker, peasant, artisan, and office worker, social composition, were elected to the district people's councils. According to the Law on the People's Councils, we had such councils in localities, districts, and prefectures. This law also provided for people's councils in the communes. But experience of the work showed that this administrative division became a great obstacle to the leading role of the central organs and to the development of the initiative of the local councils in the solution of their problems, and the implementation of the orders and instructions issued from above. The central administration was too far removed from the people. The prefectures and the communes were abolished by a special law, and the work is going much better. Other changes for the better are indispensable for the modernization of our people's power. The number of districts should be reduced somewhat more, especially by merging the district and city committees into single committees so that the working masses of the town will be united more closely and strongly with the poor and middle peasantry.

Our people's councils should be set up on the sound principle of democratic centralism, because they guide the life of the localities in the districts and should carry out their tasks in harmony with the political and economic line of our state power and in keeping with the tasks set by the economic plan of the state. The local interests should be brought into line with the general interests. The decisions and instructions issued by the higher organs are obligatory on the lower organs, and the aim of democratic centralism is to ensure the coordination of the work, the

unity of the work throughout all local organs in conformity with the general interest and with the state plan. On the other hand, democratic centralism gives room for the implementation of the measures of the superior organs in compliance with the specific local conditions. The executive committees, which are the administrative organs of the people's councils, should carry out only those tasks which have been placed within their exclusive competency, and call the council members together for ordinary meetings, at the set time, and report on, and render account of, their work. Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism should be developed in the councils, and complete democracy must be established, for it is only in this way that the control of the masses over their state power and over the persons they have sent to this power can exist. The Party should be vigilant that the state laws and regulations are carried out to the letter, in order to defend the rights and work of the people, to strengthen real democracy in the organs of the state, and ruthlessly attack the enemies, who might infiltrate into these organs with the aim of damaging and hindering the activity of the people's power. Our Party, the loyal leader of our people and state, should adopt all necessary measures for the strengthening and modernization of our state power. This task falls, first of all, on the party member, who should take up his responsibility, and honestly and competently play his leading role in this field, becoming an example in work, in organization, in discipline, and honesty. Only then will he enjoy the sympathy and trust of the people, and only then will the people have faith in him as a leader. Bureaucratism, procrastination and arrogance, should be fought with the greatest severity, for they are alien to the modest man of the people. Those who work in the state organs, and in the first place, the party members, should be well aware that they have been

elected to their posts only to serve the people, and to serve them well and with the greatest justice, and on their part, the Party and people should deal mercilessly with all those who do not act accordingly.

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OUR NATIONAL ARMY

After liberation our army had to be transformed from a partisan army into a modern regular army. Our cadres were inexperienced in this direction, but the Party was aware that our army could not be modernized except on the basis of the experience of the Soviet army, and that the road which our army should follow was that of the Soviet army, that only by relying on the Stalinist military art could our army be strengthened and modernized. After the Berat Plenum, the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia interfered in our army. From the very beginning the General Staff of the Yugoslav army and the CC of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia tried to prevent our army from being orientated towards the Soviet army, and wanted us to look only to the Yugoslav army. Delegation upon delegation of Yugoslav officers came during the years 1945 and 1946 to impose their views on the organization and training of our army. But, seeing clearly the incapability of these Yugoslav military delegations, and making a proper assessment of the Soviet military art, the CC of our Party decided that this was the basis on which our army should be educated. This was a cause for regret and trepidation among the Command of the Yugoslav army, which together with the CC of the CPY wanted our army to be orientated towards the Yugoslav army in every aspect, and in the end, to be merged with the Yugoslav army as one of its armycorps.

During 1946 our army was organized according to the organizational principles of the Soviet military art. By the end of 1946, between the General Staff and the Political Directorate of our army some contradictions over principles appeared. The first severe contradiction emerged over the organizational questions of the army. Our General Staff defended the correct theses based on Soviet experience, while the Political Directorate fought for the erroneous, anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslavs, who insisted that we must mechanically copy the establishment of the Yugoslav army, allegedly as more appropriate to our conditions. This was an open struggle against the Stalin military doctrine, our General Command, and the Commander-in-chief of our army. The General Staff rejected the erroneous theses of the Yugoslav advisers and the Political Directorate, and loyally carried out the line which the Central Committee of the Party and the Commander-in-chief had decided, namely, the modernization of our army should be done on the basis of the experience of the Soviet army, applied in our conditions.

The General Command of the Yugoslav army found strong support among the leading cadres of the Political Directorate, who supported the line of the Political Directorate of the Yugoslav army, and endeavoured to implement its anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet line, whereas the General Staff defended the correct line of our Party[22], the Marxist-Leninist line. All the ideological and political programs as well as the organizational work of the Party in the army were wrong, and badly damaged the Party and the army. The Political Directorate strove to impose

[22] In the General Staff, the correct Marxist-Leninist line, and the directives of the Commander-in-chief were defended, first of all, by comrade Mehmet Shehu, who was its chief, although even in the General Staff there were people who took incorrect positions.

the erroneous views of the Yugoslavs on the General Staff even in connection with the military training and the method of work in the army. In the end, the Political Directorate, at the instigation of the Yugoslavs and of Pëllumb Dishnica, openly proposed to the General Staff the unification of our army with the Yugoslav army, but the General Staff considered this an incorrect, anti-Marxist proposal. Through this proposal the Yugoslavs sought to liquidate the independence of our army as quickly as possible, by liquidating the role of the Commander-in-chief of our army. The Central Committee and the General Secretary condemned these anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet, and anti-Albanian views of the Political Directorate and the Trotskyite Tito group. The contradictions between the Political Directorate and the General Staff were further aggravated until the Yugoslavs considered our army as a hotbed in which chauvinistic and anti-Yugoslav feelings were fermenting within the general framework of the supposed anti-Yugoslav front in Albania. After the second accusation the CC of the CPY brought against the CC of our Party[23], things precipitated also in the military sector. While mobilizing its men in our Political Directorate, and influencing also some comrades of the General Staff, in November 1947 the Command of the Yugoslav army organized the last blow against the line of the Central Committee of our Party, against the General Staff of our army. The 8th Plenum[24], which attacked the general line of our Party, attacked also the line of our Party in the army.

[23] The Central Committee of the CPY brought its second accusation in November 1947.

[24] It was held in February 1948. At this Plenum the hostile activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and their lackeys reached its culmination.

All these grave mistakes in the military sector have impeded our army from going ahead in the road of its modernization at rapid rates.

The road which our army should follow is the road of modernization on the basis of the Soviet experience and military art. Our army should be educated in the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and be inspired with the feeling of loyalty to our people and homeland, with unshakable faith in our Communist Party, in the glorious leadership of our people and in its Central Committee, with unshakable faith in the Soviet Union, in the Bolshevik Party and in the great Stalin, as well as with the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It must become stronger and stand always vigilant for the defence of the interests of our homeland and people, which are connected with the interests of the camp of socialism.

THE STATE SECURITY FORCE

The State Security Force is the keen and beloved weapon of our Party, because it defends the interests of the people and of our socialist state against internal and external enemies. Such being the case, every party member should love and assist the State Security Force, and our people, too, should love and defend this weapon, for by defending it they are defending their own vital interests. Only the enemies of the Party and of the people can think and act differently. Since the day it was founded, the State Security Force has rendered valuable services to the people and the Party by uncovering the hostile activity of internal and external reaction, by successfully uncovering the traitor groups colluding with the Anglo-American espionage agencies, and by decisively smashing these groups whose purpose was to overthrow the people's power. The State Security Force has con-

stantly tracked down the war criminals, captured them, and handed them over to the people's courts. The State Security Force has constantly pursued and fought the fugitive political criminals, most of whom it crushed, and captured, while making life so unbearable for the rest of them that they were forced to leave our country and flee to hostile foreign countries. In this respect, the State Security Force has carried out important duties entrusted to it by the Party and the government, and the results of its work should be properly valued. Nevertheless, grave errors and alien Trotskyite methods borrowed directly from the Yugoslav Trotskyites and applied by Koçi Xoxe[25] have occurred in the line of the State Security. The organizational form in which the same person was simultaneously the Party Secretary for Cadres and the Minister for Internal Affairs, which is an anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist and anti-Bolshevik organizational method, shows that the Party had been placed under the control of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and in this respect impermissible and condemnable acts involving ill-treatment of the party cadres and of the people have been recognized. With his very unclear political and organizational views and his Trotskyite and Ottoman methods, Koçi Xoxe acted in an unlawful and arbitrary manner in the State Security sector, compromising the State Security Force and many people working there, who, in the majority of cases, were

[25] Former Organizational Secretary of the CC of the CPA and Minister for Internal Affairs. He placed himself in the service of the Yugoslav revisionists and acted on their criminal methods in the CPA and in the new Albanian state, endeavouring to achieve the plan of the Yugoslav leadership to unite Albania with the Yugoslav federation. He worked in close collusion with Pandi Kristo, former Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA. The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA unmasked their activity and the 1st Congress of the CPA denounced them as traitors to the country and deviators from Marxism-Leninism.

fully convinced that they were serving the Party correctly. But this was never the correct road of the Party. It was the wrong road of Koçi Xoxe and of the Yugoslav Trotskyites which has been condemned. It cannot be excluded that in this affair, inspired by the Yugoslav Trotskyites and Koçi Xoxe, there could have been individual faults, mistakes committed by individuals working for the State Security Force. Mistakes have been made in other sectors of the work, too, but the Party and the state will re-examine these errors and faults with the greatest justice, bearing in mind the past record in the war and in the Party of the State Security men who have made mistakes. The Party will make every effort to have these State Security men correct their mistakes by consciously acknowledging them and working along the correct line which the Party has laid down. These State Security workers, who have made mistakes, should compensate the Party and the people for their mistakes with good work. The question of the State Security Force should be correctly understood, because there could be dangers in this direction in the grave situations created by the Trotskyite Tito group and its collaborators in our Party. The problems of errors in the line of the State Security work should always be looked at objectively, from the interests of the Party and of the people, and not from personal feelings, for in this situation we must not forget that the enemy is sharpening its knife against the State Security Force, which has been, is, and will always be a merciless weapon for wiping out the enemy. If we jump from one extreme to the other, and do not consider the State Security Force from the standpoint of the Party, then we shall commit a grave mistake. If the party members start to look askance at the State Security, as something alien and harmful, then we will have damaged the Party and the people, will have weakened the State Security Force, will

have removed it from the bosom of the Party and deprived it of help from the Party. This is only to the advantage of the enemy. Such an incorrect stand is fraught with danger, it discourages the State Security workers, who will find themselves scorned, avoided, and as a result they will hesitate to carry out the glorious, important and very dangerous function with which the Party and the state have charged them, and therefore the struggle against the enemy will be weakened. This could be grist to the mill of the enemy. We would be digging the grave of the people's power with our own hands. The State Security workers, who are loyal and resolute men of the Party, should honestly acknowledge their mistakes like communists, and combat them, must guard against repeating them, and march along the correct road indicated by the Party and the state. On the other hand, they should have more confidence in themselves, they should be vigilant in defence of the interests of the Party and the people, they should be among the most beloved of the people. They should have not the slightest mercy on the enemy and no hesitation in attacking it. The Party should know that the State Security Force is a special weapon which has its own rules and secrets that the Central Committee of the Party and the state have laid down and that cannot possibly be disclosed to anyone, even to party members in cells or committees. The leadership of the Party will define the correct road for the State Security Force, it will define this road on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and these will be implemented with the utmost rigour and vigilance, because this is what the interests of the people and Party require, and the Party does not allow any other road. Every party member should know that the secrets of the state must not become common talk, and even more should the forms of work of the State Security Force be guarded with the greatest secrecy, for this is a

very delicate weapon in struggle every hour of every day with the agents of the enemies of our people, our Party, and the socialist camp. Party members should never forget that the enemy will continually try to smuggle into our Party camouflaged agent provocateurs, to infiltrate such people into our state apparatus and all fields of activity of our country. Our Party, our people, and the state must be protected and in a very special and correct way, on the basis of the directives of the Central Committee of the Party and of the government; the State Security Force, one of our most reliable weapons, will protect them. We should combat the harmful exaggerations noticed here and there at conferences and meetings of activists of the Party in connection with the study of the Resolution of the 11th Plenum[26] on the question of State Security. The severe and just criticism which absolutely must be made of errors observed in the State Security work and of those who have committed them, should not be confused with impermissible demands for disclosure of the organizational forms of this important weapon. It is also necessary to combat the incorrect method of petty and unjust personal criticism, which leads to the demoralization of the cadres and the creation of a state of uncertainty and confusion. The Party does not allow this. The State Security workers should be loyal to the Party and the people, they should thoroughly understand the important task assigned to them, and carry it out with determination. They should

[26] It was held in September 1948 and made an extensive analysis of the political line and activity of the Party. It uncovered the causes of the mistakes and defined the measures for a turn which was dictated by the new historical circumstances. The Plenum labelled as damaging and anti-Marxist the main decisions of the 2nd Plenum and all the decisions of the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, which had been taken as a result of the brutal interference of the Yugoslav leadership and of their lackeys, and strongly condemned them.

be just and kindly with the people, harsh with the enemy. They should thoroughly understand that the State Security defends our state, our Party and our people. This is a sacred duty, therefore the Party and the people must guard this weapon as the apple of their eye, must make it keen and severe on the enemies, must strengthen it from day to day and always keep it in fighting readiness for the defence of the lofty interests of the homeland and of the people.

The Party and the government took the necessary measures and dismissed from the Ministry for Internal Affairs and from the State Security Force all those comrades who had committed grave faults and mistakes in this very important sector, and brought to the leadership of this important department and to other posts of this sector, comrades who will run it along the genuine line of the Party. The difficult tasks entrusted to them they will always carry out under the leadership of the Party, and with the aid of the Party they will purge the State Security Force of the impermissible Trotskyite methods which had infiltrated into it. In the correct party way they will assist all other State Security workers to shake themselves up, and correct themselves so as to become able and competent to carry on with their important task.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF OUR PARTY

A. *The international relations of the new Albanian state.* — From the day of its creation our Party has always maintained a resolute, correct and consistent political stand towards the Soviet Union and the other allies of the war years. Our Party, inspired by Marxism-Leninism, firmly relying on, and never departing from, the immortal teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, with the greatest determination linked its struggle and the struggle

of its people closely with that of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The correct policy of the Soviet Union and its glorious role in leading the liberation war against nazism and fascism, was a correct guide for our Party. The consolidation of the great and sincere friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union, our correct policy, meant that our Party made no mistakes in its road, and as a result, it achieved great successes for its people. Over the war years, fascism, the Albanian quislings, and reaction endeavoured through a thousand ruses to blacken the correct policy of the Party towards the Soviet Union and to impede it from reaching the broad masses of our people and being adopted wholeheartedly by them. But fascism and reaction failed. The mighty deed of Lenin and Stalin, the invincible strength of the Soviet Union, became the main support of our people in their bloody war. From the rank-and-file partisan to the supreme commander, from isolated cottages in the depths of our mountains to the cities, at the time when the war was raging, in the heart of the ordinary Albanians the name of the Soviet Union and of Stalin were symbols of their greatest hope for the realization of their dreams. There they saw the example for their future life and for the life of the new generations of Albania. This great faith in the motherland of socialism, forged by our Party, made our people fight with such heroic spirit and self-sacrifice, not only because they were confident in the victory over fascism, but also because after liberation and forever afterwards, they would build a better life in their liberated country with the aid, support, and powerful protection of the Soviet Union. Our people understood very well that they would never again become a commodity to be bartered, and that any intrigues and threats of imperialism against our country would always be crushed, because little Albania would no longer be isolated and at the mercy of the

storms that American and British imperialism would raise to hurl the world into a third shambles. Our people regarded the anti-fascist alliance of the great powers during the war through the prism of the correct policy of the Soviet Union. Our Party and people remained loyal to the end to this alliance because at the head of this alliance, and the decisive factor in it, was the Soviet Union. Our people proved their loyalty to this alliance by shedding the blood of their best sons, and the Party led the war resolutely and uncompromisingly to the end. Being profoundly aware that the Soviet Union was bearing the brunt of the war, and seeing the manoeuvres of American and British reaction which during the war years, under its pseudo-democratic and anti-popular banner, sought to regroup reaction to weaken the Soviet Union, our Party and people hurled themselves with still greater courage and heroism into the war for the fulfilment of their dreams, regardless of the sacrifices, loyal to the end to the Soviet Union.

After the liberation of Albania, too, our Party continued to follow this correct and consistent policy. The great love for the Soviet Union, for the Bolshevik Party, and for comrade Stalin, was the steel foundation of the entire internal and external policy of our Party and state. It was impossible to carry out the reconstruction of Albania, just as it was impossible for our people to win the war, without further cementing the love for the Soviet Union. Only thus can the indescribable enthusiasm of the broad masses of our people, the mighty work of reconstruction, and the great progress of new Albania and of people's democracy in our country be explained. All the reconstruction projects, whether in the economic, cultural or social field, rely heavily on the love for, confidence in, and the aid of, the Soviet Union. . .

In every step ahead by our working class, our peasantry — which emerged into light — our heroic youth, the Albanian women, and all the other working masses and patriotic people, all of them, had in their minds and hearts the Soviet Union and comrade Stalin, and this made them stronger and more capable of honourably carrying out their duties towards the homeland, just as they did their duty during the war with the name of comrade Stalin on their lips.

As we will see shortly, American and British imperialism attacked new Albania, the people's democracy in our country, with the greatest ferocity. The American and British imperialists many times threatened the independence and sovereignty of our country. They made many attempts at a landing here, organized internal reaction and sabotage, denied our heroic people all their international rights, and by means of slander tried to represent little new Albania as a country disturbing peace and world security. But all these efforts of the American and British imperialists met with complete failure, because new Albania and our people's democracy were defended heroically by the Soviet Union. The salvation of our country and people from these extremely dangerous storms is due to the Soviet Union, to the correct and heroic policy of our Party, and to the heroism of the Albanian people. The postwar policy of the Soviet Union is the policy of defence of peace and security, defence of the rights of nations, big and small, from the threats of a third world war, in which the American and British imperialists together with their satellites are trying to embroil the world anew. With majesty and power, the Soviet Union exposes all the manoeuvres, blackmail, and threats of the American and British imperialists. This heroic stand and this ruthless denunciation have made all the progressive people of the world aware of the inten-

tions of the imperialist and anti-democratic camp, headed by the United States of America. The imperialist and anti-democratic camp, with the USA at the head, which is rallying to its colours the whole of world reaction and neo-fascism, is preparing to hurl the world into a new war, more terrible than the last one. American imperialism is stepping up its efforts to restore German and Japanese fascism, and through the pro-American parties which are now in office in France, Italy, and elsewhere, it seeks to crush the progressive peoples, the working class and their leadership, the communist parties, and to establish its hegemony in these countries. With its enslaving Marshall plan American imperialism wants to turn all the West European countries and the countries of other continents into colonies. American imperialism is building military bases and strongholds everywhere, in preparation for an eventual third world war. It is openly helping the fascists in Greece, Spain, Indonesia, China, etc., to continue the civil wars against the progressive peoples in these countries, and against the establishment of the sovereignty of the peoples and people's democracy. At the same time American imperialism intends to use these hotbeds of war so as to kindle war on a broader, international scale. In countless flagrant provocations, American and British imperialism and their satellites are deliberately trying to create an atmosphere of war. But all their attempts are thoroughly exposed by the correct, firm, and farsighted policy of Stalin. The glorious policy of Stalin arms all the progressive peoples of the world so that they can understand what American imperialism is up to and its aims, and be able to combat these aims effectively. Today the imperialist and anti-democratic front, headed by American imperialism, is confronted by the staunch and powerful democratic and anti-imperialist camp,with the glorious Soviet Union at its head. In the

democratic and anti-imperialist camp the new people's democracies and all the progress-loving peoples of the world have arrayed themselves, determined to defend peace and freedom with all their might. In face of this great strength, all the efforts of imperialism to disrupt this camp with threats of economic and political war have failed. The imperialists thought that the Second World War would weaken the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and thus they would be able to interfere in the internal affairs of these countries, and rob them of the victories they had achieved. But the Soviet Union emerged stronger than ever from this war. It stood and remains an unconquerable bastion in defence of peace and of all progressive, freedom-loving peoples.

Just as the liberation of our country is connected with the Soviet Union, so our postwar achievements in the political and economic field are linked with it, too. The representatives of the Soviet Union, with comrade Molotov, the right hand of comrade Stalin, at the head, have everywhere and always defended the rights of our people in the international arena. The policy of Stalin has supported new Albania and our people's democracy with might and main; thanks to this policy all the attempts of reaction, their threats and intervention in the internal affairs of our country, have been exposed. The Soviet Union has been and will always be the powerful and glorious supporter of our people on the correct and peaceful road they have taken. Parallel with this powerful defence in the international arena, right from the first days after liberation, the Soviet Union has aided Albania to build up its own economy. The trade and economic agreements with our state and the all-round aid of the Soviet government to our people have enabled our country to forge ahead, to make progress in every sector, and the life of the people has improved. The aid accorded by the So-

viet government has been the only real aid on a Stalinist basis, from which our people have benefited immeasurably, and they recognize this gratefully. Both directly and through the organization of reaction within the country, through the organization of sabotage, Anglo-American imperialism and the Trotskyite Tito group have striven with all their might to divide Albania from the Soviet Union, to dim the great love of our people for the Soviet Union, to undermine our Party and our people's power, so as to enslave our people. But all these sinister plans have been foiled, because our Party and people fought and exposed them, and the policy of our Party remained firm in the face of the manoeuvres of the enemy. Our Party and our people are linked in an unbreakable alliance with the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. Because of its heroic struggle and the great support of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, our country enjoys great sympathy in the international arena and among the progressive people of the world. Despite the innumerable slanders by American and British imperialism and its satellites, the sympathy our people have justly earned, far from being weakened, will increase from day to day. Our country is linked in close alliance with the fraternal Bulgarian people and this alliance is growing stronger. Our state is bound by close ties of friendship with Rumania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and fraternal relations are maintained between us and their peoples. Our people have linked their fate with that of the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and will remain loyal to the end to this correct, vital policy. Our Communist Party and our people are the guarantee of this. Our people's democracy and our state stand strongly aligned on the side of the democratic camp and will defend with might and main the correct and peaceful policy of the democratic and anti-imperialist

camp, the correct, far-sighted and peaceful policy of the great Stalin.

Our Party and people have a great love and admiration for the fraternal democratic Greek people, who have carried on with such heroism their struggle for liberation for many years on end. It is not possible that our people could fail to feel in their hearts the great suffering of the Greek people from the tragedy caused by the Anglo-Americans, who have interfered militarily in that country in the most brutal manner. Violating every international law, the Americans are drowning an entire people in blood, and the responsibility of this tragedy falls on them, and only on them and their lackeys, the bloodthirsty fascists of Athens. We wholeheartedly love the fraternal Greek people, outstanding fighters for freedom and democracy, and our people are with them in their gigantic efforts, because we recall our common struggle waged against the Italian and German occupiers, the countless sacrifices and sufferings we endured together for the liberation of our countries from the heavy bondage of fascism and capitalists. But the heroic Greek people did not succeed in winning victory, as the Albanian people did. The base and brutal intervention by Anglo-American imperialism caused the continuation of the war on Greek soil. But the Greek people have not been subdued, and under the leadership of the Greek Communist Party they are fighting with heroism and achieving successes. The heroic Greek democratic army has defeated the successive efforts of the enemy. Under the leadership of the Greek Communist Party, the Greek people and their army exposed and repelled the offensive of the British, they are defeating the joint offensives by the monarcho-fascists and the Americans one after another. The fraternal Greek people are invincible, and they are bound to triumph, for old and young are fighting there with

heroism and self-sacrifice against the Americans and the Greek fascists for their freedom and independence. Through a thousand plots, slanders, blackmail, the American and British imperialists and all their lackeys are trying to lay the blame on us for the great defeats they are suffering at the hands of the Greek democratic army, accusing us of interference, of supplying arms, and of many other non-existent things. But all their manoeuvres have been thoroughly exposed, because they are nothing but monstrous slanders whose only aim is to make us responsible for what is happening in Greece. Our state has never interfered and will never interfere in the internal affairs of Greece, and our alleged supply of the Greek democratic army with arms is nothing but a base slander, invented by the Anglo-American governments and their agencies such as UNSCOB[27]. The Albanian people have not supplied and will not supply the Greek democratic army with weapons, because they will never allow themselves to interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. If international reaction considers the great love of our people for the Greek people, and the great admiration and joy felt by our people at the victories of the heroic Greek democratic army as weapons, then we have already said and will say again, that love for the fraternal Greek people is growing day by day in the hearts of our people. The Americans and the British know very well that we have not interfered and will not interfere in the internal affairs of Greece. But they put out this slander with the express purpose of covering up and justifying their brutal interference, of oppressing the Greek people and giving military aid to the fascists of Athens. At the same time they are doing these things also in order to extend the

[27] UNSCOB — United Nations Special Commission On the Balkans.

international conflict, and this is the purpose of all their base accusations against Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and of the innumerable provocations they have committed and are committing along our Southern borders. But none of their threats can intimidate us, because the correct policy of our Party and state, the vigilance and powerful defence of our people and army, as well as the glorious policy of the Soviet Union and of the anti-imperialist democratic camp, will defeat all the manoeuvres and intrigues of Anglo-American imperialism.

Our people have provided and will provide asylum to the Greek refugees, to innocent men, women and children, who have come to us pursued, maimed, and terrorized by the monarcho-fascist beasts, solely because they are democrats and sons of democrats. The Constitution of our People's Republic and the just, democratic policy of our government provide for refuge for those persecuted for patriotic and democratic activity. But the Albanian government has always maintained a correct stand towards Greek militarymen, whether democrats or monarcho-fascists, who have crossed our borders. They have always been taken prisoner, disarmed, and interned in concentration camps.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania has always followed a peaceful policy of good neighbourliness towards Greece, and has always expressed its goodwill towards the ending, as soon as possible, of the tense situation created on our Southern borders because of the aggressive policy of the monarcho-fascist government of Athens, which is instigated and supported by the Anglo-American imperialists.

The Albanian government has always been ready to collaborate within the United Nations for the correct solution of the Greek problem. Even now it reiterates its readiness to reconsider the question of establishing diplo-

matic relations with the government of Athens, if it shows signs of renouncing its provocative and war-mongering policy, and of abandoning its insane territorial claims at the expense of our country. The proposals of our delegation to the present session of the General Assembly of the United Nations are inspired by this peaceful policy of goodwill. In this respect, the Albanian government unreservedly supports the draft-resolution presented by the Soviet delegation on October 29, 1948, which, after stigmatizing those who are truly to blame for the civil war in Greece, among other things, recommends the establishment of diplomatic relations between Greece, on the one hand, and Albania and Bulgaria, on the other, the signing of border conventions between Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Albania, as well as the settlement of the question of refugees in a spirit of mutual understanding, in order that good neighbourly relations may be re-established.

The government of the People's Republic of Albania is also considering with great attention the proposal put forward on November 5, 1948, in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations, which recommends the immediate meeting in Paris of the representatives of the Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugoslav governments, who will probe the possibility of achieving an accord on the methods and procedure to be adopted for the settlement of disagreements existing among them.

In this case too, inspired, as always, by its peaceful democratic policy, it is again ready to hold properly constituted talks for the solution of the Greek problem and for the establishment of normal relations with Greece.

Thus, the foreign policy of our Party and state will be the strengthening and steeling of the love for, and loyalty towards, the Soviet Union. Our Party and people will pursue with the greatest loyalty and will fight with

all their strength in defence of the Stalinist policy . . . United with the Soviet Union on its correct road, united with the democratic anti-imperialist camp, our people will march with great determination towards socialism, for the defence of peace and security in the world. This is the line of our Party in its foreign policy.

B. *The struggle against the Anglo-American interference.* — The Anglo-American imperialists have always endeavoured to use Albania as an object of barter in their international transactions, to turn it into a base of capitalist exploitation and observation, intrigue, and war in the Balkans.

In their aggressive expansionist policy against the socialist camp, with the Soviet Union at its head, they have centred their attacks on the People's Republic of Albania, because they take it for a weak spot, and think that our country, owing to its position, is a dagger in the heart of the imperialist plans.

They have never ceased their disgraceful efforts to harm our people and fight our democracy.

The British and American missions, which came to Albania during the war years, gave us very little aid in arms and ammunition, which is what they were supposed to have come for, but they had other aims. During the war period we were in constant conflict with them. These missions had come to weaken the war of our people, and not to assist it; they tried to, and did make contact with the "Balli Kombëtar" and its chiefs, who were openly collaborating with the Italian and German occupiers; they tried to organize and to strengthen the position of reaction; they strove to and succeeded in creating the "Legaliteti" so as to play the card of Zog; they tried to hinder our war against the quislings and traitors; they threatened us; they made an attempt at landing in our country dur-

ing the war. But all these actions were exposed, and the plans of the British and American missions miscarried. After the liberation of Albania they stayed on in Albania, allegedly to prepare for the recognition of Albania and its government. But their aim was something else. Following the defeat internal reaction suffered in Albania, the American and British reaction tried to pull it together, to encourage and organize it, so as to launch it into struggle against the people's power. In this way it tried to make a second Greece of Albania. In all the actions of traitors in Albania the direct inspirers and organizers have been British or American officials of the missions in Tirana. This has been proved and documented. But all these efforts failed, too. The Albanian people were vigilant in defence of their homeland, freedom, independence, democracy, and the victories of the war. Our people had strong nerves, and neither the threats nor the blackmail of the Anglo-Americans could shake them, even for a moment. Although they saw that their plans in our country had failed, and their aggressive intentions were exposed before the world, the Anglo-Americans did not lay down their arms. They began a fierce international campaign against our country. With utter shamelessness, the Anglo-Americans have denied us our rights which we have earned with bloodshed; they have created incidents, such as that at Saranda, entirely concocted by the British; they incite the Greek monarcho-fascists to carry out provocations on our borders day by day, to kill our soldiers, claim Korça and Gjirokastra, and other such base acts. American and British reaction accused our country of being an aggressor country, which endangers peace, of being the cause of the war in Greece, and of allegedly supplying the Greek fighters with arms and ammunition. Such are the endeavours of Anglo-American reaction against our

country, but all these base, slanderous attempts will fail, just as their first attempts did.

During the war, the American and British missions which had attached themselves to the General Staff of the National Liberation Army, which was an allied army, acted as enemies. They sabotaged our war, attempted to impede the victories of the National Liberation Front of our people, and after liberation, to maintain in power a feudal-bourgeois government which would do their bidding. There are ample facts:

1. — In their propaganda, the American and British governments presented our war against the occupiers and traitors in a distorted light. On October 20, 1943 the British officer, Peter Kemp, wrote the following: ". . . When the BBC commended the 'Balli Kombëtar', it meant to commend the national liberation movement".

2. — The British and American missions collaborated with the quisling groups and governments and were in contact with the German occupiers. They gave aid in arms, ammunition, and food, to the "Balli Kombëtar", "Legaliteti" and to Abaz Kupi, as well as to the groups of Muharrem Bajraktari, and Fiqri Dine, all of whom were flagrantly compromised and in close collaboration with the Germans. A British mission headed by Colonel McLean, stayed with the war criminal Abaz Kupi up to the last day before liberation; Major Neil, who on the eve of the liberation of Albania strolled with the German officers of the Gestapo in the streets of Shkodra, stayed with the criminals Gjon Marka Gjon and Kolë Bib Mirakaj. The British mission, headed by Major Peter Kemp, Major Riddle and Captain Hands stayed at the headquarters of the quislings Fiqri Dine, Xhem Gostivari and Hysni Dema. An American mission stayed with the quisling Skënder Muço in Dukat of Vlora.

On November 3, 1943, Major Riddle wrote to Colonel Haxhi Lleshi[28], requesting him to cease fighting against the quislings Fiqri Dine, Xhem Gostivari, Hysni Dema, and others.

On July 14, 1944, R.A.F. Rear Admiral William Elliot, on behalf of the Allied Mediterranean High Command threatened General Hoxha[29] that if he attacked the bands of the criminal Abaz Kupi, he "would be forced to cut off all supplies to the ANLA".

This letter of Rear Admiral Elliot was accompanied by a verbal ultimatum by Colonel Palmer, who at the most critical moment, when our 1st Division was completely engaged in action against the Germans, threatened to cut off arms supplies to our division. Our General Staff did not accept this view of Rear Admiral Elliot and rejected the ultimatum of Colonel Palmer, thus making all the British officers staying in Albania responsible for any loss that our division might suffer as a result of such an arbitrary and unjust act, because Abaz Kupi, protected by the Allied Mediterranean High Command, was a traitor who collaborated openly with the Germans, and because his mercenary forces had aligned themselves on the one front with the Germans against our National Liberation Army. Complete evidence of all the treacherous activity of Abaz Kupi in collaboration with the Germans is contained in the German documents in the hands of the government of the People's Republic of Albania.

3. — It has been proved and borne out by documents that the American and British missions, on the eve of the complete liberation of Albania, evacuated the principal Albanian quislings Mehdi Frashëri, Abaz Kupi, Mithat Frashëri, Ali Këlcyra and others and sent them by sea

[28] Member of the General Staff of the ANLA and of the National Liberation General Council.

[29] Colonel-General Enver Hoxha.

to Italy to save them from the vengeance of the people and to keep them in reserve for their hostile plans against the People's Republic of Albania and against the Albanian people.

4. — In order to impede the victory of the National Liberation Front and the establishment of the people's power in Albania, the American and British governments entered into an agreement with the German nazis and made an attempt at landing in Albania:

a) It has been proved that three German majors, who directed the operations against the partisans, were attached to the staff of Xhem Gostivari and Fiqri Dine. The agents of the Gestapo, Helmut Mauth and Victor Pen, captured by our officers with all their documents, have admitted the following before the people's court:

"Per medium of Major Neil, the 11th German army-corps acting in the Shkodra zone received the proposal to collaborate with the British forces that would land in Albania".

b) In September 1944, when the National Liberation Army was in a position not only to carry out isolated actions, but also to wage a frontal war against the Germans, Colonel Palmer, head of the British military mission in Albania, in his letter dated September 16, 1944, demanded from the General Staff of the National Liberation Army authorization to land a number of special troops. Because these troops were unnecessary Colonel Palmer was not authorized to land them.

All these criminal plans and manoeuvres of the Anglo-American imperialists were destroyed by the revolutionary drive of the war of our people, who were led by the glorious Communist Party and had the decisive aid of the Soviet Union. Albania was liberated, the people triumphed, the people's power was established, and an immo-

vable barrier was raised once and for all against the intervention of the imperialist wolves.

After liberation, the Albanian people had every right to expect the establishment of normal friendly relations with their former wartime allies. But in this period the American and British governments pursued a policy even more brutal than before towards new democratic Albania, a policy which can fairly be described as war; war on the internal plane, war on the international plane, to overthrow our people's power by any means and to do away with our independence and territorial integrity. This war is an inseparable part of the main war between the imperialist camp and the socialist camp, to which our People's Republic adheres with all its might.

On the internal plane, this war is carried out in these forms:

a) refusal to recognize the government;

b) attempt at armed intervention;

c) espionage, sabotage, and plots to overthrow the people's power by force.

From the time of the Berat Meeting the Democratic Government of Albania sought recognition by the allied governments[30]. They did not recognize our government, and after liberation enlarged their missions in Albania, allegedly to gather information on the situation of the country prior to recognizing the government. In the period February-March 1945 the British mission was enlarged and General D.E.P. Hodgson became its head; in May 1945 an American civil mission arrived with J.E. Jacobs as its chief, and the veteran agent of American imperialism in Albania, Harry M. Fultz, as its deputy chief.

[30] This request was made on October 23, 1944 by the Democratic Government of Albania at the 2nd Meeting of the Antifascist National Liberation Council, held in the liberated town of Berat from the 20th to the 23rd of October 1944.

At the same time, there were also American officers such as Thoma Stefani and others who had been in Albania for a long time.

These missions engaged in widespread criminal activity, and from the beginning had the active aid of the Military Liaison (M.L.) Mission. But they could not fail to see the strength of the people's power, the firm stand of our government against their manoeuvres, the links of the people with the government, the successes achieved by the people's power. Their pretexts, "We are still unclear about the situation", could no longer hold water, therefore they had to make another move to avoid complete exposure. Thus, on November 10 and 12, 1945, at a time when the election campaign for the Constituent Assembly was in full swing, in order to influence these elections, the British and American governments informed the Albanian government that they were ready to recognize it, "but on certain conditions". This semi-recognition was a political manoeuvre intended to arouse uncertainty among the people on the eve of the elections, in order to prevent the Front from winning a big percentage of the votes in the elections, so that they would have a way open for their new pressures and interference against the people's power. But the landslide victory of the Democratic Front ruined their sinister plans. The British conditions providing for "free" elections and free access for foreign correspondents to Albania for them to report the elections were nonsensical, because our government and the Election Law had ensured all these conditions. And so the British government was forced to complete the formalities of recognition and to appoint its minister to Albania, Thomas Cecil Rapp, who never came to Tirana, as we will see later. The American conditions were more tricky, more hostile: in addition to "free" elections, the American government demanded that we re-

cognize the old treaties signed by satrap Ahmet Zog with the United States of America. For a whole year, the American government, through Jacobs and its agents inside and outside Albania, through its representatives at international conferences, especially at that of Paris, and at the Security Council, left no stone unturned and resorted to all sorts of pressure to force the Albanian government to recognize these treaties. But our Party and government held out to the bitter end, because to have recognized these treaties would have meant that the doors of Albania would be opened to American imperialism, which would realize its intentions in this way and transform our country into a second Greece.

Then, the British government decided to use the non-arrival of its minister as a means to exert pressure and extort concessions, which our government could not agree to.

When this manoeuvre failed too, the British government resorted to another intrigue:

On May 18, 1946, the British minister in Belgrade handed our minister there a Note of his government through which it declared that it would send its minister to Tirana immediately. Twenty minutes later, the British minister in Belgrade withdrew the said Note from our legation on the pretext that he had been informed that two British warships, the Superb and the Orion, had been shelled by our coastal batteries in the Corfu Channel on the 15th of May, 1946. This clumsy comedy of the British government is typical of the manoeuvres and diabolic intrigues and dirty provocations concocted by the British imperialists to break off its diplomatic relations with us, which in fact had never been established.

In the light of numerous facts it comes out clear that the American and British reactionaries had intended to use the question of the recognition of our government as

a weapon, both to exercise pressure and to blackmail our government, and to encourage the enemies of our people's power inside Albania as well as the war criminals abroad.

Since the time of the war the Anglo-Americans wanted to land their troops in Albania. It is the great merit of the Party that it did not permit the imperialist troops to land, thus saving the country from another dreadful occupation. Besides their demands of the 16th and 19th of September, 1944, the imperialists made later attempts at direct armed intervention in Albania, such as the demand of Field-Marshal Alexander on January 22, 1945, that an allied military mission should be replaced with a very large British military personnel headed by a general. Our government and Party rejected this request, and agreed only that until the recognition of the government, the former mission alone, which in fact was made up exclusively of British officers, should stay in Albania. Of course, the ultimatum of Field-Marshal Alexander did not fail to arrive, and to demand that "it be made particularly clear to General Hoxha that, in case he did not wish to accept the proposal for a mission, such an act would necessarily delay the recognition even further". He wanted a reply within "three or four days at most".

In appearance, this new mission of the British government was to gather information about the situation in Albania prior to recognizing the government. In fact, this new mission was to serve as the vanguard of a large-scale armed intervention. This was proved later on with the arrival of the Military Liaison (M.L.) Mission, which was allegedly to bring in aid, till UNRRA[31] began to function.

[31] UNRRA (United Nations Relief Rehabilitation Administration) was created under the Constitutional Agreement signed in June 1943 by 44 allied nations. The American and British impe-

The head of the Military Mission (M.L.) presented our government with a condition sine qua non, that is, if his terms were refused, it would be impossible for UNRRA aid to reach Albania. What were the conditions presented by the M.L. to our government? The first condition was the landing of 1,500 to 1,700 British officers and technicians in Albania to see to the distribution of the aid to be brought by this organization. This personnel would be stationed in the ports of Durrës and Vlora and elsewhere, in allocated areas of these ports, that is all the ports of Albania would be in their hands and occupied by them. This all-too-clear move was turned down categorically. Neither the number of persons nor the other proposals of the M.L. were accepted. In face of the stand of the Albanian government the M.L. was forced to reduce its figure of personnel to 80 persons.

The objectives of the M.L. were clear: to occupy Albania by means of armed forces, and at the same time, to organize an uprising from within and thus overthrow the democratic government, the people's power. These bandit-like manoeuvres against a small heroic people who had sacrificed themselves for their freedom and independence were disguised under allegedly philanthropic desires. However, they were unmasked and foiled by our Party which understood very well what the imperialists were up to.

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rialists who dominated this organization used it as a cloak to organize espionage and diversionist activities against the regimes in the countries of the people's democracy and against the revolutionary, democratic, and liberation movements in the other countries of Europe. UNRRA representatives came to Albania in 1945. They engaged in a blatantly hostile, intelligence and diversionist activity attempting to organize internal reaction against the people's democratic regime.

The Anglo-Americans tried to co-ordinate their landing in Albania with internal movements and plots, as was the case with the events at Shkodra in September 1946[32], which cannot be separated from the socalled Corfu Channel incident. At the same time, by using monarcho-fascist Greece, they endeavoured to create a favourable situation for their armed intervention in Albania. But again their plans were foiled.

Although the Albanian government had good reason to maintain quite a different stand towards them, it always treated the American and British missions with generosity. Both General Hodgson and Mr. Jacobs, and Mr. Fultz as well as all other members of the missions, could circulate freely throughout Albania and meet whomever they wished. Facts bear out that their allegations about the Albanian government impeding "their work", not allowing them "to circulate freely", and about the missions "being confined in Tirana within their office buildings" are simply slanders. The very documents signed by General Hodgson and Jacobs in many cases prove this. Every facility they requested from the Albanian authorities was granted immediately. They themselves were present at, and expressed their congratulations on, the elections to the Constituent Assembly on December 2, 1945.

But they responded in a very different way to these acts of good will on the part of the Albanian government.

In July 1945, when he went to South Albania, General Hodgson expressed himself precisely in the following

[32] On September 9, 1946, a band of about 450 counterrevolutionaries, directly instigated by the Anglo-Americans and by a group of traitorous deputies, attacked the city of Shkodra from three directions. This attack was meant to serve as the starting point for the Anglo-American military intervention in Albania to overthrow the people's power. This "uprising" was crushed by the military forces and the people in a matter of a few hours.

manner: "The form of the Albanian government is a dictatorship". Speaking of the border provocations by the Greeks, General Hodgson said precisely this to the commander of our 3rd Division: "The provocations carried out by the Greeks are nothing but greetings". In connection with the elections General Hodgson said: "The elections in Albania are held in the 'Kosova' cinema at the point of partisan bayonets".

When the British military mission left Durrës, the British officer Neil declared publicly: "We shall return in another way". It would take a whole book to recount all the interference by the British mission in the internal affairs of Albania. But here we shall confine ourselves to quoting only one document signed by a high British official in Albania, a document which contains the secret and confidential report P.L. — SEC-L-54-5, dated April 6, 1946 addressed to his office: "It should be recalled that Brigadier-General Hodgson, who was in command of the British military mission, adopted an uncompromising attitude towards the Albanian government. He always expressed himself as opposed to Albania in the most brutal manner. He would often boast about having said: 'Out with Hoxha'. In the beginning General Hodgson was given all facilities to travel freely everywhere in Albania, and the fact that these facilities were later restricted is entirely the result of his own attitude, but despite this up till the last day of his stay in Albania, General Hodgson always adopted a truculent position."

The Americans Jacobs, Fultz, and Henderson behaved in the same way.

But parallel with this, you might say almost legal, but openly hostile activity, the British and American missions in Albania also engaged in all-round illegal activity aimed at smashing our people's power and the very existence of our independent and sovereign state.

The British and American missions in Tirana were downright agencies of espionage, sabotage and armed plots. They became centres for rallying, making contact with, organizing and directing all the enemies of our people, the war criminals and beys, agas and merchants hit by our reforms, the clique of reactionary intellectuals, old-time officers, spies, immoral women, and all the garbage of our country, all the enemies of the state power and the Albanian people. They became workshops where plots, sabotage, and assassinations were prepared, along with plans for armed attacks on our towns, and the landing of foreign troops.

In trials of the people versus Sami Qeribashi,[33] versus the Maliq saboteurs[34] and the group of deputies, the long-continued, consistently hostile activity of the Anglo-American imperialists against our people was thoroughly exposed, their plans, tactics and methods, their sworn enmity to our people, to our people's power, to all people's democracies and the Soviet Union, were all laid bare.

After the liberation of Albania, 95 British officers, as members of the British military mission, more than 50 Americans of the military and civil mission, 101 members of the M.L. Mission and of UNRRA came to Albania via Bari, all of them agents and spies of imperialism.

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[33] Reactionary element, head of the counter-revolutionary group of "Democrats", who, in the service of the Anglo-American imperialists, attempted to organize the struggle against the people's power in Albania. In January 1946 he was arrested and handed over to the people's court.

[34] The American mission, in particular, had undertaken to disorganize the economy through sabotage in the chief projects of construction and production. Groups of saboteurs, made up of sold-out bourgeois specialists, acted under its directions to sabotage the draining of the Maliq marsh, to set fire to the oil installations in Kuçova (today Stalin City), and elsewhere.

The trial of Sami Qeribashi, Gjergj Kokoshi, and others, revealed the hostile role of Colonel Palmer and Major Smith, while the case of the Maliq saboteurs exposed Harry Fultz. But the trial of the traitorous deputies brought to light the entire hostile policy of the Anglo-American imperialists in Albania.

The British mission, together with the Italian fascists left in Albania, organized the burning of Kuçova in 1944. The American mission organized the sabotage at Maliq. They organized the group of deputies, whose "central committee" had established links with Hodgson, Fultz, Jacobs, and the functionaries of UNRRA; they organized sabotage at Kuçova, Patos, Rubik; through correspondence they maintained contact with war criminals such as Jup Kazazi and Muharrem Bajraktari, and the other war criminals who had found refuge in Italy and Greece. They had trained their agents for information and sabotage in Albania years ago. The people's courts brought into the open the long-standing, rabidly hostile activity of the American agent and bandit, Harry Fultz.

The British and American missions in Albania endeavoured to rally and organize all the enemies of the people's power, the fugitive war criminals, to put them in touch with the war criminals fled to Italy and Greece, to co-ordinate the activities of these persons and groups opposed to the state power with the monarcho-fascist provocations and claims, with the incidents in the Corfu Channel, with the international conferences and with the frenzied campaigns of the reactionary press in the service of imperialism, against the people's power, against the territorial integrity, against the independence and the very existence of our people, as well as against the entire democratic, anti-imperialist camp, to carry out an Anglo-American landing in Albania. But this landing never took place nor will it ever do so. The reckoning of the enemies

of our country and people turned out wrong and had unpleasant results for them.

The Anglo-American imperialists have systematically opposed the recognition of our rights in the international arena. True, Albania is a small country, but in the international arena it, too, has its own place and importance, it has its interests and rights to defend and which it must make others respect. The People's Republic of Albania is a positive factor in the defence of peace and security in the world, and occupies a place of honour in the powerful camp of democracy, in the camp of the struggle against the imperialist schemes. The character and achievements of the people's power in Albania, the correct, peaceful, and democratic policy of our democratic government, its consistent struggle for the defence of our national interests abroad, our loyal friendship with the Soviet Union, and our bonds with all the other countries of people's democracy as well as with all progressive peoples of the world, have strengthened the international position of our country. The fact that the Anglo-Americans and their lackeys are waging an unjust and dishonest campaign against the Albanian people and their people's democracy justifies the role of our democracy in defence of peace and world security, and likewise justifies the correct and prudent policy of the government of our Republic.

The representatives of the British and American governments have taken a clear-cut stand in opposition to the rights of Albania at all the international conferences and organizations:

a) At the Conference on Reparations from Germany, held in Paris in 1945, the American and British representatives tried to prevent Albania from taking part in it, but they failed, and all they were able to do was to see that the conference allocated us a very small sum, which

bears no comparison with the damage we suffered and the sacrifices we made during the war.

b) From the time of the San Francisco Conference up until today the admission of Albania to the UNO has been persistently opposed by the USA and Britain for no reason whatsoever.

On February 13, 1946, when the Security Council in London took up for the first time the question of Albania's admission to the UNO, Cadogan[35] supported the Greek slanders against Albania and declared that "Greece has interests in Albania"; that same day Bevin, opposing the admission of Albania, among other things declared: "If I were pressed for my opinion tonight, I would have to vote against the admission of Albania".

And this is what Cadogan did twice on end, vetoing the admission of Albania both in August 1946, and in August 1947.

In August 1946, Johnson (United States) expressed doubt about Albania's admission and demanded that the Security Council should not adopt any decision on Albania and Mongolia, but should admit other states such as Ireland, Portugal, etc. The clear-cut and correct stand of the Soviet delegation, which resolutely defended the right of Albania to be admitted as a member of the UNO, forced the American and British delegates to lay their cards on the table and reveal that they would vote against the admission of Albania. This is what they did again in 1947. They argued that Albania had no diplomatic relations with Britain and the United States, that it had not recognized the old treaties, that Greece was opposed because it considered itself in a state of war with Albania and also had territorial claims against it. Later, they added new

[35] At that time, representative of Britain in the Security Council.

arguments to their charges to the effect that allegedly Albania is disturbing the peace (this in connection with the incidents in the Corfu Channel) and that it is meddling in the internal affairs of Greece.

"Albania is no longer a country to be trampled underfoot or to be treated as an object of barter of that diplomacy which bears the responsibility for the Second World War. Nobody gave Albania the position it occupies among the anti-fascist nations, it was earned with bloodshed and superhuman sacrifices. Our people, who threw themselves unreservedly into the anti-fascist war, for their rights, for the right of mankind, for the strengthening and triumph of democracy, for the freedom of the peoples, insistently and proudly demand that their rights be respected. The Albanian people, loyal to the end to the great anti-fascist alliance, are indignant and angry to see their legitimate request for membership of the United Nations Organization"* postponed by their former allies, Britain and the United States of America.

c) "When the Albanian people fought heroically against fascism, the others threw them bouquets, but when the time came for them to demand the place they so richly deserved in the UNO or at the Peace Conference, they were thrown stones"**. No one could oppose the right of participation by Albania, the first victim of the aggression of fascist Italy, in the Paris Peace Conference. But this is just what Britain and America did.

They were against Albania's being listed by the Council of Foreign Ministers among the victor states, members of the Conference of Paris, against Albania's being invited to that Conference, either with equal rights or only with a consultative vote.

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* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, p. 312 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 447.

When the proposal to invite Albania was being discussed at the plenary session, the American representative, James Byrnes, declared himself against Albania in these words: "I think we agree on the fact that, proceeding from the accord reached in Moscow, it is impossible to invite Albania".

The next day, Lord Alexander, the British delegate, took the floor to declare: "I will say without the least hesitation that I fully support the proposal put forward yesterday by Mr. Byrnes on this question, a proposal intended to advise the conference to put off this demand. I do not associate myself at all with the move made yesterday by Messrs. Vyshinsky and Manuilsky, who advise that the question of the admission of Albania as a member with consultative rights, should be considered now, considering and deciding separately on this question before the elements that have been put forward or might be put forward later by other countries are likewise considered. In connection with this, I wish to point out that Albania is not an allied nation or a member of the United Nations Organizations. . .".

As for the Peace Treaty with Italy, we had expressed our opinion and presented our requests, which were not only fair and undeniable, but also modest. In article 21 of the draft-Treaty with Italy, in the paragraph stressing that "Italy recognizes and is bound to respect the sovereignty and independence of the Albanian state", we requested the insertion of the word 'integrity'. We demanded the return of the gold seized by fascist Italy and, later, taken away to Germany; we asked to be considered as a "puissance associée"*; we sought reparations from Italy. All these just demands of ours were supported heart and

* French in the original.

soul by the Soviet representatives and by the delegates of the people's democracies, but in the long run, under the pressure of the British and American delegations, these requests were turned down. The British delegate, Hood, declared and insisted that, "Albania should receive no dollars". This was also the stand of the American delegate concerning our rights throughout the conference.

In New York, at the Council of Foreign Ministers, the American representative, Byrnes, shouted that he would never agree that Albania should receive reparations from Italy. It was clearly apparent at that conference, at which aggressor Italy should have been tried and measures adopted against it, that many countries of the West defended Italy and trampled on the rights of those peoples who had shed so much blood for freedom and democracy.

d) At the Moscow session (March-April 1947) of the Council of Foreign Ministers on the drafting of the peace treaty with Germany, while opposing the rights of Albania to take part in the preparations, the British and Americans had the audacity to even negate the war our people had waged:

"We are of the opinion", the American delegate Murphy said, "that, first, Albania is not a neighbour of Germany, and second, it did not take part in the war against Germany. Only some individual Albanians, perhaps, took part in this war, but apart from this there were also Albanians who fought side by side with the Germans".

In connection with this, Vyshinsky made the following remark:

"Murphy's statement that 'only some individual Albanians' took part in the war against Germany causes astonishment, not only among those present at this meeting but throughout the entire world. What does the expression 'some individual persons', mean? How can one

speak of 'individual persons' or better 'individuals' who have taken part, arms in hand, in the war against Germany, when it is known that Albania raised 70,000 fighters in the war against the Germans? Thus, small Albania, counting only one million inhabitants, threw against the Germans an army of 70,000 men, and even though you know this, you still pretend that only some 'individual Albanians' fought against the Germans."

e) Another aspect of the hostile policy followed by Britain and America against Albania is the problem of the war criminals. The fugitive Albanian war criminals are mainly in Italy and Greece, and there they are under the direct protection and support of the British and Americans. They are even incited, aided and organized by them for activities against the People's Republic of Albania. The Italian and German war criminals, too, who committed crimes in Albania are also under the jurisdiction of the British and Americans in Italy and in the British and American zones of Austria and Germany. On June 20, 1947 the Albanian government sent an official request to the British and American governments for the surrender of all the Italian, German, and Albanian war criminals under their jurisdiction. The Albanian government also presented individual lists of the charges against each criminal separately. Violating all joint declarations and agreements of the allies in the war years, as well as all the later decisions, in its letter dated October 4, 1947 the British government arrogantly denies Albania the right to demand the surrender of the war criminals, refusing to consider it as an allied country and being surprised that the Albanian government is raising the question at this late stage: ". . . His Majesty's Government must stress that Albania, in fact, has never enjoyed allied status, and therefore cannot demand the rights of an allied state. . .".

". . . In conclusion, His Majesty's Government must emphasize that two years have passed since the ending of hostilities with Germany, and it is not impressed at all by the importance of cases which the Albanian government has not seen fit to raise previously",

f) After the failure of the first attempts at armed intervention and after the disclosure and ruthless blow dealt at the plots hatched up here with the internal reaction, and seeing that neither pressure, threats, nor false accusations against our People's Republic in the international field could achieve anything at all, but exposed them badly, the British and American imperialists attempted to organize acts of open aggression using monarcho-fascist Greece to this end as a pretext and a base for the attack.

The first proof on this respect were the incidents on May 15, 1946, on October 22, and especially on November 12 to 13, 1946, when a large number of British warships (on November 12 to 13, there were 23 warships, including cruisers, torpedo-boats, submarines and one aircraft-carrier) invaded our territorial waters allegedly on a mine-sweeping operation, but in fact they had obvious aggressive aims.

This was the Saranda incident, deliberately provoked by the British. You ". . . have seen the facts and the evidence of how the British concocted this affair, how they inflated it and built it up, and took it to the Security Council and even to the International Court at the Hague, to prove to the world through carefully refined, though false and quite unconvincing, evidence, that Albania was endangering peace. Albania has never laid mines along its coast, because it has had neither mines nor means to lay them. The official British documents themselves show that the British knew about the existence of mines

left over in those waters since the time of the war, and they recognize that the mine-sweeping, which they carried out themselves, was by no means reliable and that the navigation route was dangerous. The British, or their lackeys in Athens, could very easily have laid these mines with their ships. Here the question arises: What were the British warships looking for time after time, why did they violate the integrity of our territorial waters many times on end? Of course, they had a purpose. The British claim that they have the right of passage through the Corfu Channel for their 'peaceful' ships, but the navigation route through the Corfu Channel is not five hundred metres off the port of Saranda, or the Himara coast, and peaceful navigation does not mean to have all the guns ready and aimed at our seaports. Likewise the warships of their lackeys in Athens, which for eight times in succession — not to mention what is happening every day — what were they after in our waters, close to our ports? Were their intentions 'peaceful' when they seized our boats, plus their crews, and took them to Corfu, or when they machine-gunned the coastline and our villages, or when they shelled the villages of Konispol? It takes no great mind to understand why such things were done. Despite the votes the British and Americans always manage to drum up at the Security Council to approve such deliberately hatched-up acts of aggression, right is on our side, and in order to gain our rights we are not going to kneel even before blackmail or threats. And justice always is with the just. The conclusive, last minute argument brought up by the British and Americans for the Saranda incident was this: 'Either the Albanian government has laid the mines itself, or it knows who did lay them, because it defends its borders and its coastline with the greatest jealousy and determination'. But this argument proves

nothing, or better still proves one thing, which we readily admit because it is quite true, that we defend our seacoast and our Southern border with the greatest jealousy and determination, because they are sacred to us and because fascist wolves are prowling round them"*.

The Anglo-American imperialists tried to use the provocations in the Corfu Channel as a pretext for their landing, but they could not attain their objective and were exposed by our government and by the Soviet representatives in the Security Council. The British government has now taken this question before the International Court at the Hague and is inventing new charges and playing new tricks to cover up its brigand-like provocation which was exposed.

C. *The Greek question.* — The groups of bankers and militarists who make the foreign policy of America and Britain, regard the position of Albania as important for the realization of their war-mongering and expansionist plans against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. That's why they have resorted to all sorts of intrigues, manoeuvres, pressures and provocations, all sorts of plots, acts of sabotage and diversion against our valiant and dauntless people, who are linked heart and soul with the invincible camp of socialism, and the triumphant Soviet Union.

They have tried to turn our beloved, peaceful, and democratic Albania into a second Greece where King Zog and the beys and the war criminals would reign with terror and the people would suffer in the greatest misery unprecedented in their history. They have not achieved this, but they have tried to use monarcho-fascist Greece to this end, pursuing two different ways simultaneously: first, by encouraging and supporting the crazy Greek

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 4, pp. 112-113 (Alb. ed.).

claims over Korça and Gjirokastra, the absurd pretention of the Athens' fascists that allegedly Greece is in a state of war with Albania, and their uninterrupted criminal armed provocations against the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People's Republic of Albania; second, by taking part directly in these monarcho-fascist armed provocations, by accusing Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia of causing the savage civil war going on in Greece, for which they, themselves, and their tools of Athens, are responsible, by exerting direct pressure on the Albanian government in a demonstrative way, such as the recent Anglo-French-American move, and by raising the Greek problem as an international issue so as to create trouble in the Balkans and to use it in their criminal campaign for a third world war.

It is now known that in summer 1945, all preparations had been made in Greece for aggression against Albania, and this was to be combined with a British landing from the sea. But faced with the resolute stand of the Albanian people and the correct and unwavering policy of their government, these plans failed.

British officers, such as general Scobie, have made inflammatory and provocative statements against Albania. Senior British and American officers have continually inspected the Greek-Albanian border, they have checked on and photographed our border positions. An important move in favour of the Greek claims against Albania was the British and American attempt to discuss the Greek claims at the Peace Conference in Paris. Under pressure of the British and American delegations, the Greek claim was accepted as an item of the agenda. But the stand of the Albanian government was clear-cut. On September 16, 1946, one day before leaving Paris, the Albanian Prime Minister made a press statement in which, among other things, he said:

"The Conference of Paris, by 11 votes for, and 7 against, and with 2 abstentions, voted in favour of the Greek demand, which is aimed at discussing the question of the Southern border of Albania.

I solemnly declare that neither the Paris Conference nor the Four Power Conference, or any other conference, can take up for consideration the question of the borders of our country, within which there is not an inch of foreign land. Our borders are indisputable and no one will dare to touch them. To be able to take even an inch of our land the Greeks will have to put into motion other mechanisms besides the votes of the Paris Conference. Let the entire world know that the Albanian people. . . have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand an accounting from those who have inflicted so much damage on them and against whom they have fought fiercely to the end. We have done our duty, just as the great powers. Our martyrs and our sacrifices are as sacred to us as their martyrs and sacrifices are to the great powers; likewise our rights are just as sacred as theirs"*.

It was the glorious merit of the Soviet delegation, headed by comrade Molotov, that the despicable Greek demand was removed from the agenda of the conference, and the Anglo-Saxon diplomacy suffered a serious defeat.

On October 23, 1947, Hector McNeil, the British delegate to the General Assembly of the UNO, encouraged Tsaldaris[36] in these words: "I have some fear lest, owing to the form taken by my remarks about the acts, your position in connection with the claims over Northern Epirius may have been damaged. What I wanted to say,

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 3, pp. 448-449 (Alb. ed.).

[36] Political leader and reactionary Prime Minister of monarcho-fascist Greece. After the Second World War, he drowned Greece in a bloody civil war.

and I am sure that this is quite obvious throughout my speech, is that your representative in Paris democratically accepted the stand of the Paris Conference, a thing which in no way affects your right to defend your case again before the Council of Foreign Ministers, as you said then and repeated later that you would do".

In its hostile policy towards Albania, the monarcho-fascist government of Athens has received special aid and encouragement from the Anglo-Americans through the Investigating Commission, created by the Security Council on December 19, 1946, and in particular, through the so-called special Commission on the Balkans (UNSCOB), set up on October 21, 1947 by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Having failed in their direct attempts, the Anglo-Americans brought other charges against Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, in the UNO alleging that these countries are providing shelter and supplies for the Greek partisans, that the Greek partisans enter Greek territory from our countries, that we are interfering in the internal affairs of Greece, and therefore, are responsible for the civil war in Greece and for endangering peace. The true culprits, the Anglo-American interventionists, used their stale old method of covering themselves by accusing others, in the Security Council. When the report of the Investigating Commission was being discussed on July 25, 1947, the American delegate brutally attacked our countries saying: "We are of the opinion that Greece does not constitute any threat to peace at this moment, and that, on the contrary, we are of the opinion that the three Balkan governments, with their past conduct, do constitute such a threat. We regard it as our duty to issue a warning".

Again, on October 20, 1947, in the General Assembly, Johnson, the delegate of Wall Street, without presenting

the slightest evidence, on the contrary, turning a blind eye to the innumerable facts incriminating the USA, repeated the same accusations and demanded the creation of the UNSCOB, which was set up and acted as an agency of espionage and provocation for the State Department and for the monarcho-fascists against the freedom-loving Greek people and the northern neighbours of Greece. The UNSCOB put its seal on all the accusations, slanders, provocations, and crimes committed by the Americans in Greece. It directed its activity against Albania in particular. From the day it set foot in Greece and up till October 15, 1948, the Greek monarcho-fascists have committed 683 armed provocations on land, sea, and air. Under the flag of the UNO, the American and British agents are playing the role of provocateurs and disturbers of the peace. The members of the UNSCOB take part in person in the provocations and fighting against the Greek democratic army.

Under the flag of the UNO the Americans and the British are trying to justify and to cover up their intervention and responsibility by accusing the others. But their ardent advocate Spaak, himself, declared to the General Assembly of the UNO: "I do not believe that anyone can even imagine, or accept, that the northern neighbours of Greece are the instigators of, and have caused, the civil war going on in this country. Personally, I do not believe that they have done this, and if someone claims something different, I think that this is an exaggeration".

There is foreign intervention in Greece, and this is the cause of the civil war. At first this intervention was by the British, later by the Americans with their Truman Doctrine. "Within just one year," the former head of the American mission in Greece, Griswald, recently declared, "the American government has sent 20,000 tons of war material of all kinds, has built six military airfields which

can take heavy bombers, and repaired all the major ports of the country for military purposes."

There you have the essence of American aid, the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall plan. And the best explanation to the Truman Doctrine is given by the notorious mouthpiece of American imperialism, the journalist Walter Lippmann, who on April 1947, in the "New York Herald Tribune", wrote the following: "We chose Turkey and Greece, not because they truly stand in need of aid, but because they constitute for us the strategic doors leading to the Black Sea and into the very heart of the Soviet Union".

All the dirty manoeuvres that international reaction is trying to perform at the expense of our people are unmasked one after the other, and the progressive peoples all over the world are seeing clearly how unjust is the attitude taken by the British and American governments towards the heroic and peace-loving Albanian people. All the accusations that these governments bring against us rebound against them, and their game and intentions are thoroughly unmasked. Is it possible for our small people to threaten the peace, threaten America and Britain, as the British and American governments claim? This is ridiculous. The Albanian people want to live free to go quietly about their peaceful constructive work; they want to live in complete harmony with all the progressive peoples of the world.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST INTERNAL REACTION AFTER LIBERATION

After the liberation of Albania, in order to complete the victories achieved during the war and to eliminate the remnants of fascism, the nests of reaction, espionage, and

diversionists, the Party and the people's power had to make the necessary purges. The struggle had to be a harsh one, and so it was. Numerous criminals defeated by our partisan war, and now without the support of German arms, were scattered throughout Albania, hiding in the mountains or in their homes, smuggled into our army, or living under cover in towns and villages. The armed forces of our people, the State Security Force, the police and People's Defence units, and the people themselves, who took an active part in it, went to work to clear the country of these bandits. The only hope for the reactionaries and war criminals, isolated or organized in bands, who had not managed to get across the sea, were the Anglo-Americans with their missions in Albania. The heavy blows of our people's power against the war criminals, beginning in December 1944 and lasting till the end of February 1946, put an end to this problem. Quisling ministers, war criminals, spies, diversionists, functionaries of past fascist regimes, were killed in the fighting, or were captured, put on trial, and, depending on the crimes they had committed against the people, were imprisoned or shot. During the entire four-year period of their activity, the State Security organs have been constantly in stern struggle against the remnants of the espionage agencies, the SIM, Gestapo, Intelligence Service, and against the American secret service, which organized and incited reaction against our People's Republic and against the people's power. On January 23, 1945, the remnants of the enemy in the region of Shkodra, the fugitive Ballists, and the men of "Legaliteti", those of the "Besëlidhja"[37]

[37] In May 1944, the reactionary chiefs of the Northern regions of Albania, with the former fascist minister of the Italian occupation period, Kolë Bib Mirakaj, under the direction of the head of the British Liaison Mission attached to these chiefs and of the German secret service, organized a meeting in Shkodra which was called "The

and other inveterate criminals, relying on the enemy propaganda and the British intervention, attempted to organize an uprising. On January 23, 1945, they attacked Koplik, which fell into their hands for a few hours. At the same time they organized several attacks against the command posts of the region. But this movement was snuffed out immediately by the forces of our army.

In January 1946, elements from the rich bourgeoisie of our country, men linked with the occupier and direct agents of the Anglo-Americans, organized various opposition groups, such as the "Monarchist Party" in which reactionary elements of Zogite tendencies, ex-officers of Zog, took part, the "Social-democratic Party", including the remnants of the socalled "Social-democratic group of the "Balli Kombëtar" during the war, and the "Democratic" group, headed by Sami Qeribashi. All these groups, hostile to the people, and opposed to the regime, created the "Bashkimi" organization, contacted the fugitives, and organized themselves for the overthrow of the people's power by means of violence. The British mission in Tirana was the base and directing force at these groups. But the groups were discovered, their members arrested, and before the court received the punishment they deserved.

Shkodra League". At this meeting they adopted the decision to prevent the spreading of the partisan movement to these zones. The chief of the British mission and that of the German secret service promised to supply them with armaments and food, and to organize the landing of the allied troops in Shëngjin, a seaport in the vicinity of Shkodra, very soon. In August 1944, this organization assumed the name "Besëlidhja", and later, "Lidhja e Maleve" (Mountain League), and "Komiteti i Maleve" (Mountain Committee). Besides the chieftains of the North, reactionary chiefs of Kosova, of the "Balli Kombëtar", criminals, and others, took part in it.

With the movement of the 1st Division of the National Liberation Army to the North, in Summer 1944, all their plans were foiled.

In February 1946 the trial of the "Bashkimi Shqiptar" of Shkodra took place. This organization was directed by the Catholic clergy of Shkodra, and its roots were old, dating back to the time of the war. It was directed by the Catholic clergy, with the most important Catholic priests at its head, under direct instructions from the Vatican. The activity of this group was concentrated on distributing leaflets and the aid it gave to the movement that would be launched on September 9, 1946 in Shkodra, and so on.

The September 9, 1946 movement in Shkodra, directly instigated by the British and Americans, with the active participation of the group of traitorous deputies through the intermediary of the traitor Riza Dani, connected with such fugitives as Jup Kazazi, and others. On September 9, about 450 armed and unarmed men attacked the city of Shkodra from three directions. The objective of this attack had been publicized as the starting point of the Anglo-American military intervention in Albania for the overthrow of the people's power. The movement was smashed that same day: 33 of its participants were killed in action by our forces, 8 other leading elements were tried by the military court and shot, 200 others were arrested, tried, and some of them, released.

Another group of spies and saboteurs was that organized directly and headed by the American mission in Albania and personally by Mr. Fultz, a savage enemy of the Albanian people and chief of the American secret service in Albania. This group consisted mostly of former pupils of the vocational school run at one time by the Americans. These elements were corrupt technicians from the bourgeoisie, men linked with fascism and reaction during the war. They carried out sabotage in Maliq, Kuçova, Rubik, etc. The chiefs of this group of saboteurs such as Beqir Çela, Avdyl Sharra, Kujtim Beqiri, Sulo

Klosi, Selaudin Toto, and others, were arrested, tried, and received the sentence they deserved.

Before the end of the war, some camouflaged traitors within the National Liberation Front, attempted to organize and rally themselves so as to emerge as an opposition party within the Front. A number of these elements were elected as deputies in the December 2, 1945 elections. Under the guise of membership in the Front, and with the deputy card in their pockets, inspired and directed by the British and Americans, they attempted to play the "Trojan Horse" and, together with the war criminals, organized themselves to overthrow the people's power through violence. This organization hostile to our people was discovered; its chiefs, such as Shefqet Beja, Sheh Ibrahim Karbunara, Riza Dani, etc., were arrested and sent to the court, where they received the punishment they deserved.

In the strictest secrecy, disguised remnants of the "Balli Kombëtar" were organizing themselves against the people's power. These elements, since the beginning of the year 1945, with Uan Filipi at their head, organized a "provisional committee" of the "Balli" in line with the instructions they received via UNRRA from the "central committee" of the "Balli" in Italy. This group consisted of remnants of the "Balli", merchants hit by our taxes, expropriated kulaks, spies, beys, etc. They maintained contact with fugitive war criminals. Their program envisaged the organization of assassinations and the overthrow of the people's power through violence. This organization was discovered, and its heads, such as Uan Filipi and Avdyl Kokoshi, and others, were handed over to the court and received the sentence they deserved.

These were the obvious attempts at the organization of internal reaction which, with the support of the British and Americans who were in Albania, made several

successive attempts to organize the war against our people's power, hoping for an Anglo-American landing in our country. The connections of these Anglo-American agents, these remnants of reaction, with the masses of the people were absolutely weak, and therefore they could not achieve the slightest success in their criminal efforts against our people. The people's power, by means of its organs of People's Defence, easily liquidated all their efforts. By striking these just and severe blows our people's power became stronger day by day, and armed with sufficient experience to discover and mercilessly combat all the enemies of the people who might dare to raise their heads and threaten the life of our people.

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III

THE PARTY

DESTRUCTION OF HOSTILE WORK IN THE MIDST OF OUR PARTY

The Trotskyite nationalist Tito group interfered brutally in the internal affairs of our Party to impose their anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, and anti-Soviet views on our Party and people. Their interference began with the unfounded and vile accusations of Vukmanovich Tempo, representative of the Central Committee of the CPY posted to Albania during the period of the war. This Trotskyite accused the Central Committee of our Party of opportunism towards the "Balli". This was a slander, but the intention of the Central Committee of the CPY was to sow the first seeds of disruption in the Central Committee of our Party and to arouse differences in the ranks of the Party allegedly over questions of principle. Later, through letters, Tito accused Miladin Popovich[38] and the Central Committee of our Party of allegedly taking chauvinistic positions and of distortions of line concerning Kosova and Metohia. This was another slander and was intended to back up the first accusation by Vukmanovich Tempo. In his attack

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[38] Internationalist Yugoslav communist. In Autumn 1941, the Albanian communists freed him from a concentration camp. He remained in Albania to maintain the links between the CPA and CPY. He supported the internationalist stand of the CC of the CPA. In September 1944, on orders from the leadership of the CPY he left Albania, and in March 1945 was assassinated on order of the Yugoslav secret service.

against our Central Committee and, especially, comrades Enver Hoxha and Miladin Popovich, Tempo had the full and conscious support of Koçi Xoxe and Sejfulla Malëshova. Since that time, Koçi Xoxe, in accord with the views of Vukmanovich Tempo, was in opposition to the line of our Central Committee defended by comrades Enver Hoxha and Miladin Popovich. The personal dissatisfaction and mistakes that might have been observed during the time of the war were nothing but pretexts to cover up the struggle against, and the opposition to, the principles of the correct line of the Central Committee. In the meetings of the party activists which discussed the Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee it was testified that, afterwards, Koçi Xoxe used to report to Vukmanovich Tempo on the situation of our Party, emphasizing that it was allegedly dominated by intellectuals, etc. This was being done without the knowledge of the General Secretary of the Party, and explains the brutal recall of comrade Miladin Popovich from Albania and the arrival of the delegate of the CC of the CPY, Velimir Stoinich, who, with the full backing of Koçi Xoxe, his chief supporter, organized the behind the scenes dealings at the Berat Plenum[39].

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[39] The 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA was held in Berat in November 1944. It was necessary for the Plenum to meet to make an analysis of the activity of the Party during the National Liberation War and to define the tasks for the new stage which began with the liberation of the country. But, the correct intentions of the Party were distorted by the hostile interference of the Yugoslav leadership via Velimir Stoinich, who had come to Albania as head of the Yugoslav Military Mission and in charge of liaison between the CPY and the CPA. In Berat he organized a behind the scenes plot against the CPA with the participation of Sejfulla Malëshova, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and

Why did the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia attack the Central Committee of our Party, the General Secretary, and Miladin Popovich during the war? The reason is that the Central Committee of our Party educated our Party in the correct Marxist and internationalist spirit, that it educated our Party and led our people in the war, always seeing it closely linked with the Soviet Union and with its just war, that it educated our Party and people to see in the Soviet Union, in the Bolshevik Party and in comrade Stalin its own defenders and the defenders of its people. This orientation was not to the liking of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, which wanted our Party and people to regard everything as linked with the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Our Party educated the people to love the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of Yugoslavia but the Central Committee of the latter did not want the independence of our Party and of our people. Later, with the liberation of Albania, such a correct development of our Party would become a great obstacle to the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian aims of the nationalist group of Belgrade. To change this situation, Velimir Stoinich was sent with definite directives: to liquidate the Central Committee, which had conducted the National Liberation War, to liquidate the General Secretary of the Party, comrade Enver Hoxha, and at the same time to make Koçi Xoxe all-

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others, and in this way, the Plenum was held in the spirit of the Yugoslav anti-Marxist line.

The main objective of the plan of the Yugoslav leadership, to overthrow the leadership of our Party with comrade Enver Hoxha at the head and to replace it with a new, pro-Yugoslav leadership, was not achieved thanks to the opposition encountered from the majority of the members of the Plenum. Nevertheless, the Plenum of Berat opened the road for a deeper and more extensive interference of the revisionist Yugoslav leadership in the internal affairs of our Party and country.

powerful in the Central Committee, and to establish the anti-Marxist forms and methods of work in the leadership and the organization of the Party, to create the opinion in the Central Committee that the war of our people was due to the aid of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, and therefore, new Albania should look towards Yugoslavia, and towards Yugoslavia only. Velimir Stoinich had Koçi Xoxe as his principal aide in the implementation of these directives. Nako Spiru[40], dissatisfied without reason, with a marked dose of ambition, fell into the trap set by Velimir Stoinich and Koçi Xoxe, and became a standard-bearer of a cause alien to our Party. Led by Velimir Stoinich, Koçi Xoxe, Nako Spiru, Pandi Kristo, and Sejfulla Malëshova organized behind the scenes the attack on the correct line of the Central Committee of the Party, the attack on the unity of the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Party. This plan was mapped out in great secrecy and kept entirely from the Central Committee and comrade Enver Hoxha. This was factionalism. For this anti-party deed, Velimir Stoinich secretly summoned Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, Nako Spiru, Sejfulla Malëshova and some other comrades of the Central Committee, whom they were convinced of would associate themselves with their anti-party work. This was how the attack against the Central Committee in Berat was organized. The roles were divided, and the opinion of all these factionalists and groupist elements was that the General Secretary of the Party should no longer stay in his post, because he was not worthy of it. However, they reached the conclusion that it

[40] Member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA and Political Secretary of the CC of the Communist Youth of Albania. In 1947 he fell victim to the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists and Koçi Xoxe's intrigues.

was not the right moment, and they were afraid of some eventual move on the part of the army and of the officers. The attack at Berat had its definite political platform dictated by the Yugoslav representatives and approved in full by the groupist elements with Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, Nako Spiru and Sejfulla Malëshova at the head. Their political platform was this: during the period of the war grave errors of principle had occurred in the line of the Party; in the line there had been opportunist and sectarian deviations; there had been individual work; the Party was not a Marxist-Leninist party; it was degenerating into a party of bandits and terrorists; the leader of the Party had committed grave mistakes in the line, he was the main one responsible, and it was indirectly implied that he was not worthy of this post.

All these accusations against the correct line of the Party were groundless, they were slanders. During the war there were mistakes, but not at all of this nature, there were manifestations of discontent, there was laxity, but these did not affect the line of the Party and the war, and these things could be corrected through a regular meeting and on the basis of sound criticism and self-criticism. Both Ymer Dishnica and Liri Gega had committed mistakes in the line, but not the Central Committee and the General Secretary of the Party. True, there were failures to treat cadres properly, which was quite understandable in war time and in a newly-formed Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, in particular, took these shortcomings and manifestations of laxity as personal attacks against them, without reflecting at all about their work during the war, which, far from being brilliant, was full of weaknesses. The behind the scenes dealings at Berat, with its anti-party platform, hatched up in the Trotskyite spirit and with Trotskyite methods, was a putsch against our Party and a violation of the rules on

which a communist party is based. All the rules of the Party were violated at the Berat Plenum. The personal dissatisfaction and slanders to attack the correct line of the Party and the persons who had led the people to victory were added to the erroneous political platform. At the Berat Plenum the hostile thesis of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia triumphed: the unity of the Central Committee was attacked, the correct line of the Party was attacked, the General Secretary of the Party was attacked and discredited, democratic centralism was violated, criticism and self-criticism were misused and employed to discredit certain persons, unhealthy ambition and megalomania were encouraged, "the cult of heroes who save the Party" from imaginary great dangers was created, careerism was encouraged, and military, anarchial, and putschist methods, together with arbitrarity, were introduced into the Party. The way was paved for the introduction into the Party of anti-Marxist-Leninist organizational forms, the main one being that of the Organizational Secretary being at the same time Minister for Internal Affairs. The Yugoslav Trotskyite leadership prepared its henchman, Koçi Xoxe, for his future anti-party activity. At the same time the opportunist, nationalist viewpoint of the Yugoslav leadership and of Sejfulla Malëshova was introduced into the Party, a viewpoint that ran parallel with Koçi Xoxe's sectarianism, which later was to develop into catastrophic forms. At Berat, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo were armed to prepare the subjection of the Party to the orders of the Trotskyite Tito group. The Berat Plenum, with the brutal interference of the delegate of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, and with the complete approval of its anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian theses, dealt a blow at the independence of the Party. The Berat Plenum granted the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia the right to have the decisive final say

in our Party, and to be publicized in our Party as the saviour of the grave situation in our Party, and as the principal helper and leader of our National Liberation War.

Following the Berat Plenum, the Party faced difficult tasks, but it did not have a monolithic leadership; it had a wrecked Central Committee lacking unity and sincerity, where distrust and underestimation predominated, in the first place towards the General Secretary, who was the only one who could have established a correct coordination of affairs in the Bureau and in the Central Committee. In his privileged position, Koçi Xoxe, blown up with megalomania, suppported by the Yugoslavs, was working in anti-Marxist ways, in the discharge of both the tasks pertaining to him because of his function and those which were beyond his function, namely those of the General Secretary of the Party. For the Yugoslavs, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, as well as Nako Spiru and Sejfulla Malëshova, in the first months after liberation, comrade Enver Hoxha was only formally the leader of the Party.

This situation at the head of the Party caused the Party and the people great harm. The lack of unity in the Political Bureau caused vacillations in the line; the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova had taken root and was becoming dangerous, organizational errors were increasing; Koçi Xoxe, who did not have the remotest idea of what self-criticism meant, persisted in his mistakes, and not only did he hide his mistakes, but with his anti-communist, authoritarian stand and bluffs he tried to hide his incapacity in the management of affairs. Comrade Nako Spiru abandoned the anti-Marxist road of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, with whom he had made common cause at the Berat Plenum. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo fell out with Nako Spiru, not on personal matters, but on matters of principle. Nako Spiru united with the General

Secretary to defend the correct line of the Party and to strengthen the position of the General Secretary. Nako Spiru would have corrected his mistakes in this way. Such a change could not possibly be to the liking of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The situation in the Bureau was unbearable; the opportunist views of Sejfulla Malëshova were attacked, but Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo persisted stubbornly in their mistakes.

In order to lead the Central Committee in the correct Marxist-Leninist road, and knowing nothing of what had happened behind the scenes at Berat, in June 1946, Comrade Enver Hoxha put before the Political Bureau his theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum. Comrade Enver Hoxha had decided that the Berat Plenum was the main illness; it was the source of all the mistakes and misfortunes which occurred in our Party after liberation; it was the source of disagreements and quarrels in the Bureau, of the opportunist and hostile work of Sejfulla Malëshova. In his theses, comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that the interference and the activity of the delegate of the CC of the CPY was inimical to our Party; that at the 2nd Plenum of Berat the correct line of our Party was attacked, its leadership and the General Secretary of the Party were unjustly assailed; that unity, criticism and self-criticism were lacking in our Bureau; that as a result of the Berat Plenum, the problem of displacing the leadership of the Party had emerged, a sort of Party-state power dualism had appeared, and that, finally, organizational mistakes had been observed, which had to be corrected as soon as possible.

These theses, which time proved to be quite correct, were rejected and were not accepted, either by Koçi Xoxe or by Pandi Kristo; Nako Spiru accepted them in part. But these three comrades, who had carried out the anti-

party activity behind the scenes at Berat, kept their secret and concealed their factional group dealing at Berat. Only two days before Nako Spiru's suicide, with the sinister aim of influencing the General Secretary to maintain an intransigent stand towards Nako Spiru, Koçi Xoxe told comrade Enver Hoxha that Nako Spiru had allegedly said that, "If Enver Hoxha does not comply with our orders, then we shall convince him at gun-point". This was a typical Trotskyite scheme on the part of Koçi Xoxe. And even after the suicide of Nako Spiru, it was difficult up to the last moment to get Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo to admit what went on behind the scenes at Berat.

Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo could not possibly agree with the theses of the General Secretary, because all their activity up to that time would come out, and this work was hostile towards the Party. They could not disclose the backstage dealings at Berat because they were the main factors in them and big culprits. What is more, they persisted in defending the Trotskyite platform worked out at Berat. They could not condemn the hostile work of Velimir Stoinich, because they had supported him, because he had been the anti-party factor who had supported and defended Koçi Xoxe in his efforts to achieve the positions he so greatly desired, from which he would impose his anti-Marxist views on the Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo could not accept the strengthening of the unity in the leadership, because they were the main cause of this split, and because, in their view, the unity of the Party would be achieved only when the leadership and the Party was purged of comrades Enver Hoxha, Nako Spiru, and all the other comrades who did not agree with the anti-party views of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. In the theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum every problem put forward was raised on a principled Marxist basis, but Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, to avoid the danger threatening

them, reduced these problems to personal matters, claiming that those correct theses had been prepared under the influence of personalities and were aimed only at Koçi Xoxe from a personal point of view. This was a typically Trotskyite tactic which did not permit the exposure and rectification of mistakes on the sound basis of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo concealed their grave mistakes from the Party, and while strongly defending them, went on deepening them further so as to wreck the Party. Together with Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, the Yugoslav Trotskyites saw the danger threatening them from the imminent exposure of their filthy game, and in the middle of the meetings of the Bureau, when the theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum were being studied, to interrupt these discussions, the Yugoslav government invited the Albanian government to send a delegation to Belgrade to conclude the treaty of friendship and mutual aid. In order to aggravate the alleged crimes of Nako Spiru, shortly after his suicide, Koçi Xoxe, of course on the advice of the Yugoslavs, told the General Secretary that "Nako Spiru had given the Yugoslavs the text of comrade Enver Hoxha's theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum, at the same time expressing his thought: See how Enver Hoxha attacks Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia". In the light of analyses, it is clear that these were slanders, and that the invitation of a government delegation to go to Belgrade for the signing of the treaty at that moment was only a means to escape the difficult situation that the re-examination of the proceedings of the Berat Plenum would create.

The theses on the revision of the Berat Plenum were not accepted by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. These two and Nako Spiru did not have the Bolshevik courage to disclose their activity at Berat; but, despite his weak position, comrade Nako Spiru, thinking that time would cover

his mistake at Berat, linked himself as closely as possible with the General Secretary.

Following these theses, because he saw that the situation in the Bureau was very serious, the General Secretary proposed the enlargement of the Political Bureau with new cadres tested in the war, with the aim of establishing unity in the Bureau, so that the problems could be raised anew and the mistakes corrected. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo fought this correct measure of the General Secretary because they were against unity, because the coming of new elements into the Political Bureau would weaken their positions and strengthen those of the comrades who defended the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The Bureau was enlarged, but not in the way the General Secretary had proposed. When a decision had to be reached on this question, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo voted against, but afterwards pretended to submit to the decision of the majority; in fact, these two never at any time submitted to the decision of the majority. The General Secretary of the Party requested that Koçi Xoxe report to the Bureau on his organizational work. This he accepted reluctantly, but in reality he raised a thousand pretexts to evade this task, and never did make this report, because the raising of organizational questions in the Political Bureau would disclose the grave mistakes of Koçi Xoxe, one after the other, his anti-party activity, his close collaboration with the men in the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, his lack of ability; his privileged and false position would be shaken, and Marxist-Leninist unity would be established on the basis of criticism and self-criticism, which was undesirable for Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Yugoslav Trotskyites. In order to avoid giving account, the Yugoslav Trotskyites, with Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, undertook a series of Trotskyite acts to defeat this sound regrouping of comrades that was taking place round the

General Secretary of the Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, backed up by the Yugoslavs, further extended the hostilities in the Bureau, stepping up their struggle on an anti-party and anti-Marxist basis, through Trotskyite methods, through slanders, threats, blackmail, against the sound elements in the Bureau. Their tactics were to discredit all comrades who defended the correct line of the General Secretary of the Party, to slander Nako Spiru and Mehmet Shehu, to neutralize Gogo Nushi, and others, and thus isolate the General Secretary. This would have meant to liquidate the Central Committee, and later they would coopt to it persons obedient to Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo for the implementation of their anti-party line. Pandi Kristo has admitted that the situation in the Political Bureau was so tense that he and Koçi Xoxe were expecting "a heavy blow to come from outside to bring us to our senses". This admission revealed all this activity of the Yugoslav Trotskyites, of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. These two, fully aware of what they were doing, and with anti-party methods, had opposed the solution of existing contradictions through the lawful means of the Party. They had worked along the lines and under the direction of the Trotskyite Tito group and had quite deliberately created this turbulent situation in the Bureau. Now they were waiting for the "heavy blow", that was expected to come from the Trotskyite Tito group, to fall on the General Secretary and all the other comrades defending the correct line of the Party, to fall on the correct line of the Party so as to overwhelm the Central Committee and the Party, to set it on the road of Trotskyism and subject it completely to the orders of the Trotskyite Tito group. The heavy blow, wished for and prepared by Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Yugoslav Trotskyites, came with the second accusation made in November 1947 This accusation against our Central Committee had a broad

platform. At the one time it attacked our Central Committee and our Party, the Albanian people, their independence and sovereignty and likewise the Soviet Union, its great prestige in our country; it attacked the democratic and anti-imperialist camp in the sector of Albania. It is self-evident that Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo became the ardent defenders of this vile Trotskyite, anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist, anti-Soviet accusation. In the course of three years Koçi Xoxe had thoroughly learned and perfected the Trotskyite methods of the Yugoslav leadership, and brought them into play immediately after the arrival of the Yugoslav accusation. Allegedly on the basis of the organizational rules, he arranged that the Yugoslav accusation was put forward in the Bureau for consideration, while eliminating some members and candidate members of the Political Bureau, such as Mehmet Shehu and others, from participation in discussion, because he was afraid that all this hostile work, hatched up by the Yugoslavs and him, might blow up in his hands. This was the first preparatory step towards cutting off comrade Enver Hoxha, Nako Spiru, and others from any reliable support. Second, in the grave situation before the analysis, in order to add strength to the Yugoslav theses and to undermine the faith the General Secretary had in Nako Spiru, in a dishonest and anti-communist manner, Koçi Xoxe brought up a series of "facts" allegedly collected by Nako Spiru against the General Secretary of the Party. All these were slanders concocted by the Yugoslav Trotskyites, Koçi Xoxe, and Pandi Kristo. Third, prior to the Yugoslav accusation being put before the Bureau, Koçi Xoxe shifted the discussion from this major problem, in which the views of the Yugoslav Trotskyites were confronted by the correct views of our Central Committee, putting the greatest importance on the problem of Nako Spiru. This problem, towards which the Trotskyite Tito group, Koçi Xoxe, and

Pandi Kristo sought to channel the debates in the Central Committee, was not so simple and personal as it looked, but was a tactic through which, by allegedly thrashing up the problem of Nako Spiru, they sought to cover up their main purpose, the heavy blow they meant to deal at our Party. Fourth, all these moves brought about the suicide of Nako Spiru, thus eliminating one of the staunch fighters for the correct line of the Party. Immediately after the suicide of Nako Spiru, the Yugoslav Trotskyites, Koçi Xoxe, and Pandi Kristo, sowed doubts among the other members of the Bureau and the Central Committee for the purpose of creating distrust towards the General Secretary of the Party.

Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and the Trotskyite delegate of the Tito group behind them, posing as the saviours of the Party, prepared the 8th Plenum, which is the darkest blot in the history of our Party. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, together with the Trotskyite delegate of the Central Committee of the CP of Yugoslavia, took all necessary measures. While Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and Kristo Themelko in the Political Bureau were ardently defending the Trotskyite views of the Yugoslavs, their anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet line, while they were savagely attacking the General Secretary of the Party, accusing him of having allegedly distorted the line, of having allegedly allowed the destruction of the Party, of having allegedly permitted the organization of a faction at the head of the Party, of having brought to the head of the General Staff and the Bureau such "anti-communists" as comrade Mehmet Shehu and others, against whom they slandered vilely, in his speech at the Party School Koçi Xoxe, spurred by the Yugoslav Trotskyites, prepared party opinion in the anti-party, Trotskyite and anti-Soviet spirit. On the other hand, Koçi Xoxe drew up and proposed a list for the new cooptions to the Central Com-

mittee, selecting persons as he thought would defend the Yugoslav Trotskyite line, the line of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo.

In these circumstances, the 8th Plenum was convened. Intrigue, falsehood, megalomania, and the Ottoman spirit of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo were predominant there. At this Plenum, the Central Committee and the General Secretary were defeated, the correct line of the Party was trampled underfoot, and an anti-Soviet spirit was aroused. The 8th Plenum was the triumph of the Trotskyite Tito group and its collaborators. The 8th Plenum laid the foundations for the subjection of our Party to the Trotskyite Tito group. Only one thing escaped those raging waves: the orientation of our Party towards the Soviet Union and the great faith and love of our Party for the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party, and comrade Stalin. The Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, understood that this was a highly dangerous question, if it were raised openly at those moments. By doing all this anti-Albanian, anti-Marxist and, at the same time, anti-Soviet work, by directly attacking the Soviet experience, repudiating it before our cadres, by using demagogy and hypocritical phrases about the Soviet Union, while extolling the great role of Yugoslavia in the Balkans and in Central Europe, they were preparing their attack on the correct orientation of our Party towards the Soviet Union, which was at the base of the entire policy of our Party and our people. On this point, the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their Albanian collaborators had no success. The love for, and trust in, the Bolshevik Party nurtured by our Party and people helped to save our Party and exposed the plans of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and Koçi Xoxe.

After the 8th Plenum, a resolution was issued, which is the most regrettable document in the his-

tory of our Party. It reflects the entire hostile activity of the Trotskyite Tito group and their collaborators, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo; it reflects clearly how the correct line of the Party, its sound leadership were attacked and distorted, it reflects the subjection of our Party and our country to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, the attack on the independence and sovereignty of our country, the violation of democratic centralism, of criticism and self-criticism; it reflects the putschist terrorist methods, the Ottoman and militaristic methods; it reflects the triumph of megalomania and ambition, the triumph of injustice and arbitrarity, of the hostile Trotskyite spirit, and so on.

Following the 8th Plenum, in order to strengthen their position, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo began the purge of, and attack on, our cadres and their replacement with people whom they thought would fully support the activity of these two and the Trotskyite Tito group for the final conquest of the Party and people.

Earlier, when I spoke about the relations with Yugoslavia, I mentioned what the Trotskyite Tito group hoped to achieve following the 8th Plenum of our Central Committee, and how the Letters of the Bolshevik Party saved our Party and our people from a great catastrophe. But after the arrival of the Letters of the Bolshevik Party, what was the stand of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, and Kristo Themelko?

Kristo Themelko realized his mistakes, admitted them and made self-criticism, while Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo appeared to adopt the correct Bolshevik views expressed in the Letters of the CC of the CPSU (B) in principle, but this was purely formal, because, for a long time afterwards, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo strove to hide their grave errors, resisted admitting them, and in order to save what could be saved, resorted to their usual Trotsky-

ite methods. It took the Political Bureau a very long time, months on end of daily struggle, to uncover the errors of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo who defended themselves with the greatest care and strove to cover up many things.

The 11th Plenum of the Central Committee put an end to this grave and difficult situation for the Party. The 11th Plenum proceeded on the basis of a sound Marxist-Leninist analysis and in the redeeming light of the Letters of the Bolshevik Party to the CC of the CPY, and of the Resolution of the Information Bureau "On the situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". The 11th Plenum uncovered all the grave mistakes which had been observed in our Party, the main source of which was directly the influence of the Trotskyite Tito group, and the grave faults and Trotskyite work of Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. The 11th Plenum re-established the correct line of the Party, exposed the aims of the Trotskyites against our country, against the Soviet Union, and against the democratic and anti-imperialist camp in the sector of Albania. This Plenum exposed the major organizational mistakes, the grave mistakes in the policy of cadres, it established proper democratic centralism and steel-like conscious discipline in the Party. It put Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism on the order of the day, strengthened unity in the leadership, and put the Party on a sound Marxist-Leninist basis which will enable it to advance . . .

. . . . . .

ON THE IDEOLOGICAL UPLIFT OF THE PARTY

Throughout the period of the war the conditions were difficult, and concern for the ideological uplift of the party members was very limited. In March 1944, a one-month course for 30-40 cadres of the regional committees and the political sections of the brigades was opened by

the Central Committee in the mountains. The subjects covered were very limited. After the liberation of Albania six courses were opened at the Central Committee with an over-all participation of 741 cadres from the regional committees, district committees, and political sections of divisions and regiments. Later, in 1947, three other courses were set up. The courses of the year 1947-1948 have been organized better, with better selected Marxist-Leninist theoretical subjects. However, they are still at a low level. All told, 1,831 comrades have passed through the regional and district courses but here, too, the organization of these courses, the method of teaching and the programs have often been bureaucratic and not well studied; they have not been at the necessary level, and some Yugoslav study material has been used. It should be pointed out that the Central Committee of our Party has not yet taken up the question of the Marxist-Leninist education of the party cadres for serious and deep study, and has not come out with decisions which would place this so important a problem on a sound base. There has been endless talk of the need for study, for the ideological raising of the Party, but the truth is that this very important question has been gone into very little by the Central Committee. We must put an end to such a practice. The party cadres should be armed with the Marxist-Leninist theory, they should be given the greatest possible help, and if they are to be able to find their bearings correctly in any situation and to solve more easily the urgent and important questions that demand solution, they must master it more quickly. Stalin teaches us:

> *"The strength of the Marxist-Leninist theory rests in the fact that it enables the Party to orientate itself in any sort of situation, to understand the internal connection of events going on around it, to foresee*

the course of events and to distinguish not only how, and in what direction, the events are developing today, but also how, and in what direction they should develop in the future".*

Because they do not give enough importance to raising their cultural level in general, and especially because they do not do enough study to raise their ideological level, whereas the tasks they are charged with are major ones, the members of our Party have become practicists. The lack of theory has meant we have not been able to solve the problems properly, and sometimes we have fallen into mistakes. Stalin says:

*"Theory is the experience of the working-class movement in all countries taken in its general aspect. Of course, theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice, for theory alone can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; it, and it alone, can help practice to realize not only how, and in what direction, the classes move at the present time, but also how, and in what direction, they will move in the near future"**.*

The text-book of the short course of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" says:

"The Bolshevik Party would not have been able to triumph in October 1917 if its vanguard cadres had

* History of the CPSU(B), Tirana 1953, p. 367 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 92 (Alb. ed.).

not mastered the theory of Marxism, if they had not learned to regard this theory as a guide to action".

Taking into account, therefore, the low ideological level of our Party, we should immediately adopt all the necessary measures to do organized and systematic work to raise the ideological level of the cadres of the Party and to fill this large gap. The main task of our Party is to master the foundations of the Marxist-Leninist theory, because without such a preparation, the activity of the Party is interrupted, the road of the Party is obscured, and grave errors are committed which cost the Party and the people dear. Therefore, not only should we study the Marxist-Leninist theory, but we should disseminate it as widely as possible in all possible forms, among the entire membership of the Party.

Urgent measures are necessary to strengthen the Party School and to improve the other courses in the centre; on the other hand, the party members must be helped, and should be encouraged in this direction. Through individual study they should learn the Marxist-Leninist science, and first of all the history of the Bolshevik Communist Party. A decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), of November 14, 1938, says: "The principal method by which the cadres learn Marxism-Leninism should be the method of individual study of the history and theory of the Bolshevik Party, a method proven by the experience of the older generations of the Bolsheviks".

The party members should master the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and the questions of Leninism, etc. The party members armed in this way with the Marxist-Leninist theory are better able to fight bourgeois ideology. Lenin teaches us that,

* History of the CPSU(B), Tirana 1953, p. 370 (Alb. ed.).

". . . to belittle the socialist ideology, in any way, to turn outside from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology".*

*". . . the only choice is either bourgeois or socialist ideology, there is no middle course,"*** says Lenin.

Therefore, the vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party, should wage an incessant struggle against bourgeois ideology and its remnants which exist in our country imported from the West by the people who have studied there. We shall find bourgeois ideology in our schools especially, therefore the Party should devote the greatest attention to this aspect, not only by placing in the hands of pupils text-books based on Marxist-Leninist theory and on the great experience of the Soviet school, but also by educating and orientating the teaching staff in the road of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Our Party absolutely must overcome this obstacle, because this is connected with the question of the education of the new generations in Albania.

It is the duty of all party members to study for the broadest possible extension of their general knowledge, for the development of their intellectual faculties, and, in the place they work, to attend and graduate school. Besides this, the Party should take measures to put in the hands of the party members as many theoretical books of Marxism-Leninism and Soviet literature as possible. The Party should attach great importance to the question of party publications and its press, which should play a primary role in nurturing the masses of the Party with the necessary theoretical materials and in extending the scope of the propaganda among the masses of the party members.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 453 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid, pp. 452-453.

It is true that in the years since liberation, the concrete tasks and the great practical work have impeded the carrying out of systematic and continuous work for the ideological uplift of cadres. Failure to carry out such work has grave repercussions in our Party. Comrade Stalin, emphasizing the danger of such a failure, has said:

> *"If, for one reason or another, our party propaganda starts to limp, if the Marxist-Leninist education of our cadres starts to weaken, if our work to raise the political and theoretical level of these cadres starts to weaken and if these cadres, as a consequence, are no longer interested in the prospects of our movement, no longer understand the justice of our cause and become vulgar practicists, men without perspective, who carry out the directives blindly and mechanically — then, the entire work of our state and our Party will be weakened without fail. We should accept as an axiom that the higher the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the functionaries in every branch of the work of the state and the party, the better and more fruitful is the work itself, the better are the results of the work, and on the contrary, the lower the political level and Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the functionaries, the greater the probability of shortcomings and lack of success in work. . ."*.

Our Party is acutely aware of this lack, and there is a great and urgent need to improve and raise the work for the ideological uplift of the cadres to a higher level.

Our Party and the new Central Committee will make every effort to fulfil this great task. We should always

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* J.V. Stalin, "Questions of Leninism" pp. 625-626, Tirana 1949 (Alb. ed.).

bear in mind that a communist party armed with its Marxist-Leninist ideology, which means that its cadres should make greater efforts to raise their level and to master Marxism-Leninism, this party and its cadres cannot be caught unawares by events, however unexpected these may be, but will understand them and know to orientate themselves correctly. The Party and its members should not be dragged along behind events, but must always be masters of the situation and act correctly under any circumstances, because theory is the guide to action, it is the masses' main strength. Hence, our Party, which is at the head of the working masses, must educate and guide these masses.

While bearing in mind that the Party teaches the masses, we should not forget that the Party also learns from the masses, profits from their wide experience, and hence the urgent need that through party agitation and propaganda, we should continually nurture the broad masses of the people in the spirit of our ideology; similarly, from this stems the necessity of close and continuous contact of the Party with the people. All the anti-party tendencies, which aim at turning the leaders of the Party into bureaucrats, shut away on the own and doing narrow and sectarian work, lead to the separation of the Party from the people. Elements with such tendencies should be fought ruthlessly, because if we allow their fear of the masses of the Party and the people to become a method, this road leads to nothing but betrayal. Therefore, we must be very vigilant towards these influences which have their source in bourgeois ideology. The opposition influences of the bourgeoisie always exert pressure on and attack the Marxist-Leninist ideology which is the foundation of our Party, and this is done with the aim of transforming our revolutionary Party into a Party of the 2nd International type. The harmful and imper-

missible manifestations of interpretation of the freedom of speech in the Party in extremist colours and forms can also come within this category. In our Party there is full freedom of speech and expression of opinion, but this in no way means that you can bring alien views into the Party, for instance, the erroneous views which aim at destroying the forms of work already established in the basic party organizations, and the breaking of discipline, which was manifested in the recent times, when the problems of one party basic organization would become objects of discussion for other party basic organizations. Such a way of acting is harmful, and should be put right in the way laid down by the Constitution of the Party and the rules established on the basis of this Constitution.

The agitation and propaganda work of our Party has not been up to the mark. On the contrary there have been mistakes, shortcomings, and laxity in it. It is true to say that our Central Committee has not attached due importance to this sector. The work here has gone in fits and starts, and has been left at the mercy of erroneous views which have existed in our Party. As a result of this, both the organization of this important sector and its program had always been lame, and there has been a constant state of confusion among the cadres working in it, and consequently, disorientation in all questions of propaganda and agitation. The influence of the Yugoslav Trotskyites has penetrated here, too. In our literature, there are a lot of things borrowed from the Yugoslavs, and it is up to the Party and the Central Committee to review all our publications and purge them of everything alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology. This should be taken very seriously, and not regarded as a question concerning only a commission, but as the concern of every party member, who, according to the instructions of the

Directorate for Agitation and Propaganda[41], should work vigorously to recall from circulation all the anti-Marxist and Trotskyite text-books, pamphlets, and books which have been introduced by the Yugoslav Trotskyites. Important tasks are placed before the Party and the Central Committee for the printing and reprinting of new Marxist-Leninist books, which should be carefully checked and written in plain, popular language, and put in the hands of party members. It is necessary to translate as many works of Lenin and Stalin as possible, to translate widely from Soviet literature and, in the first place, to make it the duty of party members, teachers, and all pupils and students of Albanian schools, to learn Russian as quickly and thoroughly as possible, so that our people may make direct contact with the theoretical works, with the Soviet literature and with the great experience of the Bolsheviks.

It is true, as we have already said, that individual study is one means which our cadres must use to master the Marxist-Leninist ideology. But from the great experience of the Bolshevik Party, we know that they find it difficult to use this means, and the results will not be so productive as the cadres of our Party would wish them to be, if they are at a low ideological and cultural level. In these moments, this correct method of individual study should be of most value to those party members who have a good training in this direction, but, in order to eliminate this shortcoming, the Party should improve the organization of study circles in which the party members can study in groups. These circles should not remain a pious wish, but should be well and strongly organized by the Party, through the Party School and various courses, and special cadres should be trained to run them.

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[41] Attached to the CC of the Party.

The Central Committee should improve and increase the publications of the Party. In the first place, "Zëri i popullit" should become a powerful weapon, which should thrash out the important problems facing our country. These should serve the Party and the people as valuable materials for their education, and should not be merely of an informative character. For "Zëri i popullit" to carry out this task, the members of the Central Committee in the first place, and the entire Party should make a strong contribution to this paper. The Central Committee should turn the magazine "Agjitatori" into a magazine in which problems are thrashed out theoretically, and which will serve the party members as a sound guide for the correct solution of questions and make them capable of solving the important problems they have to deal with. Another important task facing the Central Committee is that of solving the question of learning the history of our Party. So far this question has not been solved, and in most instances our party members, not only do not know the history of their Party, but have been misled in this matter, have distorted ideas. This state of things should be ended. All possibilities exist for the writing of the history of our Party, and the Central Committee should fulfil this great need without fail.

FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF THE PARTY

As we know, the Party, the vanguard of the working class and of the working masses of our country, successfully led the great liberation war of our people. Our people could not have fought and achieved the successes they did achieve without the existence of our Party, a strong and disciplined Party, loyal to the end to the cause of the people and socialism. Our Party has fought and

will fight under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, and it is the Party which is decisive for the successes of our correct general policy.

At the 17th Congress of the Bolshevik Party, Stalin said:

"Victory never comes of itself — it is usually won by effort".*

The history of our people once again bears out this brilliant saying of comrade Stalin. Through their entire existence, our people have fought to win freedom and their rights. But they were always deceived, because there was no revolutionary party, born from among the suffering people, to lead them faithfully on the road of the people's revolution. The feudal landowners, the political crooks in the service of foreign imperialism, the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the anti-popular intellectuals always took advantage of every situation in the past history of our country to emerge at the head of the movements and struggles of the people, and to always seize victory from the hands of the people who had shed their blood for it, and to use it in the interests of the privileged classes, to the detriment of the working masses.

But the opposite occurred after the invasion of April 7, 1939. Our Communist Party, born in war and emerging from the bosom of our valiant working people, fought and won, because it was the vanguard of these classes, which had as its objective the complete realization of the aspirations of the masses of our people. To achieve this victory, our Party had to be strong. And it became strong not through decrees, but through its outstanding heroism, its innumerable sacrifices, its indescribable self-denial, and through its steel-like discipline.

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, p. 352 (Alb. ed.).

Therefore, the burden the Party is charged with and the tasks it faces for the future are in no way smaller than those it had to cope with in the period of the war. These tasks our Party must carry out, and it will carry them out, when it grows stronger day by day.

Hence, the main task facing us is the strengthening of our Party. The hostile activity of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their collaborators, headed by Koçi Xoxe, aimed at weakening and wrecking the Party, but the treatment and cleaning up of this grave malady in our Party, the exposure of, and the struggle against, the anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian, and anti-Soviet views in its ranks, made our Party much stronger. The Party emerged into light and broke out of the situation seething with dangerous and alien diseases. A new clean breeze is blowing in our Party. Great new forces have arisen and are increasing in its ranks, determined to serve it better on the road of Marxism-Leninism. The discussions at meetings of party activists, at which the Resolution of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party was studied, demonstrated the great strength of our heroic Party which was able to rise and deal merciless blows at the Yugoslav Trostkyites and their collaborators who sought to dig the grave for our Party and people. At their meetings, our party activists, in a most energetic and revolutionary manner, expressed their complete confidence in their Party and in its Central Committee. In those grave moments through which the Party was passing, a fierce struggle had to be waged, and the Party fought it out and won. This shows that our Party is a revolutionary Party which has in its ranks thousands upon thousands of members who, inspired by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, heroically defend the Party and its correct line. The Party has never allowed any trifling with its sacred interests and those of the people, and it never will allow

those interests to be harmed; it will be ruthless against all those who will not implement, or who distort its line, its laws, and its rules. Our Party, vigorous and militant, rose to its feet to a man in the struggle for the re-establishment of all the party principles and rules that had been breached and trampled underfoot. Our Party regained all it had lost, and there is no one who can lay hands on these things, or trample or distort them. We will defend them to the end, and will triumph over anyone who dares to attack our Party, its unity and its correct line again. . .

Therefore, our Party must increase and strengthen its revolutionary vigilance, it must close its ranks more tightly and purge them, it must ruthlessly fight deviators from Marxism-Leninism, putschists, Trostskyism and anarchism. The Party must guard its solidarity and fight with all its strength for the steeling of its unity, which the enemies of our Party have attacked in the past and will try to attack again in the future. Our Party has scored successes and has made great progress, but this does not exclude the possibility of errors, and we should not forget that our enemies, imperialism and fascism, have not laid down their weapons.

Never forget that we have to build, preserve, and fight for the purity of the line of the Party and for its implementation. We should never depart in the slightest from the advice of comrade Stalin:

> *"Some people think that it is sufficient to draw up a correct party line, proclaim it for all to hear, state it in the form of general theses and resolutions, and have it voted for unanimously, for victory to come of itself, automatically, as it were spontaneously. That of course is wrong. It is a gross delusion. Only incorrigible bureaucrats and red-tapists can think so. As a matter*

of fact these successes and victories didn't come automatically, but as a result of a fierce struggle for the application of the party line. Victory never comes of itself — it is usually won by effort. Good resolutions and declarations in favour of the general line of the Party are only a beginning; they merely express the desire for victory, but not the victory itself. After the correct line has been laid down, after a correct solution of the problem has been found, success depends on how the work is organized; on the organization of the struggle for carrying out the party line; on the proper selection of persons; on the checking up of the fulfilment of the decisions of the leading bodies. Otherwise, the correct line of the Party and the correct solutions are in danger of being seriously prejudiced. More than that, after the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its successes or failure".*

Basing itself firmly on the teachings of comrade Stalin, our Party should understand well that the question of cadres is a question of decisive importance. With cadres we shall solve everything, but precisely on this important question there have been gross errors which will be pointed out in the next report. Here I only want to remind the comrades at this Congress and all the party members that the question of cadres is not a question for the Central Committee alone, but for all the regional and district committees, a question of the party as a whole. First of all, if the cadres of the Party, who are leading cadres, neglect their ties with the masses, they have lost their ability as leaders, they cannot be Bolshevik leaders. Party leaders, from the lowest to the highest ranking, should

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 13, pp. 351-352 (Alb. ed.).

know their cadres thoroughly, in the struggle and in life for the carrying out of the line of the Party. But this is not all. They must also help the cadre, teach the cadre, and at the same time learn from him; i.e. we must learn from the experience of the Party. The cadre must never be left to his fate, alone in struggle with great difficulties, but he must be assisted; and this is the task of a leader. But all this has not been appreciated and has not been practiced correctly in our Party.

The Party should guard against career-seekers and windbags who get into the Party and push their way ahead with their elbows and their tongues, and never fail to damage the Party and its sound cadres. The Party must be very careful not to lose its sharpness and vigilance towards these people; it should not trust them with leading positions from which they could harm our Party more readily.

People should be sorted out and promoted according to their ability. This should be done always bearing in mind their devotion to the Party, their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and to the Party, their loyalty to the people and the Soviet Union, demonstrated in struggle and deeds. When it comes to appointing cadres, to their promotion and distribution to various places, it is necessary to take into account not only the situation of these cadres within the Party, but also the links they have with the masses of the people. This is of great importance, because it has been underrated in our Party, and able mass workers have often been removed from their posts where the people had great confidence in them, to be shut away in offices to do routine technical work. In this way the Party loses invaluable assets.

We must not judge cadres simply according to their merits in the past, but must also take into account their more recent achievements. In the case of our Party, the

old cadres of the war years form the backbone of the Party; they are dear and valuable to the Party, they are the surest guarantee of our Party. But our young Party is marching constantly forward, and its members must do so, too, otherwise they run the risk of being left behind. We should never be afraid to push our sound young cadres forward, because if we do not do so the Party will be in danger of dying.

The spirit of initiative should be increased in our Party. Sound initiative should never be discouraged, and every party comrade, with a good grasp of the line of the Party, must have the courage to take decisions and bear full responsibility for the task and post the Party has assigned him to.

The conscious discipline in our Party, which stems from democratic centralism, inner party democracy, and Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, must be strengthened; Bolshevik determination and implementation to the letter of decisions issued by the higher organs should exist in our Party.

The percentage of women members in our Party is very low, and this state of affairs should concern the Party, for women constitute a great revolutionary force and should become a sound source of party cadres. The harmful sectarianism of some comrades on the question of the admission of women to the Party should be eliminated, because not only do they fail to give attention to this important matter, but they even hinder it. The orientation of our Party cannot possibly be correct when we start from the principle that the wives of our comrades should not be admitted to the Party as this would create the danger that party matters might be discussed in the family. The Party should strive with might and main to draw around it as many as possible of the workers' wives, party members' wives, the resolute and revolutionary

women of our people. It is impermissible that the doors of the Party should be closed to a woman just because she is married to a party member, or she is a mother with children, etc.

In regard to admissions to the Party in general, the present situation of the candidates for party membership is abnormal and irregular. This is expressed in the incorrect proportion between the number of party members and the number of candidate members. In our Party there are 29,137 members and 16,245 candidate members. As we can see, the number of candidates is very large. It is absolutely impermissible to maintain such a proportion. This shows sectarianism, shows that comrades are being kept on probation as candidates when they undoubtedly fulfil all the conditions for admission to the Party. The Party should study this question, and do away with this abnormal situation as soon as possible.

After a detailed Marxist-Leninist study, the Central Committee finds it necessary and indispensable to propose to the 1st Congress of the Party that the name of our Communist Party should be changed to the "Party of Labour". This change in the name of the Party is correct, and it is made on account of the social composition of our country and of our Party, which faithfully represents the social composition of the people. From the analysis of the work and activity of the Party, which we have just made, it is clear that this change in the name of our Party is imposed by the conditions of our country. We know that in our country there is not an extensive working class, as is the case with the other advanced countries. Our working class is still small, but, of course, it will gain in size and strength along with the development of heavy and light industry in our country. We know that in our country the peasantry constitutes the majority of the population, almost 90 per cent of it, in fact. If we con-

sider the present situation and the composition of the Party over these years, we shall see that in 1948 the percentage of workers in the Party did not exceed 22.6 per cent, which, of course, is an increase of 10 per cent on the 1946 figure. Meanwhile, in 1948 the poor peasantry made up 54.3 per cent, and the middle peasantry 13 per cent of the party members, while the remaining 10 per cent was represented by intellectuals, artisans, and others. So we cannot put aside this reality, and this change in the name of the Party is based on the social composition of the country and Marxist-Leninist science. Sentimental considerations cannot stand against the reality and Marxist-Leninist science. Our Party of Labour will be the successor of our heroic Communist Party, inspired by, and firmly based on, Marxism-Leninism; its program will be determined by the social conditions of the country, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism for the triumph of socialism in Albania. Our Party of Labour will have the structure of a Marxist-Leninist party of the new type, and will faithfully lead the working class, the peasantry and all the working masses of our country towards the building of a better life, towards the triumph of socialism.

Now, comrades, I am winding up my report.

I tried to give a general outline of the activity of our Party and its Central Committee, from the founding of the Party up till today. Over this long period, laxity and mistakes have been observed in our work, which the Party does not dissemble. Our Party and its Central Committee have corrected and will continue to correct them, and they will serve as lessons so that we don't repeat them.

At the most grave and complicated moments of their history, our Party led the people with success through bloody battles. At the head of the Albanian people it triumphed over the occupiers, the quislings and the trai-

tors, and ensured freedom, independence and sovereignty for the country and the people, established the Republic and people's democracy in our country. Under the leadership of the Party, the laws of the people and the new people's power were established, and the war-ravaged country reconstructed, and now under the leadership of the Party socialism is being built in our country. Conscious of its role as the leading and vanguard body, our Communist Party will continue to play its historic role with multiplied strength and lead our people towards new victories. Our Communist Party, the worthy offspring of our working people, born and tempered in war and battle, will carry out with the greatest wisdom and heroism the mighty tasks the people and history have entrusted to it. Our Party, guided by the lessons of the great teachers of the world proletariat Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, will defend Marxism-Leninism and fight for its triumph, will stick faithfully to the Marxist-Leninist road, the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and our great comrade Stalin. Our Party and our people will loyally follow the course of peace and security in the world, will fight with all their might in unbreakable alliance and brotherhood with all the fraternal allied peoples and states of people's democracy, and with the other progressive nations that have aligned themselves in the anti-imperialist democratic camp, at the head of which stands the invincible Soviet Union confronting the imperialist war-mongering and aggressor camp, the enemy of peace and mankind, loyal successor to the bloody deed of German fascism, at the head of which stands American imperialism.

Today the historic Congress of our Party will define the line to be followed by our Party and its new Central Committee in the future. The line laid down by the Congress of the Party will be put into life and carried out with the greatest precision and determination by the

Party, because on the rigorous implementation of this line depends the happiness of our people, the construction of socialism in Albania, the assurance of a happier life for the new generations in our country. Our Party is conscious of the importance of this sacred task, and will carry it out honourably.

The 1st historic Congress of our Party will give the Party its new Central Committee, and the delegates of our heroic and revolutionary Party will elect the most revolutionary and loyal elements of the Party to the new Central Committee. Those who come into the new Central Committee should be people tested in war and at work for their boundless loyalty to the Party and the people, to the Soviet Union, the Bolshevik Party and comrade Stalin, to the camp of socialism in the world. Into our new Central Committee must come our most resolute, most beloved, and internationalist-minded comrades, unyielding fighters for the defence of Marxism-Leninism against Trotskyism, against the Trotskyite Tito group and all the internal enemies of the Party and the people, under whatever mask they might disguise themselves; into the new Central Committee must come the most determined fighters for the cause of Lenin and Stalin, which is also the cause of our Party and people, comrades who are unyielding enemies of US and British imperialism and their satellites that are trying to dig the grave for our country and people. Into the new Central Committee must come capable comrades with a broad perspective, who will take in their strong hands the direction of our Party and people, comrades of tested abilities and, in the first place, comrades from the ranks of the working class — the powerful pillar of our Party, from the ranks of the poor and middle peasantry and from those communist intellectuals tested in war and at work, loyal to the Party and to the working class. The Party charged us with these historic tasks

when it gave us the mandate to represent it at this Congress, and we must honourably fulfil them, for we bear a great responsibility to our Party and people. The members of our heroic Party have never, be it for a single moment, avoided their very grave responsibilities, and they will never do so, they will assume all these responsibilities, and emerge triumphant in the struggle for the great cause of the Party and of the people, for the cause of socialism[42] . . .

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[42] The materials of the Congress were discussed with all the working masses, who fully endorsed the line of the Party, courageously criticized the mistakes made earlier as a result of the Yugoslav revisionist interference and Koçi Xoxe's hostile activity, and expressed their loyalty to the Party and their determination to implement its program. The Party recovered itself, and the country embarked on a new stage of development.

SPEECH DELIVERED TO THE 1st CONGRESS OF AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES

February 15, 1949

Dear comrades,

Cooperative members and peasants,

I bring you the warmest greetings of the Party of Labour and of its Central Committee that has asked me to speak to you and give you some advice which will serve you in the great task you are carrying on under the leadership of the working class and its vanguard.

Your Congress, which is being held today, will be recorded as an event of great significance in the history of new Albania, and the decisions it will adopt will help the peasantry to lay the foundations on which to build socialism in the countryside.

The Albanian people had to wage a bloody war against their occupier and their enemies to reach this day, to see the peasants gathered at their Congress to decide freely, according to their will, on the advanced socialist forms of development of the agriculture of our country.

Through the Land Reform the Party, which had led the liberation war with success, created the conditions for the development of cooperation in agriculture in our country as the only road for the construction of socialism in the countryside.

We should advance with cautious steps in the construction of socialism in the countryside, for here we have

to deal not with a particular capitalist of the town whose factory and all the other means of production we have nationalized, but with hundreds of thousands of poor and middle peasants who own small agricultural economies, who support the people's power because it is theirs, who are for the embarkment on the road towards socialism, since it represents a happier life for them, but in whom the feeling of private property still exists, who still have the idea at the back of their minds that through their individual work and means, however backward, they will be able to improve their life, among whom the petty-bourgeois view exists that makes them regard the town with a dubious eye as a place where they go only to carry on their small transactions and make some extra profit in an unfair way. We have to do with peasants who are still underdeveloped, who have not grasped that they should not remain slaves to that bit of land and that wooden plough which their grandfathers and great-grandfathers worked with; we have to deal with peasants who have not understood that the uniting of their forces and working means with those of their neighbours, the working of the land together, the opening up of new land with more advanced implements, such as modern ploughs and tractors, will double and treble production, and immeasurably improve their living. Our peasant has still not properly understood that, by joining forces with his neighbours in the village in agricultural cooperatives, with the same amount of work as he has to do working on his own, he will produce very much more. When he is united with his neighbours, he will produce more wheat, raise more livestock, prices will be stabilized and he will buy more goods than he could in the past, when he stuck to his small and backward economy.

The poor and middle working peasant should clearly see and be convinced with concrete facts that for him the

best path to follow is that of the collectivization of agriculture, and not the road of isolation on his backward individual economy. The isolated peasant cannot benefit as much as he should from mechanized means, from the fertilizers and advanced agrotechnical methods the state is going to put at his disposal; the individual peasant cannot gain much advantage from the credits and many other facilities the people's power is going to provide.

Keeping all these factors in mind, we say that we should proceed with measured steps in setting up agricultural cooperatives in the countryside. Our Party will never tolerate any trifling with so important and vital a question as that of setting up agricultural cooperatives. It cannot be permitted that, due to the mistakes of a few, the whole cause of collectivization be compromised, for it is our bright future in the countryside, it is the road of socialism.

It should be understood that the creation of a cooperative is an extremely serious matter, and no one is permitted to take this problem lightly, setting up cooperatives just for the sake of setting them up, without studying the question from all angles, in regard to both the land on which the cooperative is to be set up, and the people who are to join it. The experience of the Soviet Union, the immortal teachings of Lenin and Stalin in this field, should enlighten our work, because this is the only way we shall avoid making mistakes and can be sure of achieving the successes our Party of Labour desires. Success in setting up agricultural cooperatives in the countryside will be achieved when the following main principles are applied:

Voluntary participation in agricultural cooperatives and due consideration of the differing conditions of the districts where cooperatives are being set up. The agricultural cooperatives, Stalin says,

. . . *"must not be established by force. That would be foolish and reactionary"**.

On the other hand, as the Soviet experience teaches us, the cooperatives should be set up first where grain production is greater and where the possibilities exist for the use of agricultural machines; this should be the orientation. And only then should we proceed with the collectivization of the less productive and mountainous areas. Stalin teaches us that we should guard against setting up agricultural cooperatives in the mountain and everywhere else through decrees and imposition, because no one but the enemy would gain from such activity. We would make the enemy stronger, and discredit the agricultural cooperative movement.

Lenin and Stalin teach us that on no account should collectivization be carried out by compulsion, but by conviction and out of one's free will.

"Leninism teaches that the peasants can be convinced of the advantages of collective farming," Stalin says, *"only if demonstrated and proved to them in actual fact and by experience that the collective farming is better than individual farming, and it offers both poor and middle peasant a way out of poverty and want."***

Without fail, we must take firm measures against those who oppose these principles; they should be removed immediately from their jobs in the fields and villages in which they are working,

". . . for these errors lead us straight to the discrediting of the collective farm movement, to dissension in our relations with the middle peasants, to the disor-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 189 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 201.

*ganization of the poor peasants, to confusion in our ranks, to the weakening of all our work of socialist construction, to the revival of the kulaks,"** says Stalin.

In connection with the collectivization of agriculture we have already achieved some successes. The setting up of agricultural cooperatives began in 1946, and at present there are about 56 such cooperatives, and the poor and middle peasants are eager to create other cooperatives as well. The peasants who have joined cooperatives are devoted to them. They have realized their importance and the advantages that they gain from them, but in these cooperatives there have been observed such errors of principle as the introduction of capitalist tendencies among their members, the sharing of 40 per cent of the produce according to the amount of land contributed, as well as the participation of the village kulaks and agas who should never have been admitted to agricultural cooperatives, for they are sworn enemies of the cooperatives and of the poor and middle peasants. Besides this, in our cooperatives the formation of the blocks of land, the preparatory work, and the organization of the work within them have not been properly studied. There has been a lack of democracy, of plans and quotas of work, of personal responsibility, and the sharing of the produce has not been in order, a thing which has given rise to discontent among the cooperativists. The organs of the state power and those of the Ministry of Agriculture have not given the agricultural cooperatives all the help they should have given, and have not shown special concern for them.

We are confronted with the task of eliminating these shortcomings as soon as possible and of reinforcing and

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 208 (Alb. ed.).

consolidating the success we have scored in this very important field and of using it methodically as a basis for a further advance. We are confronted with the task of strengthening the existing cooperatives, of purging them of kulaks, of correcting the mistakes in their management and of helping them politically and organizationally and with working means, as well as of setting up new cooperatives.

The Party should play the main role in this respect. It should play a leading role, as comrade Stalin teaches us. Speaking about cooperatives, this is the advice comrade Stalin gives the party members:

> *"The art of leadership is a serious matter. One must not lag behind the movement, because to do so is to lose contact with the masses. But neither must one run too far ahead, because to run too far ahead is to lose the masses and to isolate oneself. He who wants to lead a movement and at the same time keep in touch with the vast masses must wage a fight on two fronts — against those who lag behind and those who run too far ahead"*.

The wise words of comrade Stalin are our guide in our work for the setting up of agricultural cooperatives. Never for a moment should we forget them.

We should not forget, either, that in our countryside there exists a determined and ferocious enemy of the agricultural cooperatives, of the poor and middle peasants. This is the kulak. And we should fight him tooth and nail, and never allow him to raise his head, to grow strong, enliven himself, and harm us. The class struggle in the countryside should be carried on day in day out, and this should be done in an organized way. Under the

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 195 (Alb. ed.).

leadership of the Party and of the working class, the poor peasants and their allies, the middle peasants, should be mobilized and become a single bloc. The slogan of the Party for the present period is to restrict the activity of the kulak in all fields, for he is struggling against us everywhere and will continue to do so until he is completely liquidated. Many people ask: Who is the kulak? How can he be singled out concretely? We should keep in mind the great Lenin's definition in the first draft of the theses on the agrarian question at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International:

> *"The big peasants (grossbauern) are capitalist entrepreneurs in agriculture, who as a rule employ several hired labourers and are connected with the 'peasantry' only in their low cultural level, habits of life and the manual labour they themselves perform on their farms. These constitute the biggest of the bourgeois strata who are open and determined enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. In all their work in the countryside, the communist parties must concentrate their attention mainly on the struggle against this stratum, on liberating the toiling and exploited majority of the rural population from the ideological and political influence of these exploiters. . .*
>
> *However, the expropriation even of the big peasants can in no way be made the immediate task of the victorious proletariat. . ."*.

On the basis of Lenin's definition we can draw in general outlines the characteristics of the kulak in our country.

The Land Reform has left the kulak with only a piece of his land which, in the majority of cases, is equal to that

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, pp. 167-168 (Alb. ed.).

of the middle peasant. But we should never single out the kulak simply on the basis of the land he owns today; we should also consider him from the angle of his means of production, such as draught animals, implements, the house he lives in, stables, barns, sheds, threshing grounds, etc. But the main characteristic always remains what Lenin said, the exploitation by the kulak of wage labourers or hired servants, be it even for a short period. This is his tradition, still to be uprooted, although the Land Reform Law condemns it. The best and most fertile plots of land which he has managed to hang on to after the implementation of the Land Reform, and the means of production that have been left to him impel him to continue the tradition of a rural capitalist, even by dodging the law. The kulak is a speculator, he is a black marketeer, he tries to avoid paying his obligations to the state, he combats state laws and ordinances, and is an ally of the city merchant and dealer. The kulak is also identified from his recent and distant past, from the views he held at that time, from his relations with the bey and his overseer, from his former property, means of production and the trade which he has carried on in speculation and the black market. The past weighs heavy on the kulak, and this should not be neglected in his identification.

In addition to this, the influence he has exercised in the village for centuries on end, through having both political and economic power in his hands, should not be forgotten. Possessing such power, the kulak has created a privileged position for himself, passing himself off as the cleverest and the most prudent man in the village, etc., and these things he has now lost he strives to regain at all costs. In each village the poor and middle peasants, who know the rich of their village like the back of their hand, are very well able to make the exact differentiation, whereas it would be difficult to define identical charac-

teristics for the kulak in each district or zone, and this will be done only after we have all the data on this important problem.

It would be utterly without effect were we to be content simply to talk about the class struggle in the countryside and the restriction of the kulak in all his activities, and not wage this struggle with all its fierceness, and in all its forms and expressions. The kulak should be fought politically; he should also be fought in the economic field; no favours and no concessions should be made to him. He should carry out the laws to the letter, and when he does not do this stern measures should be taken against him.

But violence should never be used against the middle peasants. A distinction must be made without fail between the kulak and the middle peasant. The kulak is the enemy, and the middle peasant is our ally. Such mistakes have been made. They are intolerable and impermissible. Stalin says:

". . . the basis of the collective farm movement at the present moment is an alliance of the working class and poor peasantry with the middle peasant against capitalism in general, and against the kulaks in particular".

". . . coercion, which is necessary and useful in the fight against our class enemies, is impermissible and disastrous when applied to the middle peasant. . .".*

If we use violence against the middle peasant, the restriction of the kulak deviates from the right road.

All actions taken to force the poor and middle peasants into cooperatives against their will, when they are not yet convinced of their usefulness, are illegal and im-

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 199 (Alb. ed.).

permissible. It is the task of the cooperatives themselves to convince those who are wavering, with their work, with the progress of the cooperative, with the rise of the living standards of the members, as well as with the help they should give those hesitant peasants, as well as all the other neighbouring peasants round about their cooperatives. Those poor or middle peasants who have not joined the cooperative are by no means enemies, as they have been labelled in some cooperatives. They are not yet convinced, but tomorrow they will make up their minds and will become indomitable fighters for the cause of the collectivization. Only the kulak is an enemy.

It is not permitted for the cooperatives to act, as has occurred on some occasions, when on their own responsibility, or with the knowledge of the district committee, they have formed the cooperative's blocks of land and removed the poor and middle peasants from their properties, often while not concerning themselves at all about the land which the latter must be given in place of what was taken from them, and so on. These things are not within their competence. If such measures are necessary they may be taken only by the Ministry of Agriculture, which should make a detailed study of each case.

Comrades,

The Party and government are paying the greatest attention to the problem of agriculture in our country, they are making great efforts so that agriculture will advance, and the living standards of the peasants will be raised from the economic, social and cultural aspects. For the construction of our country, for the strengthening of the foundations of socialism in new Albania, we have the warm-hearted and generous help of the Soviet Union and comrade Stalin. Just as for industry, the Soviet government has given and continues to give our

agriculture too valuable help, in tractors, in seeds, and in experts, so that our agriculture may advance and our peasant build a more prosperous life. Comrade Stalin has interested himself especially in our heroic, militant, and indomitable peasantry. He has asked me in detail about our agriculture, the life and work of our peasants, has advised me about growing grain, about the organization of machine and tractor stations so that they will till the land of the state, of the cooperatives and of the poor and middle peasants well. We are grateful to the Soviet Union and Stalin for the help they are giving. We are in a position to implement comrade Stalin's advice properly, and draw the greatest possible advantage from the aid the Soviet Union gives us to march ahead on the socialist road.

Every one should be fully mobilized for the fulfilment of the plan, and we must continue to make sacrifices, for socialism cannot be built without work and sacrifices. We should sternly combat all tendencies towards lack of discipline at work, in the first place, on the part of people of the state administration and some party members; we should get rid of the lazy and of the idea that everything can be put in order from the offices and that decrees and paper work are all that is required. No, matters are not carried through simply by writing memos about them. All the memos in the world cannot develop agriculture, build factories, machines, tractors, and so on, nor carry out land improvement schemes. Live leadership is what is required, problems should be followed up to their solution, and the people should be helped and supervised in their work. They must be made to face up to their responsibilities. We shall not allow our state to become a state of red-tape bureaucrats who think only of their wages, and as long as they are sure of their wages the work may go to the devil. Such a state of things must

cease, and there is bitter disillusionment in store for any one who does not carry out his tasks, does not work conscientiously and take full responsibility for the work the Party and the government have entrusted him with, and carry it out regardless of whether he may be a party member, a simple clerk or a senior official. The party members, first of all, and all the others should get a thorough grasp of this advice of the Central Committee of the Party and our government on these matters. Any one who does not carry out these elementary things is not serving the people properly, and the just struggle of the Party and the people's power will automatically reject such unconscientious and parasitical individuals.

Life is earned with honest toil. Bluff, demagogy, and lies are short-lived when confronted with the iron and conscious discipline of our heroic Party which is guiding our people with a sure hand in the construction of socialism. So the labouring peasantry, too, should be fully mobilized in the tasks of agriculture, to get the maximum work done, to open up new land, turn out as much first class produce as possible, adopt new methods of work, apply agricultural science, be militant members of agricultural cooperatives or selling and buying cooperatives, basing themselves firmly on the laws and ordinances of the government. The working peasantry should understand the new economic ordinances[1] correctly and carry them out. They have

[1] To strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, in January 1949, the CC of the PLA approved a new system of procurement and supply, under which the amount of grain the peasant was obliged to hand over to the state was determined by the size and category of his land. Under the new system not all the surplus agricultural and livestock products were taken from him, the rest being left to him to dispose as he wished. This promoted the development of the forces of production in the countryside. This system was based on the *guaranteed state market*, which, on the basis of ration cards, sup-

been issued in the interests of the labouring peasantry and the working class, whose alliance should grow stronger from day to day. The labouring peasantry cannot build a better life without the assistance and the leadership of the working class. This is a scientific Marxist law, and there is no power on earth to change it. Any other road leads the labouring peasant towards the abyss, leads him towards life-long enslavement to the bey and the city capitalist. No, our peasant and our worker have not shed their blood in order to go backward, but to go forward, always forward, to happiness.

Now the peasant will no longer be supplied with ration cards. Is this a correct measure? Yes, it is absolutely correct. It is a measure which does not cut the peasant off from supplies of the things he needs, such as manufactured and industrial goods. The fruits of the toil of the working class and of the working masses of the city are for the poor and middle peasant, too. They will be the first to benefit from it, but there should be order and justice in everything. Those who work and sweat the most should be the first to benefit, and at cheaper prices. Is it fair that the workers in the towns, at the construction sites, and in the factories should turn out oil and kerosene,

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plied those employed in state and semi-state institutions, as well as the dependant members of their families; on the *reciprocal market,* which supplied the peasantry with industrial products on the basis of exchange for their surplus farm products; and on the *free state market,* which was to satisfy those demands of the peasants and townspeople that were not met on the guaranteed and reciprocal markets, and also to supply those people not entitled to ration cards. On the free market, prices were much higher than in the two former markets. Thus money was drawn in from the wealthy, and the peasantry was encouraged to exchange its own products through the reciprocal market. For the concrete implementation of this decision the government issued several ordinances.

thread and cotton fabrics, extract salt from the sea, build highways and railroads, and can never even see an egg or buy a turkey even at 1,500 or 2,000 leks? Is it permissible that with one turkey the peasant may buy thread, and kerosene, and rope, and cotton fabrics? No, this is not fair at all, and our peasant himself understands that such a situation cannot go on for long. Harmony must be established in the market and prices, for neither the working masses of the town nor the labouring peasantry benefit from anarchy. The peasants may imagine that they benefit, but in reality, those who profit from this situation are the capitalists of town and countryside who are fishing in troubled waters, encouraging anarchy, confusion, the black market, weakening our state power and preparing its overthrow. Therefore, the new kind of relations between the town and the countryside, the new way of mutual exchanges, is the fairest of all. The methods of wholesale purchases of grain, of meat, etc., are quite fair, and we should uphold them. In the practical implementation of these ordinances, concessions and mistakes may be made, but we should struggle against them, correct them wherever they crop up, and see that they do not recur.

Bread is a big problem, and we must struggle to ensure supplies. Speaking about the cooperatives, comrade Stalin says:

> *"The artel is the main link of the collective farm movement, because it is the form best adapted for solving the grain problem, and the grain problem is the main link in the whole system of agriculture, because if it is not solved, it will be impossible to solve either the problem of stock-breeding (small and large), or the problem of the industrial and special crops that provide the principal raw material for industry"*.*

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 192 (Alb. ed.).

It was wrong for our state to ensure the bread, and at the same price, alike for those who did not work and produce and for those who toiled in production. The motto "He who works shall eat" should be firmly established; the government will no longer supply bread for all the idlers, money-lenders, speculators in gold and black marketeers of town and countryside. Let them work, and they may eat. They will earn their bread with work. But if they continue their trade as speculators, then they will learn that our state and our laws are much more powerful than fifty black marketeers who will not be able to fish in troubled waters for long. As for the peasants who do not produce or who produce very little grain, our government has given them broad possibilities to earn their bread through their own work. Although they will be provided with something on coupons, this will not completely solve the problem of bread for them. It is right that they should earn their bread through work instead of sitting among the rocks with a couple of goats. These peasants should come to work in the big state projects, or in the various projects of their districts and regions, where they will immediately enjoy the same treatement as the workers. Apart from this, when the peasant goes to work on such jobs his family in the village will have their food guaranteed. This is the right way. Or this non-producing peasant, without leaving his region, could get busy procuring various materials which the state needs, and there are plenty of these in our country, which represent a great asset, but which are going to waste. But if these non-producing peasants do not want to work in their own interests and that of their families, in the interest of the state and the whole society, is that the fault of the state? Then why should it look after them? I think that this is fair. It should be carefully explained to them where their interest lies, and how much the state helps them; with all

these possibilities created for them, these peasants should smash all the old prejudices that stop them leaving their villages. The homeland cannot be built, cannot advance and be embellished, and cannot be loved by sitting around idle in the mountains with one goat or a quarter of an acre of land. The homeland is everywhere, in factories and on construction sites, wherever people are working, producing, building for the common good. Work should become an honour for one and all, at the same time it should be considered as a sacred duty. This is the great significance of our recent ordinances, and therefore we should carry them out with the greatest determination.

It is absolutely untrue that the new ordinances of the Ministry of Trade resemble the economic ordinances of the Yugoslavs, or have been borrowed from them, as the Yugoslav Trotskyites and their organ of treason "Borba" claim. It is not the first time, nor will it be the last, the Yugoslav Trotskyites, in order to deceive their peoples, boast of having invented socialist systems for the army, the state administration, the economy, and elsewhere. They distort the genuine socialist systems which have given indisputable proof of their effectiveness in the homeland of socialism, and by means of these distortions, which are a far cry from Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav Trotskyites headed by Tito try to camouflage their real anti-Marxist aims in the field of the economy, and elsewhere; they are deceiving the peoples of Yugoslavia with such trickery because the aim of the treacherous Tito group and its actions is to strengthen capitalism in Yugoslavia and make this country dependent on the imperialist camp, both politically and economically. The systems and methods used in Yugoslavia today, the systems of supply and exchange and all the others in turn, are fattening the capitalists of town and countryside, giving them all the possibilities to enrich themselves at the

expense of the poor and middle peasant, and the city workers.

The traitor group that leads the peoples of Yugoslavia is waging no struggle in the countryside against the kulaks who possess large tracts of land and ample means, and no measures are taken to restrict them. On the contrary they are enriching themselves, thanks particularly to the pseudo-Marxist capitalist ordinances that regulate the relations between town and countryside in Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia the kulak is free to engage in speculation and the black market. He is supplied with any amount of goods in the state stores and buying and selling cooperatives for the good reason that his economy, far from being reduced, is becoming even stronger. In Yugoslavia, the kulak has kept all his land and means of working it, and not only that, but under the Tito regime, which is his own regime, he is consolidating his economy at the expense of the working masses of the countryside and town. Thus, the kulak has become a great force in the Yugoslav village, and a reliable support for the traitorous Tito clique. The various forms of economic and other administration in force today in Yugoslavia cannot serve anyone but the capitalists, who have found their faithful and obedient servants in Tito and his group.

The new ordinances announced by our government in the field of relations between town and countryside are quite different, and so are their aims. They aim at laying the foundations of socialism, at building socialism in the correct way that Marxism-Leninism teaches us, the building of a socialist economy in town and countryside. The various economic ordinances issued by our government are socialist in principle, and their implementation, likewise, follows the genuine Marxist-Leninist road. The new ordinances of our government are, and will be, carried out, in the interests of the poor and middle peasant and in the

interests of the working masses of the town. In our village, the capitalist, or the kulak, cannot rest easy, unlike his counterpart in Yugoslavia. Our people's power, with the Party of Labour at its head, has clipped his wings; he no longer wields the economic weapon in the village, this weapon has passed into other hands, into the hands of the poor and middle peasantry. The kulak still has a bit of land, and a few draught animals, and he still has his venomous tongue, but the socialist economic system, the sound organization of our people's power, and the properly organized activity of our Party and the Democratic Front will put strict limits on the kulak. But day by day our working class and poor peasantry together with their ally, the middle peasantry, under the leadership of their Party of Labour, will become a great and powerful political army which will more and more restrict the kulak in his hostile activity until his extermination as the last capitalist class. Can it be said that our poor and middle peasant does not know where all the evils that he has suffered for centuries on end have come from, or that he no longer feels the aching of his back from the ruthless exploitation of the beys, agas and their overseers? Can our toiling peasant ever forget the usurers of town and countryside who by lending him five napoleons would take his land, his cattle, his cottage, and, after taking all this, would leave him still owing them another 150 napoleons? This was like a sword hanging over the peasant's head, which kept him toiling like a slave. The kulak, the former usurer and bloodsucker, still lives in the village. Can the kulak change his skin and soul? Never! He is an avowed and determined enemy of the poor and middle peasants, a sworn enemy of the working class, of our People's Republic, and our democracy.

The working people of Albania defeated the kulak and the city capitalist, and will not allow them to recover them-

selves, to grow stronger and do harm. The kulaks are whispering that allegedly they will be the first to benefit from the new ordinances. This is what they say, they themselves do not believe it, and they have ample reason not to believe it. But the kulaks are vipers, and they do not spread such rumours without a definite aim. Their aim is to sabotage the just ordinances of our people's power, because the carrying out to the letter of these ordinances is certain death for them. It will wipe them out. They are struggling to stir up confusion, anarchy, fighting for the strengthening of the black market, trying to hoodwink the working peasant so that he does not see immediately where his interests lie. The peasant's blessings will come from the agricultural cooperative, from the buying and selling cooperative, from the implementation of the ordinances and laws of the state power to the letter, from the ruthless struggle he should wage against the black market, the kulak — his sworn enemy — against confusion and anarchy in the economy. The peasant's blessings will come when he forms a single bloc with the working class and the other working masses of the town. Just as the products of the working class and all the working masses of the town will be for the benefit of the poor and middle peasants alone, so the agricultural products should be for the working masses of the towns, and these exchanges should be developed in complete harmony and on the correct Marxist-Leninist road. And this is what will happen.

The labouring peasants will be the first to be supplied in the village, and in turn, they will be the first to supply the town. The kulak will try to dodge the laws and ordinances, but every trick will cost him dear. Our people's power has left the kulak a plot of land and draught animals and he must work and obey the laws which will be strictly enforced. Any breach of law on his part will bring him great misfortune: he will be heavily fined, will

lose his land, and in the end, will land in jail. So, he will have to choose his road. But the struggle against capitalism in the countryside requires well-organized work, and the poor and middle peasants should be in the forefront of this struggle, led by the working class and its vanguard, the Party of Labour. The peasant should never, for a single moment, consider himself as divided from the working masses of the town and from the general interest. If he thinks for one moment that he is in this position, he can be sure that he is playing into the hands of the enemy, that he is playing the game of the sworn enemies of himself and of the whole people. The enemies of our people and Party, the traitorous Trotskyites, Tito and Co., with their Albanian collaborators like Koçi Xoxe and others, left no stone unturned to create this gulf between the labouring peasantry and the working masses of the town, precisely by means of the mistaken ordinances and laws that they had managed to have carried out for a while in our country. The kulak was not affected too much by these ordinances, especially by those on the procurement of grain. It was possible for the kulak to hide his wheat and maize, and instead of waging a fierce and determined struggle against him, such mistakes were made as even taking the seed grain from the poor peasants. The hostile policy of the Trotskyites was carried out in several directions. The first ordinance on procurement was worked out on a basis that was not absolutely fair. It did not affect the kulak, and inflicted injustices on the majority of poor peasants. This created anarchy to the detriment of the people and the state. Of course, the mobilization of the state organs and the party people could not have been on the right road. There was great confusion in the problem of procurement of agricultural and livestock products. Things were enveloped in thick fog which was only to the benefit of the enemies of the

people. Many a conscientious representative of the state power and the Party in the procurement organs got caught up in the thorny bushes planted by the Trotskyites. Their authority and their will to carry out the procurement of grain successfully, which is one of the vital problems of the country, were shaken. This situation created numerous difficulties, and as a result, a part of the peasantry did not fulfil its obligations towards the state. Under the pretext of some unjust actions, these peasants, who should meet their obligations towards the state with the grain they have produced, complain and pass themselves off as victims claiming that they have produced nothing, that the grain has been taken from them by force, etc. I will give you an example. A peasant from Vithkuq (Korça district) who was required to hand in his obligatory quota of grain, instead of meeting his obligation, would launch an offensive every morning on the Executive Committee of the Korça district by parading his children and asking for maize from the state. When he was told that, far from getting any maize, he should hand over his own compulsory quota, he would answer: "Take the kids, then", or "You are leaving us to starve to death". At the time he was putting up such a show, the state organs found in his house enough wheat and maize to last him till June. On the other hand, people of the state and party organs have often fallen into the position of some unscrupulous peasants; frightened by the errors committed previously on the question of the procurement of grain, they have capitulated and slipped into opportunist positions, saying that the peasants would hand in no grain, that they have no grain, etc.

These two ways, both that of the peasant I mentioned above and that of the comrades engaged in the procurement of grain, are incorrect. The Party and the state should consider this vital problem with the greatest

seriousness, and our people must not go to sleep over it because the daily bread of the working masses of the town and those very poor mountain folk who have no land at all or very little land, depends on its solution. The plan of grain procurement for 1948 has been greatly reduced, and this reduced plan should be fulfilled as soon as possible. The party and state organs should be totally mobilized for the solution of all the problems of the town and countryside, and for the implementation of the ordinances of the government in the correct way, according to the law, without making any concessions. The economic ordinances should find the full support of the poor and middle peasant. The state has given and will give the peasants all possible assistance to go ahead with their work and to advance the economy in the countryside, but this cannot be done properly if the labouring peasantry itself does not make the state ordinances its own, and fight in the first ranks for their strict implementation, mobilizing itself in the village like a powerful army to strike at its enemies, at the enemies of the people and state. The agricultural cooperatives should be the example of this strict application and struggle for the fulfilment of plans, for the correct and rapid implementation of ordinances, and for the struggle against the kulaks and speculators in the countryside.

The new agricultural year in our country should be a year of total efforts, first of all, on the part of the peasant, and then of the government and the Party, to till as much land as possible, to till it as well as possible, and to have more bread and other products than in any other year. During 1949 all the mistakes made in the past should be corrected, and all the obstacles overcome; this should be a year characterized by a sound organization of work to eliminate all the erroneous things that have been brought in as a result of the hostile work of the Trotskyites. All

the working people should strengthen order and discipline, and fight for the swift and correct implementation of laws and ordinances. People of the state organs should lend an attentive ear to the demands and complaints of the peasants, and find the right solution to them in accord with the laws of the People's Republic. The party members should be the first to mobilize themselves and exert all their efforts to fulfil all their pledges and tasks. They should be outstanding for their mastery of management and organization, justice and discipline. Party members are not allowed to drag at the tail of events, and be afraid of responsibility.

Dear comrades,

Fully confident in the outcome of the important work you have shouldered, work which represents security for your life, for that of your children and all the working masses, you will put all your strength into the job. Your Party and government will help you unceasingly. We must strengthen the economy of the country, for in this way we will have strengthened our homeland, and defended peace. Day by day, you must strengthen the alliance with the working class, under the sure leadership of which we shall build socialism in our country.

Long live our beloved Party!

Long live our working peasantry!

Long live the lst Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives, and may its proceedings be a complete success!

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Works, vol. 6

OUR LITERATURE SHOULD FOLLOW THE ROAD OF SOCIALIST REALISM

Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

June 7, 1949

In his address to the comrades of the League of Writers invited at the meeting of the Political Bureau, comrade Enver Hoxha said:

We would like to know your opinion on the way the 3rd Conference of the League of Writers is going to proceed so that we can help you with our advice. In your material, in which you have jotted down the principal ideas of the report, a great deal is said about the prewar writers, and very little about the writers of the years of the National Liberation War and the postwar period. Thus the old writers eclipse the new ones. We want you to tell us how you came to this conclusion, so that afterwards, as I said above, we can give you our help.

At the conclusion of discussion comrade Enver Hoxha said:

The conference of writers is of great importance. Of course, both you as writers and we are concerned to see it properly prepared so that it will proceed successfully. But it must be said that this problem has not been properly tackled as a whole and in proportion to its importance. The main attention should not be centred chiefly on six or seven well-known writers who have distinguish-

ed themselves with their writings, but on the major problem of building our new progressive literature as well as of encouraging our new talents. We would be making a mistake if we were to demand perfection in the work of new writers at this stage. This will come gradually. We would also be making a mistake if we were to be content with just those few affirmed writers. It is my opinion that the writers' conference should have as its main objective the encouragement of the new talents, greater encouragement for them from the Party, the special assistance that should be given them for their ideological education.

The cultural level of our cadres is still low, but this does not imply that they should hesitate to air their views freely on problems of literature. This, however, is not attained without exertion. We must understand this properly. If it is thought that in order to create writers should be taken off work, all that will come out will be clichés. We are told that in the Soviet Union there are writers who have been taken off any other activity in order to engage in literary creation, but we should bear in mind that in the beginning they worked anywhere they were needed, some of them even worked in factories and continued their writing at the same time. Even now they address conferences, engage in other activities and continue their writing. With this I mean that our writers should work somewhere, but at the same time they must also write. I agree that the writers must be eased of some of the burden that hinders them in their literary activity, but this does not mean that they should pass the time strolling round the town. Life and the everyday struggle together with the working masses will assist our writers in their creative work. If you go to the railway construction site, for instance, and live and work among the youth, there is no doubt that you will find inspiration there,

while, if you divorce yourself from the masses, you cannot find inspiration.

In some of the contributions we heard here from the comrades of the League I noticed a certain dose of pessimism. More is demanded from the material we have in our country today. However, in my opinion, Fishta with his satires can't bear comparison with the "Epic of the Balli Kombëtar" by Shefqet Musaraj. The works of our comrades who write about the war, the life and work of our people, stand higher and are of a sound content. At the moment there may be some shortcomings in regard to form, but we can be confident that with the passage of time their works will improve in this aspect, too.

Despite this, the study presented by comrade Dhimitër Shuteriqi is good. Therefore, we should work in this direction in order to assist the development of our new socialist literature. We must encourage our new writers, have more frequent contact with them, help them study and raise themselves ideologically, culturally, and professionally, so that they can produce more and better works. Your writings must be brought more to the fore, because they are not being publicized as they should. This is not because this person or another does not want to, but merely because of underestimation and because the idea has been created that in order to write one should be a specialist. We must combat this opinion. The press should play a positive role in this direction. You too must make your contribution to the press in order to improve it, because to us, it has become like a gramophone record which is played over and over again with the same boring phraseology, the same words and expressions, without spirit and life, with a few monotonous reports. We must see to it that our press publishes better quality reviews and evaluations of the work of our new writers; this is what we must emphasize. Of course, this must not become

an obstacle to analysing the works of the past, to evaluating their positive aspects and rejecting those which are harmful. It would be a great thing, for example, if a good study were made of the work of Naim Frashëri, because in this manner we shall teach our people not only how to make an assessment of Naim, but also how to get the correct bearings in assessing the others, and not make mistakes. But the problems of the present must be in the centre of our attention. We should not become involved in empty discussions of reactionary authors like Fishta, Koliqi, etc., but we should bring out the values of those who write for the people. In the field of literature, as everywhere else, we should take our stand on the position of the Party.

During this period our literature has grown stronger, has made headway, and new talents are continually making their debut. It must be developed along the road of socialist realism, relying firmly on the national terrain and on the Marxist-Leninist ideology. We must go more deeply into the work for the development of our literature. This requires that our writer comrades themselves, among other things, must read more and never say, "We haven't the time to read". We are busy, too, but we try to find the time, and in fact we do read. A writer who does not make efforts, first of all, to raise his ideological and political level, may become a professional, but not in our sound sense of the word. I think that for you writers, the reading of a novel should arouse an inner urge and emotions that differ from those of other people. The League of Writers should take action also to enrich our libraries and bookstores with the works of the Soviet writers and the communist and progressive writers of the other countries. Recently I read a novel by a Soviet writer. From the title I gathered that it was a love story, but in fact the author writes about the factories and the other major

works built during the period of the Soviet power and expresses the love and joy they arouse in him. A novel like this educates our people correctly.

Comrade Shefqet Musaraj was correct when he said that collective work should be practised among the workers of literary creation, that they should exchange opinions, so that fruitful constructive work is done with them. Well organized work should be done to broaden the circle of writers with new elements, and there are affirmed writers like Nonda Bulka and others who should not be forgotten. I read in a French magazine about a French writer who tells how he frequented a club whose members were mostly communists. Although he himself admitted that he was not a communist but only one of the resistance against fascism, and though he was criticized by some people of going to that club, he stuck to his position, continued to go to the club, and insisted that he did not wish to deviate from the line of the resistance. Addressing those who criticized him of having withdrawn from their company, he told them that it was they who had left him, while he himself, with his attendance of the club, by associating with the communists, felt that he gained a great deal from them. This is the kind of policy you should pursue with regard to the old, non-party writers, otherwise, if they fail to get closer to you, if they do not participate in your discussions, if they do not get to know your opinions, etc., they cannot possibly be orientated correctly and activate themselves.

You sought our help for the problems of guidance which you will put forward at the conference, and we must help you more; this is a job which should in no way be underestimated. You yourselves have worked in this direction, and we observe that you have looked at many questions in the right way. You have pointed out to the old writers both their positive aspects and their shortcom-

ings, but you must see to it that both in the report and at the conference this should not become the central problem; this problem can be raised, but in another form and to a more limited extent.

As for the organization which you are thinking about, go ahead with it, because the times demand that you have a sounder leadership. You need more help so that you can be eased of some burden and devote yourself more to literary creation. The Party charges you to organize and guide the conference, and it is confident that you will do this very well. Don't underestimate your forces.

You must get a firm grasp of the ideological content in literary creation, and you must bear this in mind during the proceedings of the conference. The works of Naim, Çajupi, and other writers, which are valuable, must be studied. We have talked with comrade Shefqet Musaraj about putting into circulation pieces by the writers of the Renaissance, like Sami Frashëri, Çajupi, and others, which are connected with the defence of the country, but this should not become an obstacle to the encouragement of the new writers to create works with new subjects. And the great source of subjects for our new writers should be, first of all, the National Liberation War and the reconstruction of the homeland. These subjects must in no way be neglected. They should even occupy the main place. We must have as many works as possible with their content from the struggle and life of our people during these years. We think, comrades, that you must put the most emphasis in your conference on these matters. I wish you success!

ADVICE TO THE NEW WRITERS

June 23, 1949

The progress of our new writers should be followed and they should be given the necessary assistance to develop their talents.

They should be orientated to write about our people's National Liberation War and about the reconstruction of our country.

a) In order to be able to create a truthful work, to describe reality and create real characters taken from life, the writer should be an intelligent and impassioned observer. He should view life in its process of development realistically, from all aspects, and in its dynamic and progress.

The task of the new writers is to get very close to the people and describe their feelings and ideals, and their real life. This is where their ability will show up.

From constant contact with the masses they will be inspired to lofty themes, they will find the most powerful and beloved expressions of the people. Their writings should be characterized by powerful descriptions of the common, but magnificent man who represents the heroism, the lofty virtues, and the fine and pure tastes of the people. It is only then that their works will be read avidly by the people, because they will reflect the genuine reality of their life.

b) Our new writers should select their subjects from among the majestic events of the history of our people

in the past, especially from the glorious National Liberation War and the building of the foundations of socialism in Albania.

From events in the history of our people, from their heroic wars, works of a new content, illuminated by realism and the truth, should emerge.

Our new writers should learn from the inheritance of the progressive world literature, and especially from the Soviet literature of socialist realism.

c) Socialist realism should become a guiding method in carrying out the great task our new people's writers are confronted with.

In the works of our new writers, socialist realism will reflect the interests of the people, their strivings and struggles, the best, purest, the most pathetic and the most heroic sentiments of the people. This realism expresses in the most emphatic terms the patriotism of the masses, their love for freedom, for independence, it expresses their hatred for imperialism, fascism, war, faithfully reflects the struggle for the construction of socialism in our country, and opens up to the broad working masses clear prospects and vistas of work and victory, lights their way towards a more prosperous future, educates the people with the ideals of socialism.

The new writers should fight against the decadent tendencies in literature. Their writings should be purged of manifestations of idealism, of art for art's sake, of unhealthy romanticism. On the contrary, a healthy atmosphere of moral beauty should be communicated through their writings, with the creation of characters reflecting the heroism of our people. It is only in this way that their work will make a deep impression among the masses of the people, because it is only in this way that it will be true.

The people want our reality to be reflected in the works of our new writers, they want to find themselves portrayed there: in the family, in life, work, and struggle. In these works, along with real descriptions of nature, the wheat fields, factories, mines, etc., they also want to see the road ahead where their will, work and the efforts they are making are taking them, they want to see the road on which their beloved Party is leading them.

Our people want to see their love for the Soviet Union and the fraternal peoples of other countries reflected in the works of our new writers, to get acquainted with their lives, the common sentiments which inspire them in the struggle against tyranny, for the defence of peace, and the strengthening of the people's democracy.

Hence our new writers should feel deeply and develop the sentiment of patriotism and internationalism. Patriotism is inseparable from internationalism. Today internationalism is attracting all the progressive forces to its democratic and anti-imperialist platform. The internationalists stand for lasting peace, for people's democracy.

We oppose cosmopolitanism, since it strives to extinguish the love for one's own country which should always be boundless. The feelings and ideals of the people are alien to bourgeois cosmopolitanism.

Cosmopolitanism is in struggle with progressive culture, because cosmopolitans are far removed from the people and their real life.

There are some socalled writers who have persuaded themselves that their pen produces pearls. They are not convinced about the new life, and being far removed from the new revolutionary spirit, strive in their pitiful way to imitate the realism of the old type. They think their works may be acceptable, as long as they try to expose nakedly the evils of the past society which lived on the backs of

the people, emphasizing only the misdeeds of the beys, their life full of crimes, orgies, and robbery.

Our new writers should abandon this road and pursue the road of socialist realism reflecting the new reality, the new life, the new force. Through the description of the man of the new type, healthy in mind and body, courageous, heroic, the representative of the people, who fights for the new life, for the free life, socialist realism denounces the oppression and evils of the past, obscurantism, the oppression of the feudal and bourgeois classes, it denounces and fights the petty-bourgeois spirit and anything that stops the new man from advancing on his glorious road and realizing his aspirations for the future, for the construction of the new socialist system.

Works, vol. 6.

SPEECH TO THE SOLDIERS WOUNDED DURING THE PROVOCATIONS OF THE GREEK MONARCHO-FASCISTS AGAINST THE PRA

September 2, 1949

Dear comrade soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers,

On behalf of our government and Party I greet and congratulate you with all my heart on the lofty patriotism you have displayed defending the borders of our dear homeland from the vicious attacks of the Greek monarcho-fascists[1]. You have done your duty and earned the gratitude of our people, who see in their army the glorious defender of the homeland, of the victories of the National Liberation War, of the construction of socialism in our country, and of peace.

[1] Uninterrupted provocations were carried out all along the state border of the PRA, with the intention of preparing the ground for an armed uprising within the country; agents of foreign espionage services established contacts with the fugitive criminals within the country and with the remnants of the overthrown classes, and with their aid carried out sabotage and terrorist activities, spread hostile rumours, etc.

On August 2, 1949, Greek armed forces, with air and artillery support, launched a surprise attack on Albanian territory, penetrating 300-400 metres deep. This provocation was an act of aggression intended to enforce the chauvinist claims of the Greek government over two Albanian regions — Korça and Gjirokastra. The armed forces of the PRA smashed this aggression, and repelled the enemy.

Our people cherish boundless love for our People's Army, and while you were fighting against the monarcho-fascist provocateurs all our people had their eyes on you, with unshakable confidence that our sacred borders would not be breached, and they were right. The monarcho-fascists crossed our borders many a time, but your determination, your heroism smashed them and forced them to ignominious flight, leaving tens of dead and wounded on our territory. At each moment you stabilized the situation along our border and defended it as the apple of your eye. Our people are proud of their army and you, its heroic members.

The monarcho-fascists and their masters did not intend to undertake just a few insignificant provocations, but had greater aims. On the pretext that we were allegedly helping the Greek democratic army in its liberation war, they sought to extend the flames of war over to our country. They had prepared their plans in advance, but you ruined them. Their criminal plans were defeated by your heroic stand. It was not only your homeland, not only the life, rights and freedom of our people that you defended on our Southern border, but also peace in the Balkans. For this you have earned the love and respect of the progressive world.

The imperialist war-mongers and their stooges, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Titoite Trotskyites, and others, are showing unprecedented savagery towards small people's democratic Albania. Our country has long been subjected to innumerable provocations, and vile slanders and threats with the aim of harming this peace-loving and progressive country. But these criminals have never been able to achieve their aims, and they never will do so, because, with their heroism and cool-headedness, our people defeat all their efforts. The Albanian people are fighting with might and main for the defence of peace,

and they have strong nerves. Resolute members of the anti-imperialist democratic camp, headed by the Soviet Union, the Albanian people feel themselves stronger than ever, since the cause they are fighting for is a just one. The monarcho-fascists, the Titoites and their imperialist bosses, with all their propaganda apparatus, are trying in vain to make Albania responsible for the heroic war which the Greek people are fighting for freedom. They are trying in vain to conceal their criminal deeds and hide their defeats by accusing a small peaceful and freedom-loving nation. You are well acquainted with the declarations of the government of the People's Republic of Albania, that has stated many times that our country does not intervene in the internal affairs of Greece. You are informed about the order to the General Command of our Army, which instructed you to drive the monarcho-fascist provocateurs from our territory without setting foot on Greek territory. You have strictly carried out this order. But the monarcho-fascists, and the US imperialists and their satellites accuse us of having attacked Greek territory. You yourselves, who have been on the border, who have fought and been wounded, and seen your comrades killed, understand what base lies their allegations are. But these war-mongers invent such things in order to further their predetermined political and military aims. They failed in their military plans, because small Albania and its valiant army know how to fight and defend themselves, when it is a matter of defending the border, the territorial integrity and the freedom of our country. The time has passed when the war-mongering imperialists and their stooges could turn Albania into a battle field and their estate. Their political manoeuvres also will be a disgraceful failure because they are based on falsehood and slander. Our people, small in number but valiant and peace-loving, are not alone in the world. They are

defended by the great Soviet Union, by its leader — the great Stalin, by the anti-imperialist democratic camp and by the entire progressive world. The Albanian people are defending and will always resolutely defend their rights, and Albania, with its dear and powerful friends in the world, will never be violated, never lose its independence, and never see its vital interests infringed.

The enemies of our country are raising a hue and cry spreading slanders and lies, resorting to blackmail, to intimidate us. But they should know that they cannot attain their objectives. The imperialists have put all their agents in motion in order to create a psychosis of war towards our country. The Belgrade Trotskyites headed by Tito, the Greek monarcho-fascists, the Albanian quislings and war criminals in exile, the Italian neo-fascists, the Pope and the Vatican — all of them have joined the chorus to threaten Albania. The US and British imperialists, who keep under their wing branded Albanian war criminals, such as Mithat Frashëri, Abaz Kupi, Mustafa Kruja, Ernest Koliqi, Abaz Ermenji, Ali Këlcyra, and others, all the quislings, fascists, collaborators and agents of the Italian fascist occupiers, the German nazis, the fascists and agents of Metaxas[2], who are now in the service of US and British imperialism, have assembled all these in a committee[3], which we may call the bandits' committee.

The Albanian people are becoming clearer day by day about the intentions of the US and British imperialists towards our country as well as about the meaning of the

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[2] Greek general, head of the fascist dictatorship ruling Greece from 1936 to 1941.

[3] Following the failure of the imperialists' first plan against our country in the provocations of August 1949, the fugitive Albanian war criminals, with the assistance of the Anglo-Americans, set up in Paris the ill-famed "Free Albania Committee" which was disbanded by the end of the same year.

words "freedom and democracy" on their lips. The Albanian people are very well acquainted with those traitors and quislings who fought shoulder to shoulder with the occupier to oppress them. These quislings and traitors have now found new masters, who plan to repeat the deed of Hitler. But this committee of traitors will suffer the fate of traitors. The program of the traitors' committee is to raise its voice in chorus with the Belgrade and Athens jackals against our country and people's power. The imperialists have given this committee the task of instilling a little courage, by means of its rumours, in the reactionaries within our country.

But the reactionaries within the country value their hides, and are well aware of the strength of our people and power of the people's regime. Internal reaction views its fate more realistically, while the traitors abroad are living in a dream. The traitors abroad are waiting for the internal reactionaries to move, while internal reaction is waiting for external intervention. The hopes of both are in vain, and both attempts will fail ignominiously. Our people are not afraid of these rotting remnants, nor are they deceived by the demagogy of the Belgrade traitors, who are trying to hide their criminal ties with the monarcho-fascists, and with the Italian neo-fascists in order to harm the people's democracy in Albania. In vain the Trotskyite Tito and his gang issue communiques stating that they allegedly stand for the independence of our country. They are nothing but agents of imperialism, who have sought and are seeking to dig our country's grave; they are in close collaboration with the monarcho-fascists to partition Albania, and they have turned Yugoslavia into a centre of spies and diversionists to harm our country. Yugoslavia has become the centre of the Albanian bandits, of the accomplices of Mithat Frashëri, Abaz Kupi, and Seit Kryeziu, traitors and hangmen of the Albainans in

Albania and Kosova. No Albanian, be he a citizen of the People's Republic of Albania, or of Kosova and Metohia, is deceived by the traitor Tito's threadbare game — the Titoites' ties with the Anglo-American imperialists are plain and clear. Our people say, "You don't need a guide to the village you can see." The mask has been torn from the nationalist Tito and Co. The agents of the czars of Serbia, and the murderers of the Kosova population, Gani Bey Kryeziu and Seit Bey Kryeziu, now agents of the Intelligence Service, and at the same time, close collaborators with the new oppressors of the Albanian population of Kosova, the Tito-Rankovich clique, will not be able to deceive any Albanian of Kosova about the fresh evils that imperialism and its agent Tito have in store for the Albanians of Kosova. The Albanians of Kosova and Metohia will know how to cope with the actions of these new agents of the imperialists, who, both in the past and at present, have always gambled with their destiny and aspirations.

But, dear comrades, all attempts by the enemies of our country will fail, for, although our country is small, it will be a hard nut for the imperialists and their stooges to crack. Our people stand undaunted, because they are on the right road, carrying on their peaceful work, fighting persistently for peace, while remaining vigilant and waxing stronger and stronger every day. Our people are invincible, because they are staunch members of the democratic camp, because in the Soviet Union, in Stalin and in all the other people's democracies, they have dear friends, boundlessly loyal, who love and defend them. Our people are unconquerable and will exist forever.

Comrade soldiers, noncommissioned officers and officers, you know how dear is the life of man in our people's democracies and with what determination the struggle is waged to defend and improve the life of the people day

by day. But in our country the life of man is closely linked with the independence of the homeland, with the defence of the freedom won with blood and sweat, with the construction of socialism. When these things are jeopardized by the war-mongers, our people do not spare their lives. We are always ready to fight selflessly for the defence of peace and of our country. Our friends know this, and they have unfailing confidence in us, because we are performing the most sacred duty; the enemies of our people also should keep this in mind.

I wish you the quickest possible recovery so that you can return to your detachments where your duty awaits you. For your heroic deeds and lofty services to the country, the Presidium of the People's Assembly has decorated both you, and your heroic comrades-in-arms who fell on the field of honour to defend the borders of Albania. History will always remember the martyrs who laid down their lives at the border for our homeland. They will be added to the list of heroes of our people who will always keep in their hearts the memory of those heroic sons, who will be remembered by the future generations, because, thanks to their great sacrifices, socialism is being built in our country, a free and tranquil life is being constructed for our children. The future generations will reverently recall their brothers and parents who gave their lives in order to ensure peace for mankind.

As ever, we must be ready to defend peace, to defend our people, to defend our People's Republic.

Long live our heroic People's Army!

Long live the heroic Albanian people!

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Works, vol. 6.

REPORT AT THE 2nd CONGRESS OF THE PLA[1] "ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA"

March 31, 1952

(*Extracts*)

Comrades,

Three years and several months have passed since the 1st Congress of the Party was held, a very short time for the activity of a party, and especially of a people. But during this short period the Albanian people, led by their heroic Party, have scored important successes in the economy, in the social and cultural fields. Our country has marched with big and steady strides towards progress, building a better life, strengthening its economic and

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[1] The 2nd Congress of the PLA was held from March 31 to April 7, 1952. The report delivered by comrade Enver Hoxha at the Congress made a scientific analysis of the leading activity of the Party following the 1st Congress and summed up the experience gained during this period. This analysis disclosed and criticized the distortions noticed in the implementation of the political line and the organizational weaknesses of the Party. The Congress condemned the symptoms of opportunism towards the class enemy, liberalism, the monopolization by the party committees of the work which state organs should carry out, and reached the conclusion that the main danger was Right opportunism, the offspring of the capitulation to imperialist-revisionist pressure. The Congress laid down the task of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and raising the material and

defence pontential with every passing day. Everything clearly indicates the great vitality of our people and the correct line of the Party of Labour of Albania which, loyally following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, leads with success our people on the road of socialism.

In the course of this short period, important events, intensely felt by our people and Party, have taken place.

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cultural level of the working masses, sharpening revolutionary vigilance and enhancing the defence potential of the country, and attached very great importance to the constant strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party. The 2nd Congress of the PLA stressed once again the slogan of the Party: "We must build socialism with the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other".

The Congress considered it entirely possible to develop the economy and culture of the country under a long-term plan, and approved the directives for the 1st five-year plan over the 1951-1955 period, which had been discussed for more than two months in the party organizations and at open workers' meetings. This plan was based, first of all, on self-reliance, on the internal resources, the experience gained so far, the capability of the local cadres, and on the credits forthcoming from the socialist countries. Under the 1st five-year plan, the main tasks were: acceleration of the rate of construction of the economic base of socialism and the development of the productive forces, so that by the end of the five-year plan Albania would be transformed from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Our people and Party are confronted with important tasks in the background of international situations which greatly influence the internal political, economic and social conditions, because the US and British imperialist warmongers and their satellites are disturbing the peaceful life of the peoples, waging bloody wars against the peoples of the world and threatening mankind with a third world slaughter.

Faced with such grave situations, the freedom-loving peoples cannot stand idly by and leave their interests undefended, they cannot fail to take energetic actions to defend the interests of peace and prevent the ugly crimes of the blood-thirsty imperialists.

It is natural and normal that our people, who are part of the great and unconquerable camp of peace, heroically safeguard the peaceful socialist construction of their country. It is for this reason that we should follow the development of international situations with the greatest concern and vigilance, continuously explaining to the broad masses of the people about what is going on in the world, the trends and forces determining the international situations, at the same time showing them the road and the measures they should take in order to avert the terrible shambles the US imperialists and their lackeys are preparing.

It is clear to everyone that the adventurous and criminal policy of the government of the United States of

America and of all the states under US fascist control is making the international situation more and more involved day by day, making it more dangerous. What are the causes of this continuous tension? The causes are to be found in the savage aggressiveness of US imperialism alone which wants to rule the world, to enslave the peoples and exploit them to the bone. US imperialism has fattened itself on the blood of the peoples, through various imperialist wars waged not in its lair, but in other countries of the world. These unjust wars of extermination are prepared by the imperialists, and US imperialism gets the lion's share of the spoils. US imperialism has become the supplier, the speculator, the "merchant of death" and misery in the world. In order to attain its aims of enrichment and world domination, US imperialism constantly strives to wage its wars by proxy, by shedding the blood of the other peoples. Comrade Stalin has said:

> *". . . the war-mongers are used to pulling chest-nuts out of the fire with other people's hands. . ."*.*

This policy of aggressive wars and these barbarous principles inspire the actions of the US imperialists headed by Harry Truman[2]. The Wall Street magnates are striving to get their hands on all the sources of raw materials, to dominate and to make the law in all the world markets. This impels these multi-millionaires to organize new aggressive struggles, not only through political and economic competition, but especially through the method of domination, by means of weapons and war. Far from solving the great contradictions existing within capitalism, such

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 211 (Alb. ed.).

[2] Under his government, the USA set up the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and in the period from 1950 to 1953 organized the military intervention against the DPR of Korea.

methods of war deepen them still further, because the development of capitalist countries in the present epoch — as Lenin explains in his famous book "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism" — is uneven, goes on through international crises and conflicts, and the different countries try to eliminate their rivals, to bring about a new division of colonies, world markets, and raw materials.

In the First World War, caused by the contradictions among the imperialist states, such imperialist states as Austro-Hungary and czarist Russia were destroyed. Italy and Germany were weakened for a time, while the United States and Japan enormously enriched themselves. The war greatly weakened Britain and France, too. But, the imperialist system in general suffered an especially grave and irreparable defeat because the great October Revolution created the first proletarian state in the world, the glorious Soviet Union, liberating one sixth of the world from the clutches of imperialism. The armed intervention of fourteen imperialist states against the first socialist state in the world failed, and the Soviet Union triumphed over all the perils. Since that time, the world economy has been divided into two systems: capitalist and socialist. The socialist system has grown stronger politically, economically and culturally with every passing day, and has shown the world its indisputable superiority over the capitalist system, which is continually and periodically afflicted with the outburst of grave economic crises.

The Second World War demonstrated once again the invincible strength of the Soviet Union, the vitality and superiority of the triumphant socialist system, thanks to which Hitlerite Germany and militarist Japan were utterly defeated and destroyed. The Soviet Union came out of the Second World War stronger than ever. The Soviet Union helped the countries of people's democracy liberate themselves from the heel of fascism and capital. Thanks

to the heroic war of the great Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China, and the aid of the Soviet Union, heroic China was liberated. On the other hand, the capitalist system has grown weaker and weaker through the deepening of its internal crises and contradictions. Following the Second World War we can see an even greater weakening of British, French, Japanese, Italian imperialism, and others.

Against the background of the general weakening of imperialism, as comrade Stalin says:

> *"At present, the principal centre of financial exploitation of the world is the United States of North America".**

Because of the uneven development of the capitalist countries, the United States has become the most powerful banker of the capitalist world. Lenin said, *"Every dollar is stained with blood"***.

Although US soldiers did not take part in these two world wars, or intervened only when things were drawing to a close, the US dollar has been a constant participant in wars. The Americans supplied arms and ammunition to all the other imperialists engaged in bloody wars. Both in the time of the Second World War, and in that of the First World War, the diabolical policy of the US dollar is clear. Although America entered the First World War towards its end, as an adversary of the Kaiser's Germany, after the war it uninterruptedly financed the military potential of the Third Reich, it financed Hitler and the magnates of the Ruhr, it militarized Germany. In the Second World War, too, the United States entered the conflict against Germany when it was almost over. Now,

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 268 (Alb. ed.).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

in the period following the Second World War, it has become the supplier of Bonn, it is arming this part of Germany, it is restoring fascism and setting up the Wehrmacht again for another war against the Soviet Union and people's democracies.

The war-mongering imperialist camp, with US imperialism at the head, is stepping up its preparation of a new world war against the camp of socialism and peace, against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. It is not at all surprising that the US-British imperialists began these feverish preparations for a new war at a time when the Second World War had not yet come to an end, and its terrible wounds had not yet healed. While the Soviet Union, which liberated the world from the fascist yoke, suffered huge losses in men and material, and while the people's democracies, with Soviet help, were rebuilding their war-ruined countries, the US-British imperialists were plotting and feverishly preparing for a new world war to enslave the peoples, to deprive them of their freedom and wealth.

Following the Second World War, all the capitalist rivals of the United States were defeated, and they were obliged to submit economically, financially, and politically to American capital, which has become a dominating power in the imperialist bloc. This ratio of forces in the imperialist camp, in which American capital dominates, has further sharpened the contradictions within the camp of capitalism, as well as those between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp in general.

The imperialists consider the Soviet Union as a thorn in their flesh, therefore they are preparing and arming themselves for a new war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Hence the danger of a new world war against the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is being increased.

But does the fact that US imperialism has become the dominating and leading force of the imperialist camp speak of a strengthening of the capitalist system? Not in the least. It speaks of the opposite: of the weakening of the capitalist system and increasing contradictions within it. Only the Tito clique and the other Wall Street gangsters, the monarcho-fascists of Athens and the fascists of Rome, with all the Albanian war criminals, claim such nonsense. A careful examination of the development of international events clearly shows us that in spite of the American terror in the Marshall Plan and colonial countries, in spite of the threats and the political, financial, and other pressures on the part of the Americans, the contradictions among the imperialist wolves are great.

The theories of US scribblers and yes-men who claim that capitalism has attained a sort of stability, because an imperialist state has won superiority over its other imperialist rival states by taking possession of the sources of raw materials and the world markets, are lies and fabrications. These theories of imperialism claim that the capitalist system as a whole has entered a new phase, in which the capitalist economy from now on will be regulated without wars for division of the world among the opposing blocs of capitalist states. In this way, according to these American fascist theories, "the contradictions undermining the capitalist world from within have been eliminated". These enslaving American theories accompanied the notorious Marshall Plan, which was imposed on the peoples of the West-European countries and many other countries in the different continents, and ensured the complete submission of these countries to the American financial oligarchy. It caused the terrible impoverishment of the working class and the labouring masses of these countries, and turned the industry and the whole economy of these countries into an industry and economy for war. The

Marshall Plan, which the traitorous governments imposed on these peoples, placed the whole economy and finance of these countries under the heel of the US billionaires, but it could not extinguish the contradictions existing between the American partner, on the one hand, and its colonized satellites, on the other. No, the contradictions are not extinguished, they have been greatly increased, and the living proofs of this are Britain, France, Italy as well as the dependent, colonial and semi-colonial countries. The Marshall Plan was the preparation for the aggressive Atlantic Treaty, i.e., the war-mongering bloc headed by the United States of America.

The US and British imperialists, following the example of the Hitlerite aggressors, are imposing their policy of preparation for war on the peoples of the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Yugoslavia, and many other western peoples, channelling the economy of these countries into their war economy. Taxes have increased extraordinarily in these countries, while the prices of everything essential for the subsistence of the labouring masses, who live in terrible misery and poverty, have skyrocketed. In these countries where the Americans rule, as well as in the United States itself, unemployment has reached an unheard of figure. This policy of war is, naturally, accompanied with most fascist-like and savage police measures, surpassing the actions of the Gestapo. In the United States of America and in all the Marshall Plan countries the progressives, those who defend peace, are persecuted in the most barbarous way.

The capitalist world is shrinking more and more, the scope of capitalist exploitation is narrowing, especially in Europe and Asia, where, following the Second World War, the people's democracies and Mao Tsetung's great China were founded. On the other hand, throughout Asia and Africa the national liberation movement has burst out

against the colonial rulers, and in the capitalist countries the struggle for liberation is being stepped up and increasing with every passing day, as the masses of the people, led by the communist parties, pursue their liberation struggle against the US occupiers and their sold-out rulers with multiplied forces. These are the reasons that impel the US imperialists to make feverish war preparations, to create colossal war and armaments' budgets, to order their satellites to arm themselves and pursue a policy of war which leads to the greatest impoverishment of their peoples. This is why the US-British imperialists are repeating what they have done at other times, rebuilding the Wehrmacht, releasing from prison all the Hitler's fascist generals, all the great Ruhr industrialists, and engaging them in their service, why they are creating the "European Army"[3], and various pacts, open and secret, subsidiary to the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty. This is why the US imperialists and their satellites signed the separate peace treaty with Japan, in order to have this country as a base for aggression, to revive the Japanese fascist army and to push it into war against the camp of peace and socialism.

The forces of the socialist world have been increased and strengthened, and for this reason imperialism wants and is making every effort to hinder this powerful development of socialism and stop it by force of arms. Faced with certain failure, the imperialists are striving to prolong the life of their system, which is rotten to the core, and, of course, they want to achieve this by hurling the world

[3] This was the name given to the armed forces of the "European Defence Community" which was created under the agreement of May 27, 1952, between representatives of France, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Luxemburg. Under this agreement, these forces were put under the control of the Supreme Command of the aggressive North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

into a new war. And they have started this war against the heroic and glorious people of Korea. It is about two years now since the American fascist barbarians, under the banner of the United Nations Organization, attacked the heroic and peace-loving Korean people. The Americans are carrying on a cruel and barbarous war there, resorting to means and methods of extermination against the peaceful population, which outstrip even the Hitlerite methods. They have turned heroic Korea to ashes. They are murdering women, old people, and children without mercy. They are making large-scale use of the horrible bacteriological weapon to exterminate the Korean people, the heroic army of Korea, and the glorious volunteers of the great Chinese people. These beasts with the faces of men, these monstrous war criminals, are the most savage enemies of all progressive mankind. But, in spite of these horrors never heard of before in human history, the US imperialists have not been able in any way to subdue the will of the Korean people and their heroic army. Glorious Korea is invincible. It will triumph over the imperialist barbarians. The sacred cause of the Korean people will triumph, for it is just and enjoys the support of all the peoples of the world, because the savage enemies of the Korean people are the enemies of every ordinary honest man in the world.

When they attacked the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the US and British imperialists thought that, by quickly subduing this heroic people, they would be able to continue their aggression against China more easily. Of course, they failed, and not only did they not make one step forward, but they suffered one defeat after another. The use of means of mass extermination against the Korean people shows nothing but their great weakness, that will certainly be transformed into disaster for the imperialists. The criminals must be stopped. The Albanian people protest most energetically against the use of bacteriological

weapons in Korea by the bloody-handed Americans, whom they consider as the most savage beasts, on whose heads the justice of peoples should descend mercilessly to wipe them out without a trace. . .

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III

THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR ECONOMY AND ITS PROSPECTS

From the 1st Congress to date, we have managed to develop our economy in a planned socialist way. This has been made possible primarily thanks to the concentration in the hands of the state of industry, wholesale trade, foreign trade, the banks, the means of transport, and so on. This has become possible for us because our people have learnt and become more experienced in planning, which coordinates the factors of our economic life, and have learnt from Soviet experience as well. This development has also been made possible thanks to the liquidation of the sabotage perpetrated by the Titoites, who not only retarded such development, but also created anarchy by plundering our riches.

During the period under review, all the sectors of our national economy, especially industry, which is basic to the construction of socialism, have grown stronger.

Satisfactory results have been achieved in industry. By the end of 1950, the total output of industry and the artisan sector was estimated at 3,266,000,000 leks, or 395 per cent in comparison with the prewar year 1938. The objective of the Party's policy has been to attain the largest possible increase in the production of industrial goods in order to meet the needs of the people, and in this we have achieved results which are incomparably better than before the war, when everything was brought in from abroad. At the same time, importance has been attached to produc-

tion of the means of industrial production, which is bound to increase year by year, resulting in larger supplies of manufactured commodities and a correct ratio between the means of industrial production and the industrial consumer goods. Under the two-year plan from 1949 to 1950, industrial output recorded an annual increase of 10.5 per cent.

In the interval between the two Congresses, our economy has developed further and grown stronger thanks to our Party's correct policy, and the heroism of the working class and all the working masses of the country, who know they are working for a better life and socialism, and have spared nothing to score the substantial victories which have already been achieved. In the work for the construction of the base of socialism, our country has been helped by the peoples of the Soviet Union. Our country has also been assisted by the countries of people's democracy. This assistance has consisted of considerable credits, by means of which we have rebuilt the old existing industry, have developed the oil and mining industries, and have strengthened our industry with powerful plants and combines, such as textile, sugar, cotton, and timber processing plants and factories; we have also built hydro-power stations and railways, and mechanized part of agriculture, and so on. These credits have also helped us to cope with other necessary imports, whether of bread grain or of various industrial products, for the needs of the working masses. On the other hand, these credits have also enabled us to cope, through our state revenue, with the major construction work carried out in this period, to improve the economic and cultural life of the working people, thus putting many apartments, schools, cinemas, houses of culture, libraries, nurseries, sanatoria, holiday homes, hospitals, and so on, at their disposal.

Our economy is developing along the road of systematically restricting and eliminating the capitalist elements,

along the road of continuously and rapidly increasing the socialist elements of our economy. Such a correct course has enabled our country to forge ahead successfully towards the construction of the base of socialism and the strengthening of the people's economy.

The grave consequences of the Yugoslav sabotage, the hostile activity of certain anti-party elements, as well as our weaknesses in general, were the causes of our failure to carry out the two-year plan. It should also be pointed out that our failure to carry out the two-year plan was also due to our failure to achieve the envisaged output of oil, edible oil and soap, leather, footwear, fish, and timber in particular. Apart from the edible oil and soap industry, which can be justified to some extent because of the poor yields of olives and of the oil crops and cotton, the rest of the industries did not fulfil their plans because of poor organization of work, lack of discipline at work and technological expertise, failure to apply the work norms, lack of all-round technical control from above and from below, lack of vigilance towards the enemy who tried to commit acts of sabotage, considerable fluctuation of labour force and poor utilization of the working time, and so on. It should also be noted that many industries, such as the cement industry, the repair shops, the textile, macaroni, tobacco, power, printing and other industries, have carried out the plan satisfactorily.

Likewise it should be stressed that the realization of the plan has been very satisfactory in the construction sector which has fulfilled and overfulfilled the plan, giving the people plants, factories, hydro-power stations, dwelling houses, and other projects in record time.

Successes have also been achieved in the sector of agriculture, but the development of agriculture can in no way be regarded as satisfactory, although it outstripped

the prewar level as early as in 1946. Industrial production has nearly tripled compared with 1938, whereas in 1950, agricultural production had increased by only about 30 per cent as against 1938.

Despite continued state assistance, agriculture could not keep pace with the development of industry since small scale, individual production is prevalent there, land is partitioned into very small economies, and the farming methods and tools are still very primitive; all this prevents agriculture from developing at the proper rate. The socialization of the countryside, that is, its collectivization, can provide the definite solution of the problem of agriculture. But Lenin and Stalin and the experience of the Soviet Union teach us that we must proceed along this path with great caution and create the proper conditions to prepare for the extension of collectivization. The path we must follow in this direction has been defined by the 1st Congress of the Party, that is *"in the collectivization of agriculture, we must neither rush things nor mark time"*, and by the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee as follows:

*". . . our immediate and pressing task is not to increase agricultural production cooperatives in numbers only, but to achieve all-round strengthening of the existing cooperatives so that they can become a brilliant example for the poor and middle peasants and win them to the road of collectivization without any pressure, but voluntarily, on the strength of the practical example of the existing cooperatives. Any untimely effort to speed up the collectivization of agriculture in the present conditions will lead to grave errors, which will seriously damage the cause of the collectivization of agriculture".**

* "Principal Documents of the PLA," vol. II, 1st Alb. ed., p. 97.

In the present situation, we must take the road of strengthening the existing cooperatives, strengthening and extending the MTS's and the mechanization of agriculture. For this purpose, in our five-year plan we must provide for very much increased motor power in order to make up for the shortage of manpower in the countryside, the lack of draught animals, and so on. As well as that, we must plan a greater development of land improvement work, especially in the construction of irrigation canals, in order to make the land more productive and to put more farming machines, selected seeds, and so on, at the disposal of the peasants. The principal task to get out of this situation is the struggle to increase the yields of all crops, bread grain and industrial crops alike. We must place particular importance on the development of industrial crops, primarily cotton, sugar-beet, tobacco, etc. In connection with agriculture, we must also attach great importance to livestock farming, since during this period, we observe not an increase but a decrease in the numbers of such animals as oxen, buffalos and horses, brought about by the shortage of feed, on which we must place the greatest importance.

It should be pointed out that the successes achieved under the two-year plan have not been in proportion to the vital importance of agriculture to our country. However, over these years, important schemes have been carried out, like the draining of the Maliq marsh, the digging of the Myzeqeja irrigation canal, and other irrigation and drainage canals, the distribution of more than 10,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, upward of 7,000 tons of seeds, and so on. Our country's soil and climate are such as to enable us to achieve the results we are striving for, provided we give more help and organize the sector of agriculture better. It should be emphasized that the two-year plan has seen poor organizational work by the apparatus of the Ministry of Agriculture and the local organs of power concerning

the working out of detailed plans in agriculture and the supervision of the work. Agrotechnical methods have not been implemented to the required extent, there has been carelessness and delay in the carrying out of campaigns and in the distribution of seeds, agrarian credits, fertilizers, and farm implements. All these factors have had their influence on lowering yields, though the successes achieved in attaining very good results here and there in the socialist and private sectors most clearly show that all the possibilities exist in our country to solve this problem better. We must also stress that notwithstanding the successes, under the two-year plan, the state crop and livestock raising enterprises have lacked proper internal organization, and this has left the way open to much damage, both in agricultural production and in the efforts to increase and improve the livestock. The MTS's too, have not carried out the work and repaired machines properly; their work has not been done well, and they have not been utilized commensurate with the existing possibilities; they have not completely fulfilled their commitments to the peasants nor respected their contracts with them.

During the period under review, transport in our country has been extended and grown stronger, despite the sabotage committed by the Yugoslavs and Niazi Islami. Railways have been built, and road and sea transport has been equipped better. The main task in communications is to strengthen organization still further, and raise the level of the cadres.

Our trade has also been strengthened. In 1950, trade goods turnover was 59 per cent larger than in 1947. Socialist trade has constantly grown, and private trade has been restricted.

The economic situation of the working masses has improved constantly. On the basis of guideline data in 1950, the national revenue had increased to more than

9,000 million leks (1947 prices), or a 16.8 per cent increase over 1948, and in 1949 to 121 per cent compared with 1947, and in 1951 to 141.5 per cent compared with 1947. This clearly indicates that the standard of living of the working people has increased from year to year. During that period, the population was supplied steadily with more and more daily necessities, and its purchasing power increased. The development of the socialist trade, the increase of consumer goods, and the aid of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies resulted in reduced prices on the markets of the Republic in 1950 as against 1949, and the reduction of prices on a number of items, such as meat, butter, cheese, milk, eggs, beans, ranged from 17 per cent to 39 per cent. In 1950, the government instituted a partial reduction of prices for goods of primary importance, with the population gaining 300 million leks. In 1951, another partial reduction of prices of the principal goods of socialist trade was instituted, and the people gained another 148 million leks.

The number of the working people in the state and party apparatuses and the state sector of the economy has increased by 28 per cent compared with 1947. The women participating in work in 1950 comprised 18 per cent of the total number of the working people. In 1950 the wages fund for the working people had increased by 50 per cent in comparison with 1947. The average annual nominal wage of every worker had increased from 35,000 leks in 1947 to 39,000 leks in 1950. This clearly shows that the economic situation of our working masses has improved. Our enthusiastic and militant working class has always been mobilized to the maximum for the construction of the base of socialism. In the main sectors of the economy 80.1 per cent of the working people work to norms.

The Party and the government have attached major importance to the cultural uplift of the working masses in

this period, and big investments have been made in the sectors of education, culture, and public health. Primary, secondary, and vocational secondary schools have increased in number. Higher institutes have been set up in our country. The number of pupils increased. Kindergartens, boarding schools, hospitals, sanatoria, and workers' holiday resorts have also increased.

A series of important political, economic, and financial problems and tasks have been solved correctly and realized well on the whole. The legislation and ordinances have been revised and purged of the influence of the Yugoslav Trotskyites. The system of supplies to the population has also been revised, and a supply system which leads to constantly strengthening the alliance between town and countryside has been established. A correct policy of incentives has been established in agriculture, through which the peasant is assured of supplies of essential consumer goods, and industry and the town of more agricultural products.

These successes have been achieved thanks to the correct leadership of the Party, its Central Committee, and the determination, heroism, and selflessness of the communists, to the illustrious heroism of our working class and all the working masses of the country. But it should also be stressed that our weaknesses and mistakes have also been pronounced during this period; it is necessary to learn from them so as to avoid their repetition.

In the first place, the leadership given by the Party and the people's power must be strengthened, and this has to be done from top to bottom. The Party demands that its members, in the first place, and all the working people must strictly implement its decisions and those of government, and calls on them to work tirelessly, and demands that they strictly observe party and state discipline. Laxity

has been observed in this direction, both by communists and by non-party people who work in the state institutions and the economic enterprises. Owing to these incorrect attitudes towards the tasks which they should carry out, our national economy has suffered damage. There have been breaches of discipline, waste, misuse of state porperty, indifference and lack of concern for the life of workers, as well as lack of collective and individual responsibility.

In the apparatuses of the ministries and in their leading organs, there has been extreme bureaucratism and a pronounced lack of profound understanding of problems and of checking on the implementation of decisions. Sometimes, owing to this, mobilization at work has not been up to standard and vigilance has been lowered. Poor management work in the Ministry of Mining and the Ministry of Procurement is a case in point. In these departments, especially when the main fault lies with the leading functionaries, though the subordinates are not exempt of responsibility, both at the top and down below in the enterprises, there have been obvious shortcomings in the organization and management of the work, in the establishment of a sound discipline throughout the apparatus of the ministries and the enterprises, as well as in following up the realization of the plans. In the Ministry of Procurement in particular, there has been and still is a lack of strict control over the responsible cadres and their subordinates, who in many cases act in contravention of law and behave towards the peasantry in a manner for which they should be condemned. There has also been a lack of close cooperation between this ministry and the executive committees as well as with the mass of the peasants.

The people's councils and the executive committees must take the question of running the life of the country properly in hand, and become more capable of solving all

the problems of their districts. Those who are elected to them by the people must study and make great efforts to raise themselves to the level of leaders, and not regard themselves as only formal leaders. To lead is not so easy a task, but anything can be achieved with unfailing energy and perseverance. The more difficult the problems, the greater should be the efforts of the members of the Party and its apparatus, the government and its institutions, the people's power and its bodies, as well as all the economic enterprises. Lazy people, bureaucrats, those who do not try to study and educate themselves, those who do not keep in close touch with the broad masses of the people and strongly rely on them, cannot be in a position to start solving the burning problems which call for urgent and correct solution.

About the management of state affairs, Stalin says:

"To give good leadership, means:

first, to find the correct solution of the question, and a correct solution cannot be found without relying on the experience of the masses, who test the results of our leadership on their own backs;

second, to organize the implementation of the correct solution, which again cannot be done without direct assistance from the masses;

third, to organize check-up on the implementation of this correct solution, which, again, cannot be done without the direct assistance of the masses.

We, the leaders, view things, events, people, only from one side, I would say — from above, therefore our field of vision is more or less limited. The masses, on the contrary, view things, events, people, from another side, I would say — from below, therefore, their horizon is also limited to a certain extent. In order to find a correct solution of this question, these

two experiences should be united. Only in this way will the leadership be correct".*

The Central Committee and its apparatus must organize their work better, and improve it by shaking off bureaucratism, doing away with unnecessary red-tape which has tied them hand and foot, and exercising strict check-up on the implementation of decisions. The same applies to the Council of Ministers and its apparatus.

We must honestly recognize these mistakes and shortcomings in our work, because only in this way can we make progress, improve our work, and successfully cope with the tasks we will be faced with in the five-year plan.

The results achieved under the two-year plan and the many successes in all fields of our state activity will be the basis for the successful implementation of our 1st five-year plan. The successful carrying out of this plan will bring about the further improvement of the living standard of our country's working masses. Our five-year plan will be carried out successfully, not only because all the conditions are there in our People's Republic, but also because of the aid accorded us by the glorious Soviet Union and comrade Stalin in person and the countries of the people's democracy. I do not intend to go into details or figures of the five-year plan because they will be dealt with in the second item of the agenda by comrade Mehmet Shehu, but I want to emphasize, by means of a few figures, the great importance of this five-year plan.

This plan envisages investments amounting to 21,000 million leks. This is three times the total of investments our country made from 1946 to 1950. The total value of industrial and agricultural products in 1955 will be upwards of 19,000 million leks (at the 1950 prices), that is, the volume of industrial and agricultural production in 1955

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 133 (Alb. ed.).

will be 426 per cent compared with that of the prewar year 1938.

The total income of the population in 1955 will be more than twice as high as in 1950.

Such will be our five-year plan. Our people's success will be great, our economy will be strong, the standard of living of our people will improve, and our People's Republic will be strengthened. We must and certainly will achieve these successes.

However, to attain these successes, we have to carry out major tasks.

The main political task of our five-year plan consists:

IN STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE LABOURING PEASANTRY, AND STRENGTHENING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THIS ALLIANCE; IN RESTRICTING THE CAPITALIST ELEMENTS AND THE SPECULATORS OF TOWN AND COUNTRY; IN RAISING THE CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING MASSES; IN STRENGTHENING THE SOCIALIST CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE WORKING CLASS AND ENHANCING THE REVOLUTIONARY VIGILANCE AND PATRIOTISM OF ALL THE WORKING MASSES.

Besides this, the main economic task of the 1st five-year plan consists:

IN CONTINUING THE WORK AT A FASTER RATE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM, SO THAT BY THE END OF THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN, OUR COUNTRY WILL BE TRANSFORMED FROM A BACKWARD AGRARIAN COUNTRY INTO AN AGRARIAN-INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY.

I do not intend to enlarge on the tasks every communist, every citizen of the People's Republic of Albania, and the whole of the party and the state organs are charged with under our five-year plan. I shall confine myself to saying only that the main, indispensable, and essential conditions for the successful implementation of the economic, educational and cultural tasks of our five-year plan are:

1) The Party must be totally mobilized, ensure and properly organize its own leadership and strict control over the implementation of the major tasks;

2) The management of the economy calls for sound, active leadership of the proper level on the part of the Party, and extremely great attention to the ideological and political, as well as technical and professional education of its own cadres, the cadres of the state power, and of all the branches of the economy.

The implementation of these great tasks calls for:

1) steel-like unity of the entire people around the life-giving policy of the Party of Labour and the government of the Republic, heroism and selflessness by all the working masses of our country, the working class, the peasantry, the patriotic intellectuals, the youth, the women, and the pioneers;

2) substantially increased labour productivity by all the working people and the development on a wide scale of the socialist emulation drive, implementation of advanced methods of work in all branches of production, as well as thorough knowledge and successful implementation of advanced Soviet experience;

3) lowering costs in all branches of production by administering everything in the most meticulous and economical way. Each of us should care for the general wealth of the people just as he looks after his own personal belongings, since the interest and welfare of every person and his family are bound up with, and conditioned by, the success of the entire economy and the welfare of our homeland;

4) fierce and energetic struggle against mistakes, laxity, absences from work and duty, against thefts, abuses, breakages, and damage to state property, as well as a stern battle against acts of sabotage and the saboteurs;

5) continued, systematic and rigid check-up on the implementation of the tasks of the Party and the state.

These are the most important directives which we must always take into account, because only by carrying out these tasks precisely, whole-heartedly and in a revolutionary and patriotic way, will we be sure of victory and able to fulfil our 1st five-year plan successfully.

Our heroic Party, guided by the teachings of the great Stalin on its glorious road to socialism, pledges to the people that it will discharge these tasks honourably and successfully.

IV

OUR PARTY'S PERFORMANCE AND THE PROBLEM OF FURTHER STRENGTHENING IT

In the interval between the two Congresses, important successes have been attained in our country due to the fact that the Party has carried out its task and has remained firmly at the helm, guiding the future of our people. It has known how to mobilize the inexhaustible energies of the people in an organized way for building the foundations of socialism. Inspired and led by the Marxist-Leninist principles, the communists have gained experience in political leadership and organization, and have become more capable of carrying out their duties. The daily struggle against difficulties, against external and internal enemies who try to weaken the Party and the regime of people's democracy, the fierce struggle against the Titoites and their agents, the fight against new deviationists and the pressure of the bourgeoisie, have steeled our Party and strengthened its unity. The Party has become capable of successfully carrying out the tasks it faces and of crushing every effort of any enemy who would dare to hinder it in its work in the interests of the people, peace and socialism.

As we know, our Party warded off the danger of the intervention of the Titoites and their agents Koçi Xoxe and Co., because it properly understood and carried out the teachings of Stalin. The Central Committee and the Party assimilated the lessons of the historic Letters of the Bolshevik Party addressed to the former Communist Party

of Yugoslavia and of the Resolution of the Information Bureau, "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia", smashed the Titoite agents in our Party, and brought about the historic turn which put our Party on the right Marxist-Leninist road. During this whole period, our Party has been vigilant and has dealt severely with any alien and hostile manifestation. It has fought for the defence of its line and of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist principles, has fought opportunism, considering it as a manifestation which leads to the toning down of the class struggle, as a retreat from the revolutionary line of the Party, which crops up due to the petty-bourgeois environment and the external circumstances in general.

1) THE COMPOSITION AND THE EXTENSION OF THE PARTY

While implementing the line laid down at the 1st Congress, the Party has striven to improve its composition, to strengthen its leading organs, to link them as closely as possible with the base and improve the leadership given. The Party has achieved satisfactory results in these directions:

At the 1st Congress, the Party had 45,382 members and candidates. At this Congress 44,418 members and candidates are represented. As can be seen, the party membership is slightly smaller than it was three years ago, and this is so because the struggle has been aimed more at improving quality rather than increasing number. That has been indispensable and correct. The Party has striven to draw tested people, loyal to communism, into its ranks. As a result of the verification of the documents, which has now come to a close, 3,776 people have been expelled from the Party. During the period of verification, in the normal course of carrying it out, another 2,220 people,

who proved unworthy of being party members, have been expelled. From the 1st Congress up to the end of last year, 3,909 people have been admitted as members of the Party, and 7,127 as candidates. As can be seen the number of candidates is larger than that of members, and this is out of proportion. But the situation has improved overall, since, on the eve of the 1st Congress, candidates comprised 35.79 per cent of the Party's effective, while on the eve of this Congress, they comprised only 32.6 per cent. This situation will continue to improve.

The social strata in the Party are as follows: prior to the 1st Congress, no accurate returns on the strata were available, because social origin was confused with social status, and origin itself was misinterpreted. At present, the party members and candidates of working class social origin constitute 8.08 per cent, and those of working class social status make up 11.5 per cent of the Party's effective. Of the total number of workers engaged in production, 9.73 per cent are organized in the Party. As can be seen, the number of worker party members or candidates is small. This has been influenced by the fact that our working class is new and small in numbers, and now it is growing and becoming stronger parallel with the development of industry. Notwithstanding this, the growth rate of the Party with working class elements is not satisfactory, though there are improvements in this respect. After the 1st Congress, the workers admitted to the Party constituted 28.06 per cent and the candidates of working class origin made up 21.28 per cent. This growth in such a short period is not bad, indeed it is encouraging, if the period of suspension of admissions because of the verification period is taken into account. Since the verification of the records, priority has been given to admissions to the Party of elements belonging to the working class strata. The Central Committee has reduced the probation period for admission

to the Party for worker elements from the poor strata from three to two years, and for those who come from the middle strata, from four to three years. As well as this, with a view to protecting the working class elements, the Central Committee has implemented the decision that the expulsion of any member or candidate of working class origin or working class social status has to have its approval. The verification of party records has also strengthened its composition. In comparison with our country's social strata, in general the social composition of the Party is good. The poor strata make up 74.1 per cent, the middle strata 22.02 per cent, and the rich strata constitute only 3.7 per cent of the membership. The growth of the working class and the Party's continued concern will, undoubtedly, further strengthen its social composition.

In connection with this, it is the duty of the Party to strengthen itself with elements of the working class and to extend, in particular, to the industrial centres of economic production and to those villages where there are still no communists or very few of them. We must always strive more for higher quality rather than for numbers. The Party must be cautious and not at all liberal about the admission of elements from the rich and middle strata; it must preserve the purity of its ranks, protect itself against the demagogues, the phrase-mongers, the career-seekers and braggarts, because there is no room for them in our Party. It must defend its ranks from the enemies of the working class and the people's power.

In regard to the extension of the Party during this period, the number of basic organizations has increased by 130.82 per cent. During this period the party organizations have been set up on a production basis. In the industrial centres, the basic organizations have increased hand in hand with the growth of industry, they have also

increased in the agricultural cooperatives, and new organizations have been set up in the villages. This extension is normal, correct, and useful, since the Party has created closer and stronger ties with the people. Now it is much more closely linked with the people, it is able to lead more easily and better than in the past, and this is because the basic organizations in the countryside are no longer set up on the basis of the locality, but on the basis of the village.

The setting up of the party committees on a district level was also a correct organizational measure for two reasons: first, because the leadership established closer and direct links with the basic organizations and the party rank-and-file, and second, because when we take into account the low ideological and cultural level of the party leaders and the lack of experience in management, the old organizational forms of administrative division into vast regions and prefectures led to the weakening of leadership. Naturally, we cannot say that everything has been put right thanks to this form of organization. We are meeting difficulties because of the need for a larger number of cadres with experience in party work and management, for more party instructors and organizers, etc., yet, in spite of all these difficulties, satisfactory results have been achieved owing to the experience with which the Lenin-Stalin Bolshevik Party has provided us. The principle of building our Party along Marxist-Leninist lines has strengthened the unity of the Party and the ties of the base with the leadership, direction has improved, and the cadres have been educated. Comrade Stalin teaches us that,

> *"The object of the district reform is to bring the Party and Soviet and the economic and cooperative apparatus closer to the districts and villages, in order*

*to make possible the timely solution of the vexing questions of agriculture, of its upswing, of its reconstruction".**

2) *THE QUESTION OF LEADING THE PARTY, AND ITS INTERNAL LIFE*

The Party has striven to implement the directives laid down by the 1st Congress. The Trotskyite-Titoite methods which handicapped its political and organizational line were purged from the Party. Discipline, criticism and self-criticism have been strengthened, and inner democracy has developed and grown stronger. Elections in the Party have followed the correct course as defined by its Constitution, the method of appointing people to leading posts from above has been done away with, and that of coopting people to forums has been avoided. All this has strengthened the Party, the cadres, the leadership, and the people working in the leadership have grown more responsible. This has resulted in a more developed sense of responsibility among the communists, a more correct and consistent attitude towards their duties, to strengthen the rendering of account by the leadership to the mass of the Party, and has enhanced criticism and self-criticism in general.

Regular meetings have been held ever since the Congress, and this has consolidated inner democracy. The forums and the secretaries of the basic organizations have been elected in the spirit of healthy criticism and self-criticism. This militant Bolshevik spirit is particularly evident in the election of the secretaries of the basic organizations and the delegates to the district conferences, and in the election of the committees. This indicates the

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 325-326 (Alb. ed.).

concern and vigilance of the party members to defend the Party against career-seekers, demagogues, and enemies.

But despite these achievements, there are still serious weaknesses in the proper grasping and carrying out of tasks and the solution of problems, both by the forums and by the individual members. The 2nd National Conference of the Party[4] and the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee criticized these weaknesses, which consisted in failure to hold regular meetings of the plenums and activists of the Party, in the way the leaders solve the problems, in the method of work with all sorts of shortcomings, and failure of both the leading cadres and the base to carry out the decisions properly. The criticism of these weaknesses resulted in certain improvements in the work, because, in the 1951 elections the party committees came out with better self-criticism and better analysis of the problems, and the activists' meetings were held on a more regular basis. Not only did the party rank-and-file criticize more openly those who made mistakes and concealed their serious errors under the authority of the Party and the leadership, but it also studied many vital problems concerning the Party better. The basic organizations followed suit, improved their work, and took a more lively interest in solving their problems. These results, however, are not entirely satisfactory. We must acknowledge that there are weaknesses, and be strongly critical of them. The

[4] The 2nd National Conference of the PLA, which devoted its proceedings to the question of overcoming the difficulties impeding the realization of the two-year plan, and of enhancement of the leading role of the Party, was held in Tirana in April 1950. The Conference gave orders that the method of work and collective leadership must be improved, bureaucratism must be combated and greater concern shown for the political guidance of economic and state questions. It made an assessment of the international and internal situation created after the 1st Congress of the Party.

critical attitude towards mistakes should not alarm the communists. It should add to their strength and courage to improve the work. Of course, there are great difficulties and obstacles, but comrade Stalin teaches us:

> *"I am referring to the special character of our difficulties. I am referring to the fact that our difficulties are not difficulties of decline, or of stagnation, but difficulties of growth, difficulties of ascent, difficulties of progress.*
>
> *. . . It signifies that our difficulties are such as contain within themselves the possibility of surmounting them. It signifies that the distinguishing feature of our difficulties is that they themselves give us the basis for surmounting them"*.*

a) *It is not enough to understand the importance of collective leadership and rendering account to the mass of the Party in theory, but these things must be put into practice*

I want to point out that the plenums and the meetings of party activists are not always in order. They are not prepared as they should be, they are often held as a formality, just to keep within the requirements of the Constitution of the Party and the Central Committee. The blame for this rests mostly with the leading cadres, and especially the comrades of the bureaus of the party committees. Practical matters and a lot of red-tape swamp the comrades of the bureau, and they concern themselves with the solution of trivialities which are not their concern, or with problems which do not belong to them directly but to the state sector, forgetting all about the importance of the meetings of the forums and the activists, which constitute the principal question of leading the Party. It is harmful if a first

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 295-296 (Alb. ed.).

secretary of a district concerns himself with the most trivial economic matters and neglects the great problem of ensuring supplies to the city and his district, neglects the state of public health and education, takes no heed of the ideo-political uplift of the mass of the Party. It is readily understood that these leaders are not able to prepare the meetings of the plenum and the activists because they are bogged down with trifling matters, fail to see the important problems and have no real idea of how those great problems can be solved.

It is true that the base of the Party must call on the leadership to render account, demand the carrying out of the Constitution, criticize, help and exercise control on the leadership which is responsible to it. But this is not done to the proper extent, not because the base is unable to do it, but in many cases because the leaders hinder it; and the failure to hold regular meetings of the party committees and activists is one of the forms which hinders the base from exercising its control. The Central Committee of the Party is to blame for this, because it has not properly attended to the implementation of its directives and has not adequately helped the districts on how to hold these meetings and raise the problems. For their part, the bureaus of the district party committees have shirked this great task. This shows that the leading cadres in the districts have not understood properly what collective leadership and rendering account to the Party mean. It is not enough to understand these matters in theory, these must be put into practice. There can be no excuses for this. Whenever the occasion arises, the leadership must be prevented from violating the main principles of inner democracy which constitute one of the criteria of correct leadership. The method of work in the Party's leading organs is still weak and seriously faulty; there is sluggishness, awful bureaucratism, practicism, and preoccupation

with third and fourth rate problems. Red-tape has tied the party forums hand and foot. They concern themselves mostly with state affairs, which they monopolize and, consequently, underestimate the organs of state power. Such leadership causes us great harm, not only because it weakens the general activity of the cadres of the state power and the economy, but because it means that the party committee takes upon itself many questions of an economic character which should be solved by the organs of state power, and deprives itself of the possibility of concentrating on the main problems and devoting adequate attention to political work among the masses of the people for the realization of the economic targets and for the all-round education of the masses, as well as of dealing somewhat more profoundly with the problem of the internal life of the Party. By so doing, the party committee fails to play its leading role properly, and behaves as though it were an executive organ of the state power and state control. The party forums in the districts commit grave mistakes in this respect, and must eliminate these shortcomings as soon as possible. The competences of both the party forums and the state power must be clear, because only thus can the problems be solved quickly and correctly, and people be confronted with their responsibilities, only thus can the implementation of decisions, and the attitudes of people towards their duty be checked on, and bureaucratism combated. This is the only way in which a real understanding of what leadership by the Party should be, will be achieved.

For many cadres in leading positions the meaning of collective leadership in the Party is not clear. This is true of many comrades of the bureaus who are still in the dark about this question. Going by the incorrect principle that they must do everything themselves, leads to individual work in drafting and taking measures and deci-

sions, and failure to go deeply into the problems and study them collectively. Hence superficial, rash, incomplete decisions. Of course, if things proceed this way, the important task of the organizational work of the Party, which consists in arranging the implementation of a decision, is not carried out properly. The cadres must be prepared to fight for the implementation of the decisions, for they play a decisive role in achieving success. This presupposes that everybody is clear about his work, not only about what he must do, but about how to work and what course to steer to achieve results. When such work is scamped from the start, naturally, the decision cannot be very clear to those who are to carry it out. Decisions are taken, lots of them, but they are not all carried out. Then, just about as many decisions are taken again to carry out the previous ones. New decisions are taken, too, about questions which have already been decided but have been forgotten. This is trifling with the work and decisions, pretending to work by issuing decisions, though, in reality, doing nothing, just marking time and hindering the work.

Quite often, in the bureaus of the district party committees, certain comrades do not take a keen interest in every problem incumbent on the leadership, but confine themselves to their own sector. This is a serious error that must be eliminated. Even when they have to answer for their own sector, they are not positive in rendering account about the carrying out of the tasks, but bring up a thousand and one excuses and reasons, arriving at the conclusion that the task was not carried out because "this one or that one is to blame" or because "the rain fell or the wind blew". The gist of the matter is that such a situation of excuses and cronyism is created in the leadership, that it becomes a widespread disease. Criticism and self-criticism are weakened, everybody is more or less compromised, and the comrade who has not carried out his task is not

properly hauled over the coals, and he neither blushes nor worries himself about it.

In many cases, the party organs do not get down to practical work and content themselves with making statements and holding meetings. This method of work leads the comrades on to the road of superficiality, to a failure to ponder the problems deeply, and as a consequence, the decisions are wrong. No prompt actions are taken to solve matters and eliminate shortcomings, and this is done allegedly to abide by the rules of procedure. Meeting after meeting is held, lasting for hours and days on end, and there is very little to show for them. We are not against meetings nor against necessary notes, because a state cannot do without them, but there are meetings and meetings, and notes and notes . . .

Some leaders think that if it were not for them, work would not get along, and that their presence must be felt everywhere. These people overestimate themselves and underestimate the other cadres, suppress creative fervour, and retard initiative. They foster an unhealthy atmosphere in the bureau and the harmful view that this forum can solve all problems and has the capacity and role of making decisions and acting without the district party committee. Underestimation of the main party leadership results from this. That is why the meetings of the committees are not held regularly, the problems are not put forward after careful study and thrashed out there, that no decisions are taken and directives issued, to serve as a guide for the work of the bureau and the entire Party in the district. The leading, educational, and supervising role of the district party committee is weakened. The bureau of the party committee feels as if it were the only leading body in the district and as if it were responsible only to the Central Committee. It scarcely feels its responsibility to its own committee and Party in the district which have

elected and appointed it, and to which it must always render account. On this question, these comrades who think along these lines willy nilly distort the principle of democratic centralism and the inner party democracy. Not only do such views lead to underestimation of collective work in the bureau and the committee, but they also lead to underestimation of the main leadership of the Party in the district and to failure to feel the need for its help and control. What is more, they often try to avoid its control. Naturally, such anti-Marxist views on the leadership of the Party greatly weaken the leadership and the Party; these trends must be mercilessly combated, because if this road is followed, you get the creation of groups of comrades linked with unhealthy cronyism, which is utterly alien to the Party. This is what occurred in the Bureau of the Stalin City Party Committee, with the former secretary Pajo Islami, in the Lushnja Party Committee with the Hasan Gina group, and in the Bureau of the Shkodra Party Committee; such things have also occurred in the Bureau of the Puka Party Committee with the former second secretary of the Party Committee, Z.G. Such leaders with unhealthy views create the idea that the bureau is everything, that it is law unto itself, that the people who comprise it are infallible and beyond criticism. While working and thinking wrongly, they also underestimate the members of the plenums of the party committees, regarding them as unimportant so long as they perform the duty they have been charged with in the organs of state power or in the party apparatuses. In practice, such a spirit is observed not only on the part of some of the leading cadres of the bureau but it is beginning to become a habit among the members of the plenums, too. These comrades forget all about the main task the Party has charged them with in assigning them to leading posts. They forget that they are leading cadres of the Party before they are chiefs of

departments or factory directors. This view can be observed among some members of the Central Committee also. In practice, the field of activity of these comrades is confined to the job they have been appointed to as chiefs of departments, factory directors, or ministers. They can see no further, they do not take the trouble to see, they do not have the courage to intervene, to advise, to press for urgent measures to be taken, to take to task the bureau members whose responsibility it is to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee and the plenum of the district party committee. No, these comrades are indifferent towards matters of leadership. They do not concern themselves with procurements, education in the Party, the development of industry, education and culture, or with many other problems. It rarely occurs, for example, to a member of the party committee to go and talk with the man in charge of education and culture in the district, to go and inspect the schools of the city and the countryside, and see whether or not the decisions of the Party and the government are being carried out, and whether what the person in charge of education told him is true or just idle talk. Hence, it is clear that the plenum, as a leading body, will never raise this problem if the bureau fails to do so. If the bureau takes no heed of it, then nobody will think of it, because this problem never worries anybody. But even when the bureau does raise it, only the person in charge of education and culture and some intellectual take part in the discussion, and that is all there is to it. Others have nothing to say since they have never concerned themselves with this problem. "There are no discussions, there are no criticism and self-criticism," they say. But how can there be discussions and criticism, and how can self-criticism be made in such a situation? Then, people jump to wrong conclusions about the Party being at a low level. It is true that the Party is at a low level from the

ideological and cultural standpoint, but not to the degree some leading cadres think it is. Therefore, the leaders of the party organizations must be active, industrious, and vigilant as regards leading work, concerned all the time with all the problems, because it is not only one person who bears responsibility in these matters; there is personal responsibility in leadership, as well as collective responsibility. They are closely interwoven and should go hand in hand.

b) *If the meetings of party activists are underestimated, then the role of the Party is also underestimated*

If the leading cadres of the Party have not correctly understood this important problem, it is obvious that the situation relating to the meetings of party activists is still poor. We must admit that the party leadership at district level does not utilize the meetings of activists as it should along the correct lines laid down in the Constitution of the Party; it does not regard them as its own first assistants and advisers, guides and leaders of the entire work of the Party and the leadership. The leaders of the Party should not forget that the meetings of activists represent all the party organizations of the district, that they are attended by delegates chosen from among the best members of the Party, from the rank-and-file, in order to take up important problems, adopt important decisions, to correct the mistakes which have shown up in the work, put right the things as well as the people that are wrong, and to propose measures against those who are unsuitable for leading posts. If the meeting of party activists is underrated, then the role of the Party is also underrated, the work of leadership takes a bureaucratic form, and the principle of centralism and the inner party democracy are violated. In this situation, the leading cadres do not really rely on the Party as they should, they are virtually

divorced from the rank-and-file, and despite all the phrase-mongering, the ties with the base are not strong and genuine. If this matter is not grasped correctly, then the decisions taken by the leadership cannot be made the concern of the basic organizations, and these cannot mobilize themselves as they should around the problems put before them from higher levels. Then there is another important aspect of the matter. These decisions which come from above must necessarily be carried out by the subordinate organs and the base. This is what the principle of democratic centralism implies. But besides this, we must not forget that, apart from the necessary implementation of decisions and directives, there is also the operation of inner democracy, the dynamic spirit of the Party, the checking of the accuracy of the decision, its sound aspects and its faults, which bear directly on the rank-and-file of the Party and the masses of the people. The Party has objections, complaints, corrections and suggestions over the decisions taken, which it puts into practice. It makes proposals for corrections, amendments, and improvements. The leadership must listen to them carefully, study them and accept the good and reject the bad proposals. But when is the leadership to consider these things if it continues to work in this bureaucratic way, failing to give the necessary importance to the meetings of the plenums, neglects the meetings of activists, fails to read and study the reports and protocols the party instructors and organizers compile properly and more than once, or if it fails altogether to hold regular seminars with the secretaries of the basic organizations? If things go on like this, the leadership is like a fish out of water, it has to act from above and is not in control of the situation. The importance of the meeting of activists consists in the mobilization of the party organizations and the increase in the activity of the whole mass of the Party. The meetings of activists must be

held regularly to discuss the most important decisions of the Party and the government, the implementation of which, it must be understood once and for all, depends on these meetings of activists, since it is they who can explain the decisions in question to the masses, mobilize all the communists, and through them, all the working masses, to implement the decisions. It should not be forgotten that the meeting of activists includes the best cadres of the Party and the state, and this means it is the most vivid expression of the opinion of the entire Party. Lenin and Stalin and the Bolshevik Party teach us that the Bolshevik unity of the party activists is an indispensable condition for success in the work of every party organization. The meetings of activists must never be called for form's sake, or merely for a solemn, fruitless endorsement of the Party's decisions, but for a real sifting out of these decisions. Underestimation of the meetings of party activists and neglect of them is incompatible with the Leninist-Stalinist organizational policy, for it violates the inner party democracy and inevitably leads to weakening party work.

c) *Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in our Party must recognize neither conditions nor restrictions*

Our Party must not lose sight for a single moment of the teachings of comrade Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, and never deviate in the slightest from these vital teachings. We can talk a great deal about inner democracy, seek to strengthen criticism and self-criticism and initiative by the party members, but little will be achieved if they are not carried out concretely in life and practice through organizational forms as laid down by the Party. It is the inner democracy that enables the mass of party members to criticize, exercise control over the leadership, and elect the most worthy people to leading organs. Bolshevik

criticism, and along with it, self-criticism, too, in the ranks of the Party must be strengthened. Bolshevik criticism should be strengthened especially from the base up, irrespective of whether the one who criticized is an important official in the Party or in the state power. Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in our Party must recognize neither conditions nor restrictions. Criticism must be severe against anyone who commits mistakes, be he in a high or low position, a veteran or a novice in the Party; it must be particularly severe against those in high positions and veterans in the Party who continue to make mistakes. Self-criticism likewise should be made frankly and sincerely, by everyone, and we must not forget that self-criticism is only the beginning of the matter. Life and practice will show whether the self-criticism was really sincere or more like a confession to the priest. Criticism from below up is not used in the way and to the extent it should be. Why do people hesitate and do not have the courage to use this weapon and this great right the Party gives them, a weapon which it tells them to use unhesitatingly, fearlessly, against anybody, irrespective of who he is and what his position? Criticism and self-criticism carry our work forward, otherwise work decays. If there is fear of a person who occupies a high position, in that case we are not on the road of the Party, and petty-bourgeois views, opportunism, servility, nepotism, career-seeking, favouritism, fear, and so on, all evils alien to communists, are bound to breed in our midst. Do we refrain from criticizing a superior because, we think, "he can soon find the occasion to do us a bad turn"? Those who think this way are not on the road of the Party, they have not understood what our Party is, and they have got a distorted understanding of it.

Criticism and self-criticism are many a time suppressed by the people above, as well as by certain people at

the base, in whom alien petty-bourgeois views are predominant. It is evident that many times, at meetings, when someone dares to make open criticism of a leading cadre or somebody else, the person criticized, or perhaps some crony of his, rises and cuts short the person making the criticism, saying, "Let's hear the comrade say something about himself first, why did he do this or that, and then he may criticize others". Such an impermissible and condemnable intervention is one of the methods of suppressing criticism. Not only does the critic lose his bearings, but other comrades, too, who want to go more deeply into the criticism, hesitate. Why do they hesitate? Because they, too, may have made mistakes in their work. The people who do not welcome criticism turn this to their advantage. The meeting or the conference is held in pursuit of some aim. One or two problems are raised there, decisions are taken and criticism is made of those who, charged with the implementation of the task, have made mistakes. Criticism should be directed only against important errors, and the comrades who have committed these errors. The comrades must fearlessly criticize the authors of these mistakes, even if these communist critics may have made mistakes themselves in their work in the past or at present, provided they have either owned up to their mistakes previously and put them right, and if so, there is no question of referring to them, or they are very insignificant compared with the mistakes under criticism at the moment. And it is not in the least communist for the main culprits to seek to minimize the mistake and distract the attention of the meeting by demanding that others, too, make self-criticism. These are tricks aimed at clouding the issue. In this way, they seek to transform each meeting into a place where everybody begins every time with confession, and that's as far as it goes. Thus, "work has not been done, and we are all partly to blame for this, some more, others

less, and so we leave no wiser than we came". It is not at all necessary for every member of the Party to make self-criticism at every meeting if he has made a minor mistake which has no connection with the problem under discussion. Then, we say in theory that criticism should be correct, well considered, and severe against serious mistakes, and so on, but when it comes to translate all this into reality, we lump everything together and confuse everybody. We should not forget, comrades, that when the weapon of criticism and self-criticism is correctly used, concentrated on important weaknesses, it becomes a major weapon of education. Many comrades make mistakes at work; they should admit their mistakes, be critical of them and make self-criticism. This has a great effect among the communists and those who at certain moments are reluctant to make self-criticism. The correct use of criticism and self-criticism educates them along the correct line of the Party, enables them to understand the essence of their mistakes, and all will benefit from, and improve, the criticism and self-criticism they make by learning from the example of the good comrades, the staunch communists who are not afraid to criticize anyone at all correctly, and are not ashamed, on the contrary, deem it an honour, to admit their mistakes and faults honestly, openly, and like Bolsheviks, and to provide concrete proof to the Party that, through work and struggle, they have put them right. All those who suppress criticism in various ways must be ruthlessly attacked. The communists must be vigilant towards these petty-bourgeois tricks dressed up as Marxism. Lenin and Stalin teach us that self-criticism, the uncovering of the Party's mistakes, the analysis of the causes leading to these mistakes, and the defining of the necessary ways for their correction, are one of the most reliable means for educating the Party and the working class in the right way. Lenin pointed out that pride, fear of self-

criticism, are fraught with great danger for the Party, because the Party which suffers from sick pride slips into a crazy, ignominious, and ridiculous position.

We must always bear in mind the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and strictly implement them in the day to day life of the Party, for only in this way can our Party grow still stronger, and the struggle of the working class against its enemies emerge successful. Only in this way will we successfully combat bureaucratism, tendencies to self-complacency, overestimation of oneself and personal ease, which cause grave political and organizational weaknesses.

The adoption of measures to improve the work in the matters I have mentioned will certainly result in an even greater strengthening of the leading role of the Party, will strengthen the leadership and link it still more closely with the party rank-and-file, and the Party with the broad masses of the people. The party bureaus and committees must place exceptional importance on their links with the rank-and-file of the Party, with the basic organizations, for we have many weaknesses in this respect. The links of the leadership with the base are established through active life, permanent contacts, and not only through the organizational forms I mentioned, but through live, direct contacts, too, between the leaders and the basic organizations, with the members individually, the secretaries of the basic organizations individually, and then, through the minutes and letters of the basic organizations. These relations and methods of contact must be enlivened and strengthened. Most of the time, certain leaders shut themselves up in offices with their papers, but what is to be condemned is their lack of interest in studying the minutes and letters of the basic organizations and giving the assistance the base seeks promptly. There are examples on this score which show the neglect of this principal task.

It is enough to cite the case of the party organization in Dukagjin in whose correspondence the secretary of the party organization justifiably wrote to the Party Committee of Shkodra in the correct way for approval of the expulsion from the Party of an individual because he was a spy of the Titoites. The Party Committee in Shkodra did nothing about it. For months on end it did not even read the correspondence from this basic organization and the other organizations, till the secretary of this basic organization quite rightly chose not to hold the meetings of the organization until the expulsion of the Titoite agent had been endorsed.

The activity of the party instructors and organizations is not properly checked on by the party committee, especially by the bureau. In many cases, they have become post offices, automatic transmitters of the decisions of the party committee and the bureau. They merely issue orders, and in point of fact, fail to carry out the important functions they have been charged with. In this respect, the fault lies with the leaders, because they fail to help them as they should, do not pay the greatest attention to their education, do not analyse their work with a critical and Bolshevik eye, and teach them how to improve their work by learning from their mistakes and those of the party comrades. The activity of these instructors, who are important links in the connection of the leadership with the base, has become something which cannot be criticized, not because there are no mistakes in their work, there are plenty of them, but because in order to discover their mistakes, the leadership and the apparatuses of the party committees must thoroughly analyse the work of the instructors in connection with the reports they give, the correspondence of the basic organizations, the effective, first-hand contacts of the leaders with the grassroots, the activists' meetings and the party conferences. The party

instructors in the districts have become all-powerful as regards economic campaigns, investigations into complaints, and so on; however, they do not carry out their duty to the full concerning the tasks the Party has charged them with. Their professional education is at a low level, and their own efforts and those of the committee to raise their level are not very satisfactory. These instructors go to the grassroots to investigate, rather than to give advice, because of their limited abilities. At the base, they study and discuss the decisions but are unable to involve the mass of the Party in the implementation of these decisions.

Thus, it is necessary for the Party and the leadership, whether at the centre or at the base, to take all measures to improve the method of work and leadership. Great importance should be placed on the meetings of the plenum, of the activists, the conferences and the seminars. Work in them must be improved, problems must be gone into thoroughly, and precise decisions must be taken. The base of the Party and the broad working masses must be closely involved in these decisions, and their implementation must be checked on rigorously. Criticism and self-criticism, especially from the base up, must be strengthened, irrespective of persons, and party discipline and secrecy must be strengthened.

The level of the leaders at the top and at the base must be raised by doing away with making statements and holding conferences as the method of work, and by getting down to effective leadership in practice to solve problems quickly, and not to waste time with unnecessary, boring, and unfruitful meetings. The leaders of the Party must pay special attention to raising the theoretical and political level of the functionaries of its apparatus, and of the instructors, the organizers and the secretaries of the basic organizations who will help to raise all the

rank-and-file elements to a higher level. The most important facts from the life of the organizations must be under constant study, and immediate actions must be taken. Today's work must not be put off for tomorrow. The reports of the secretaries and the instructors must not be overlooked, and time must not be wasted with words and long-winded discussions, but prompt actions must be taken. Bureaucratism must be combated in the entire apparatus of the Party and the state, since it is one of the most dangerous ills which can destroy our work. We must be clear that bureaucratism prevents the use of the colossal reserve forces which are ready to join the struggle to construct the foundations of socialism. It retards the creative and constructive initiative of the masses. Bureaucratism is the bitterest enemy of check-up on the implementation of decisions. Comrade Stalin teaches us that bureaucratism

> *". . . strives to convert the basic directives of the leading organizations into mere sheets of paper divorced from life".**

Accordingly all-out war must be declared on bureaucracy and the bureaucrats, and not only on the old bureaucrats of the past regimes still working in our institutions, but also on the new "bureaucrats", and especially the "communist" bureaucrats, who are trying to replace live, effective work with the regime of red-tape, "decrees" and draft-decisions, without which, they think nothing can be solved. Comrade Stalin teaches us:

> *"Our task is to smash bureaucratism in our institutions and organizations, to get rid of bureaucratic 'habits' and 'customs' and to clear the way for utiliz-*

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, p. 318 (Alb. ed.).

ing the reserves of our social system, for developing the creative initiative and independent activity of the masses."

"This isn't an easy task", comrade Stalin continues, *"it cannot be carried out 'in a trice'. But it must be carried out at all costs if we really want to transform our country on the basis of socialism."**

Comrade Stalin teaches us how to fight this plague. He advises us to act like this:

*"In the struggle against bureaucratism, the Party is working along four lines: that of developing self-criticism, that of organizing the checking of fulfilment, that of purging the apparatus and, lastly, that of promoting from below to posts in the apparatus devoted workers from those of the working class origin"**.

3) *THE VERIFICATION OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE PARTY MEMBERS*

The experience of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that "the Party of Lenin and Stalin has studied the Party's composition in one form or another, at every party congress and conference". The Bolshevik Party has carefully studied the changes in its membership, "striving to make the composition of the Party respond to its role as the organized detachment of the working class, as the guide and leader of the socialist state". Faithfully following these teachings of Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, in its January 21, 1950 decision on the renewal of the party cards, the Central Committee considered it essential to carry out a verification of the records of all the party

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 12, pp. 318-319 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 319.

members and candidates throughout the whole Party. This important move was aimed at purging the ranks of the Party of alien and undesirable elements who were not worthy of being in the ranks of the Party, at ensuring accurate information on every communist, establishing Bolshevik order in matters of party administration, and along with this, the verification of the records was to help strengthen the Party's internal life, educate the communists, enhance criticism and self-criticism, vigilance and discipline. The verification of party records commenced, as decided, on April 1, 1950, and was over by the end of September 1951. This action was a great success for our Party.

The verification of records demonstrated the active struggle and the vigilance of the Party to carry out this great task successfully. The basic organizations and each individual communist took an active part. All the communists were deeply concerned and had an ardent desire to purge the Party of the elements who had smuggled themselves into it, and to preserve the purity of the ranks of the Party.

The verification of the records showed that suspect, unworthy, and even hostile elements had managed to get into the ranks of the Party. Almost 8 per cent of those whose records were checked have been expelled; some of them have been expelled on account of their hostile work in the past, their participation in the ranks of the enemy and their fight against the Party; others have been expelled on account of their recent hostile activity. The latter make up 47.86 per cent of the total of those expelled. Others, who constitute 13.24 per cent of the total, were wavering elements, defectors from the front of the struggle which the Party is waging to build the base of socialism, people who had issued compromising statements in the time of occupation and at present adopt a vacillating

stand towards the internal and external enemy, and the other 38.90 per cent of the total were insincere, worthless elements who had been prematurely admitted to the Party and had hidden their dubious past from the Party.

These peoples' seniority in the Party is as follows: only 19, that is 0.86 per cent of all those expelled, were party members from the years 1941, 1942, 1943; 9.74 per cent of the total of those expelled had joined the Party in 1944; 21.8 per cent of them in the years 1945 and 1946, and 55 per cent of the total of those expelled, in 1947 to 1948. What do the above figures indicate? They indicate that a considerable number of the undesirable elements sneaked into the Party in the most critical period our Party has experienced, during the period of the hostile work of the Yugoslav Trotskyites and the traitor Koçi Xoxe and Co. It is clear that the Trotskyite methods borrowed from the Yugoslav Trotskyites, coupled with the pressure of their agents within the Party, had opened its doors to Ballist elements, militiamen, gendarmes and disguised agents, who were to be the shock troops to seize the fortress from within. The purging of these elements from the party ranks was a heavy blow to the internal and external enemy who had a base for support among them. In an effort to disguise their activity, many of these elements tried to appear active and zealous, but the healthy struggle carried on in the basic organizations and the Party's vigilance utterly exposed them and cast them out.

In the course of the verification, a number of worthless, degenerate, lazy elements, who did not carry out the line of the Party and seriously breached discipline, were also expelled. Most of these elements joined the Party prematurely, during the famous period of "planned admissions", according to the Yugoslav Trotskyite methods.

There were also a substantial number of elements from the poor strata, mainly poor peasants, who were expelled. These elements were admitted to the Party on the basis of their social status, without delving into their past record, activity, attitude, and loyalty to the Party. But this also indicates that the work to educate these elements has been very weak, and if better work had been done, some of them could have been saved from expulsion.

The verification of the records struck a blow at the weaknesses and shortcomings in connection with the current attitude and activity of the communists, such as lack of frankness in their party records, breaches of discipline, opportunist stands, various weaknesses, such as fanaticism, career-seeking tendencies, and so on. The Party has taken educative measures towards these elements, aimed at strengthening discipline in the Party.

The verification of the records has educated the communists and exerted a great influence on the internal life of the party organizations which are now more vigilant. The verification has boosted the fighting spirit of the Party and has shown up the weak and unworthy elements' inability to resist the vigour of the Party.

The verification of the records made it possible to carry out a better study of the life of every communist, his past and present record, and his ability.

The discussion of the records in the basic organizations played a role of primary importance. The experience of the verification of the records has equipped the communists with a weapon to go into every activity of the comrades more profoundly, and in particular they have become vigilant towards alien manifestations in the Party. The revolutionary fighting spirit of the party ranks has been enhanced.

The verification of the records equipped the party organizations with better experience in organizational

matters of the Party, and especially for the work on the composition of the Party.

The results of the verification of the party records showed that the party organizations have, on the whole, made a correct assessment of the importance of this problem. Better work in this respect has been done by the party organizations of Tirana, Korça, Peshkopia, Gjirokastra. The party basic organizations in which the composition has been the healthiest, such as the party organizations of Kurvelesh, Mesaplik, and those in the production centres in Tirana, and elsewhere, performed best during the verification campaign. But the verification uncovered weaknesses, too. Vigilance to safeguard the purity of the party ranks has not always been up to the mark. During the verification of the records, party committees in certain districts failed to take account of some problems characteristic of their own districts. Lack of vigilance has been displayed by the Party Committees of Puka, Burrel, and Berat, which have shown themselves over-generous and lenient towards elements unworthy of being in the Party. It is precisely in these organizations where the struggle for the verification of records has not been rigorous, that many weaknesses still persist among a number of communists who keep on repeating the mistakes revealed during the verification. Opportunist attitudes have shown up during the verification of records, especially in Shkodra, Fier, Përmet, Elbasan, Saranda, and elsewhere. In general, these shortcomings have been corrected since, thanks to the continued intervention of the Central Committee. The efforts of the enemy to escape the verification have not been given enough attention. Hostile elements presented the fact that they had been in the ranks of the enemy and their past activity as having been entirely for appearances' sake. These suspect elements tried to protect one another and have kept their mouths shut. Others,

such as Rahman Uruçi, had issued statements about the wartime defectors in order to strengthen the positions of the latter in the Party. During the verification, the enemy elements tried to slander the sound elements of the Party. They also threatened sound elements to make them withdraw their statements which exposed the hostile activity of these people. The enemy elements were in action, and immediately got in touch with those who were expelled in order to draw them into their hostile work.

The verification of the records teaches us that we must improve the social composition of the Party with working class and loyal elements at all costs. We must be most careful with new admissions to the Party, guard the Party as the apple of our eye against the attempts of the enemy to infiltrate its ranks, and sharpen our revolutionary vigilance. The people admitted to the Party must be tested, for the Party must be as Stalin teaches us:

> *"a fortress, the gates of which are opened only to those who have been tested"*.*

Special importance must be given to the education of the party members and candidates, and we must admit to the Party those who deserve it, and what is more, we must train them, because otherwise we fall into the position of organizational opportunism. They must be educated and raised to the level of the leadership, if not, the Party's role as the vanguard of the working class grows weaker, the vigilance and fighting capacity of the party organizations sag. The Party's Constitution must be adhered to; criticism and self-criticism, especially from the base up, must be promoted. The basic organizations of the Party must be constantly strengthened and become real centres for the Bolshevik education of communists.

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 1, p. 69 (Alb. ed.).

The members must be in the forefront of the struggle around the economic and political problems of the Party, and persistent work must be done for their ideological, political and cultural education.

In regard to the verification of the records, the party organizations must be more careful towards the elements expelled from the Party, for there is a danger of lumping them all together and regarding them all as enemies. It would be wrong and harmful to act in this way. The Party must always be interested in them, help them, educate them and make them useful.

4) THE STRUGGLE AGAINST TITOISM AND THE DEVIATIONS FROM THE LINE OF THE PARTY

The Belgrade Trotskyites with the renegade Tito at the head are wily enemies who are still plotting against our Party and the independence of our homeland. The methods they used to achieve their aims, in collusion with their traitorous agents, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and others, are common knowledge; our Party put up a heroic fight, smashed the obstacles, and crushed the attempts of the Belgrade clique thanks to the teachings of the great Stalin. After the defeat the Titoite agents in our Party suffered, a new life dawned for the Party, and it achieved important successes. The very life which is being built in our country, the majestic plants and factories which are producing for our people, the tractors ploughing the plains of our homeland, the magnificent hydro-power stations already set up or under construction, as well as the monumental projects which the Albanian people are building under the leadership of their heroic Party speak of the great value of the Letters of the Bolshevik Party and Stalin, which tore the mask from

the Belgrade traitors and helped our Party to save the people and the people's democracy in our country.

The aims of the Belgrade clique remain the same: to occupy Albania and to subjugate the Albanian people. It is understandable that the Titoites have now become more savage and enraged against our Party and people, but at the same time, they are far weaker, because the forces of our Party and people have been steeled. Like all Trotskyites, the Belgrade ones, too, are nothing but agents of imperialism, busy hatching up plans of sabotage and subversion. But their aims and methods towards our country have failed and they will always do so, because our Party and people always stand vigilant and mercilessly destroy their plans.

Despite the successes the Party has achieved in the fight against the Yugoslav gangs of spies and diversionists, vigilance must be enhanced tenfold, because the Titoites and their agents will try to sneak into the Party through weak elements who have escaped the Party's vigilance. The Belgrade Trotskyites will try to win over those elements who cannot bear the revolutionary vigour of the Party and its Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism, those who make mistakes in their party work, and who do not want to acknowledge them honestly and correct them. The weaklings who cannot put up with the dictatorship of the proletariat, who dream of, and work for, a return of the bourgeoisie and fascism to power, are the elements best suited to the intentions of the Titoite and imperialist agencies, their vanguard against our Party and people. The Titoites and their agents will rally around themselves all the anti-party, kulak, bourgeois, careerist, and megalomaniac elements. Therefore, the task of the Party is to sharpen its vigilance, to preserve the purity of its ranks from the weak, careerist, power-seeking, and opportunist elements who carry the germ of diseases which

are to the benefit of the Titoite and imperialist agencies.

We must bear in mind that Titoism directs its blows against the sound elements of the Party, against its Bolshevik unity, against the organizational principles and rules of the Party, as well as against its political and ideological line. The Titoites and their agents will try to breach the steel-like discipline of the Party and its revolutionary vigilance. Their propaganda consists in spreading anti-Sovietism, in manifestations against the Soviet Union and its peaceful policy. Titoism is not an ideology; it is an agency of imperialism, a bunch of thugs in the pay of capital. The Titoites are trying to disguise themselves with Left slogans and to conceal their complete submission to the Americans, but a good vine needs no bush, their demagogy is a threadbare game and can deceive no honest-minded man. It is no longer permissible for us to regard those who go the way of Titoism, who sympathize with it, or become its agents, simply as fools, as some people did on the first days when the treachery of the Titoites was uncovered. No, a great deal of water has flowed under the bridge, and now everything is clear about these bandits.

Many people make mistakes in their party work, but if they honestly acknowledge their mistakes and prove they have corrected them and do not repeat them, they are saved from the danger of Titoism. But those who do not admit these mistakes slip into the position of the Titoites, and one day or the other are bound to ally themselves with them. These people must be purged from the Party without hesitation. There are others who have made mistakes and have admitted them for the sake of appearances, but in their inner selves they are opposed to the Party, and they are most dangerous, for they are camouflaged and are inside the Party; these are the "Trojan horse" elements. The Party must be very vigilant

towards them. Their attitude towards the line of the Party must be constantly verified, and if the person who has erred and has made self-criticism gives day to day living proofs that he has understood his mistake and set it right, then the Party has done good work, it has cured a man and made him useful. If the opposite occurs, then he must be unhesitatingly kicked out of the Party. With elements who violate the Party's iron discipline and attack democratic centralism, weaken criticism and self-criticism, fan dissension and unhealthy criticism "under the lap", if they do not free themselves from these defects, they will sooner or later be in opposition to the Party's line. The Party must try to correct these elements, to educate them, and to throw out the incorrigible without hesitation, because they are the evil worm which eats away at the ideological and organizational unity of the Party. We must never forget that without ideological and organizational unity, there can be no party of the working class. Only in unity and solidarity has our Party achieved victory over the enemies of the working class, and only by unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly fighting against these wreckers of party unity will there never be anti-party groups and clans in our Party, which are nothing but Trotskyite or Titoite groups or agents of the imperialists, enemies of the working class and socialism. The great Lenin teaches us:

> *"Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat"*.*

Therefore, we must not be soft-hearted and generous towards those who violate the principles of our Party.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 33 (Alb. ed.).

Our Party is strong by reason of its unity, unity of will and action, its incompatibility with deviations from its Constitution and the program, with damaging of party discipline, with factional groups, opportunism, sectarianism, hypocrisy, and so on.

Our Party has always displayed vigilance, and this is what has steeled our Party. The struggle against, and victory over, the Trotskyite group of Anastas Lulo, Aristidh Qendro, and Niko Xoxe were a great lesson for our Party; the struggle and victory against the Belgrade Trotskyites and their agents, Koçi Xoxe and his ilk, were also a great lesson. These experiences greatly strengthened our Party, and other elements who later attempted to damage the Party were discovered, exposed, and unhesitatingly thrown out of the Party.

But we should not set our minds at rest and declare that now all the overt and covert enemies of the Party have been liquidated. There will always be great danger as long as the capitalist encirclement lasts, as long as our country is completely surrounded geographically by fascists who send spies and diversionists into our country, who are constantly ferreting out and drawing into their service elements of the internal reaction and weaklings who cannot stand up to the revolutionary vigour of our Party and the laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must not fail to be on our guard as long as there are contradictions and struggle between the working class, in alliance with the poor and middle peasantry, on the one hand, and the bourgeoisie of town and country, on the other, as long as the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the Party and the people is great and unrelenting and manifests itself in all sorts of different ways and in all sorts of petty-bourgeois vices brought into the Party by the elements of these strata, who if they are not educated and freed from these evils, and if the Party fails to display vigilance, coupling

it with sound ideo-political education and intense revolutionary activity, will impair the internal situation of the Party and prepare the ground for the emergence of anti-party and factionalist elements. These dangers exist. We must not forget them and we must fight them unceasingly in the correct party way.

The deviations and mistakes which have appeared in our Party show that the greatest danger is from the Right, the danger of opportunism, and this has its own reasons.

In his speech to the Czechoslovak Commission of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on March 27, 1925, comrade Stalin, among other things, said:

> *"The transition itself from upsurge to lull, by its very nature, increases the chances of danger from the Right. Whereas an upsurge gives rise to revolutionary illusions and causes the Left danger to become the principal one, a lull, on the contrary, gives rise to Social Democratic, reformist illusions, and causes the Right danger to become the principal one. In 1920, when the working-class movement was on the upgrade, Lenin wrote his pamphlet '"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder'. Why did Lenin write this particular pamphlet? Because at that time Left danger was the more serious danger. I think that if Lenin were alive he would now write another pamphlet entitled '"Right-Wing" Communism, an Old-Age Disorder', because, at the present time, in the period of lull, when illusions about compromise are bound to grow, the Right danger is the most serious danger"*.

In the time of the war when revolutionary fervour was on the rise, the Party never erred to the Right. The faction of Anastas Lulo and his ilk, which was a Trotskyite

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 61 (Alb. ed.).

faction, was mercilessly liquidated. The Party did not make the slightest concession to the reactionary bourgeoisie which had rallied around the treacherous "Balli Kombëtar", "Legaliteti," and other organizations. The Party never shared power with the bourgeoisie. The Titoites and their disguised agents, such as Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, the stooges of the bourgeoisie, such as Sejfulla Malëshova and Ymer Dishnica, were quite unable to act or hinder our Party from developing and achieving the victory. During the war, many elements of the bourgeoisie joined the National Liberation Front with a view to hindering the struggle and capturing leading posts. Shefqet Beja, Riza Dani, Gjergj Kokoshi, and others were such. They were quite unable to achieve their aims, because the Party resolutely followed the revolutionary road, the revolutionary fervour was high, and the Right danger, though the seed had been sown, lay covered, like a hot coal hidden in the ashes. But did the Party err to the Left in that period? No, it did not.

After Albania was liberated, the Right danger spawned open reformist, social-democratic and Trotskyite illusions. The Yugoslav-oriented Trotskyites, Koçi Xoxe, Sejfulla Malëshova, and Ymer Dishnica, stepped up their activities. Shefqet Beja, Riza Dani, and others set themselves in motion. The Right elements inside and outside the Party raised their heads and started the fight. The Yugoslav-oriented Trotskyites in the Party, Sejfulla Malëshova, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo, etc., won positions to bring about the degeneration of our Communist Party into a social-democratic party. They began their vicious criticism at the wartime line of the Party, accusing it of being sectarian. Sejfulla Malëshova strove to bring into the leadership the opportunist Ymer Dishnica, who was responsible for the Mukje compromise with the reactionary bourgeoisie. Their purpose was to destroy the victories of the

people, to share the state power with the bourgeoisie, and transform it into a bourgeois power, and our Party into a bourgeois party. Their aim was to defeat the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, to cut Albania off from its friendship with the Soviet Union, and to convert our country into a colony of the Yugoslavs, or of the British and Americans. Thus, the Right danger in our Party was a serious threat in the postwar period. But our Marxist-Leninist Party was strong. Read the writings of Sejfulla Malëshova, this incorrigible opportunist, and you will find nothing there about our Party and the Soviet Union as the decisive factors of our people's historic victories. In Sejfulla Malëshova's view, these two factors ought not to be mentioned too often. He held that the National Liberation Front alone "led" the people's war, and "would lead" the construction of socialism. Sejfulla Malëshova negated the Party and stood for the creation of other social-democratic parties in the Front, he was in favour of sharing power with the bourgeoisie. Sejfulla Malëshova was against the revolutionary economic and social reforms; he was for open and sincere collaboration with the rich commercial and industrial bourgeoisie; he objected to the confiscation of their property and factories; he stood for extinguishing the class struggle and for peaceful integration of the capitalist element into socialism. Sejfulla Malëshova entertained similar views about the Soviet Union, too, which he always put on a par with the British-United States imperialists, and he was in favour of western bourgeois and imperialist culture.

But the Right liquidationist views of Sejfulla Malëshova did not triumph, because the Party squashed them, though the Titoite dagger had stabbed it in the back. This demonstrates the vitality of the Party and its correct Marxist-Leninist line even more forcefully. Under these very adverse circumstances our Party fought without let-

up. It routed Shefqet Beja and Co., the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the agents of the imperialists, along with Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunism. Finally, the Party routed Titoism, too.

a) *The Party must always be vigilant*

But has the threat from the Right danger to our Party vanished altogether, along with the purging of Titoism from our Party's ranks? No, this danger has not been eliminated. The fight against Titoism reached its culmination at the 1st Congress of the Party. At those moments, there was such a really great revolutionary upsurge in our Party, that there was a risk of going to the Left in some actions, especially in punishment. This did not occur. At those moments, the Party correctly directed all its vigilance at the main danger coming from the Titoites and their agents, and sized up people from this angle. In point of fact, the Party took a superficial view of the attitude of certain elements who had wavered in the past and had all sorts of pronounced petty-bourgeois faults. These elements, more than anyone else, began to shout accusations against Koçi Xoxe and the Yugoslav Trotskyites, posing as the first who had been persecuted. Such people were Abedin Shehu, Niazi Islami, and others. They represented the danger from the Right, which would again emerge in our Party later. These elements did not agree over the line of the Party as laid down by the Congress. However, faced with the Party's revolutionary upsurge, they had to pull in their heads and sang in chorus with the Party and the Congress. They were elected to the leadership and kept a low profile for a while, and when the "lull", about which comrade Stalin speaks, began to be stabilized, these anti-party elements began to act. But they were wrong in their reckoning, for the Party was not asleep. Opportunist manifestations, Right

dangers, emerged even later in the Party in various periods, such as the grave opportunist mistakes committed by comrade Tuk Jakova, the capitulation and defection from the Party's struggle of comrades Manol Konomi and Theodhor Heba. The Hasan Gina group in Lushnja, the erronous stands of Nexhip Vinçani and Gjin Marku, the unhealthy work of Pajo Islami in the Party Committee of the Oil Refinery and the trick resorted to against the party organization and the leadership of the Party Committee in Puka by the second secretary of that committee, were of an opportunist character and posed a danger from the Right. I shall dwell on these deviations from the Party's line later, I am listing them, just to emphasize two things. First, the greatest danger comes to us from opportunism, the Right danger, and second, it is manifested and becomes dangerous at moments of the ebb of the revolutionary upsurge, moments of lull. That is why the revolutionary upsurge of the Party must constantly advance, the Party's revolutionary vigilance must be increased day by day, and the fight against opportunism must be stern and uncompromising.

I am not going to enlarge on the work of the anti-party group of Abedin Shehu and his associates because the Party is aware of it, but I shall enumerate several characteristics of this anti-party work. The elements of this group, including Abedin Shehu, Niazi Islami, Shyqyri Këllezi, three members and deputy members of the Central Committee, came from the former old communist groups and still retained the bad things of those groups. Theirs was a communist veneer under which they concealed their crooked views. They were petty-bourgeois, windbags, power-seekers and ambitious. They were never cured of these defects, and they compounded their errors. With such weaknesses, they passed from friendly contacts to organizing a group and carrying out factional work.

Their secret meetings were of a political character, and the policy they carried out ran counter to the policy of the Party and the government. For them party discipline, secrecy and vigilance no longer existed. Their activities could not be bottled up for long, they showed up in their work. They flagrantly violated discipline in party and the government affairs, breached orders and decisions, divulged state and military secrets, spread the spirit of laxity, and started open sabotage. Their path inevitably led them to this. This group of factionalists had no faith either in the working class, or in its Party and the leadership of the Party. The character of their factional work was not like that of the isolated mistakes made by some other comrades, in one direction or another. These people wanted to change the situation in our country. It is not an insignificant, accidental mistake for a group of comrades in the leadership of the Party and the state to attack the Party frontally, in an organized manner, breaching discipline, democratic centralism and secrecy, and weakening criticism and self-criticism. Such an action means setting about the work to cause the degeneration of the Party and the regime of people's democracy. The fight against the principles on which our Party has been built was the keynote of the efforts of this factional group. Besides this, they attacked the state plan, tried to retard, sabotage, and discredit it. In short, they were undermining the construction of the base of socialism in our country.

They were undermining the leadership of the Party and the state, indulging in slanders and denigration, engaging in acts of provocation to arouse mistrust and doubt about the leadership among the Party and the people. That it would lead to the road of Titoism, there was no doubt.

This hostile work was liquidated, and fearing that more facts about the close connection of his treason with

the Belgrade Trotskyites would have been revealed, the traitor Niazi Islami committed suicide. Abedin Shehu, Niazi Islami, and Shyqyri Këllezi were expelled from the Central Committee and the Party.

The Party drew useful lessons from this hostile work which was hatched up under cover and these lessons helped it close its ranks and enhance its vigilance.

The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee also expelled from its ranks Nexhip Vinçani, on account of his mistakes in contravention of the Party's fundamental principles. Pronounced petty-bourgeois views had led him on to the wrong path.

We must regard the pressure of the bourgeoisie on the Party as a very grave danger, and we must combat it seriously and continuously. It is easy to expose and destroy this danger when it is in the open, but in most cases, it is like a slimy maggot brought into the Party from outside, via the petty-bourgeois elements, and it develops in various forms wherever the ideological and cultural level of the Party is low, in those organizations where Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism are lacking, where party discipline is weak, where the working class elements are few in numbers, where the Party's revolutionary fighting spirit is at a low level.

Sympathy and love for our Party of Labour are very deep among the broad masses of the people. The people aspire, and deem it an honour, to become members of the heroic Party of Labour. But admission to the Party is, and must be, a very important, delicate, and extremely responsible matter. There have been moments when the process of admissions has not been carried out correctly, and as we saw above, people with a vacillating stand, of aga origin, unsound intellectuals, windbags, careerseekers, conceited people, incorrigible fault-finders, who sought to gain personal advantages from being in the

Party and to damage the Party, have managed to get in. Such elements had made inroads especially in the party organization of Lushnja, and had become a serious obstacle to the normal development of the Party. It is instructive for the Party to know how the kulak and petty-bourgeois element acted towards the party elements. We know that Lushnja is an agricultural district. The peasants of that district were oppressed by the beys, the agas, the overseers, and the better-off of the town. The Land Reform gave land to the peasants. The party organization in that district had not been developed in the correct way. There were few peasants, especially poor peasants, in the Party during the period under review. The bulk of the Party and the leadership of that district were townsfolk, petty-bourgeois elements, clerks, apprentices, barbers, petty intellectuals, sons of rich people, and other elements from various regions of Albania who had settled in the Lushnja district. Some of them, in both the Party and its leadership, had made mistakes in the past, had defected from the war for a while, had signed compromising statements, and had avoided self-criticism and, far from acknowledging these mistakes, took each other under protection, created groups, and fought against the new element in the Party. One of these groups was that of Hasan Gina who, under the pressure of the kulaks and the petty-bourgeoisie of the town, was trying to eliminate the new element and win key positions in the leadership of the Party and the state power in the Lushnja district. Such work had plagued the Lushnja organization. The kulaks in the countryside and town were very interested that such a situation should be made even worse, and supported the group of Hasan Gina and Halit Ahmeti, because this served their aims. Ambition, power-seeking, careerism, pronounced opportunism towards the bourgeois element, were predominant

among these comrades, too. Thus, far from being intensified class struggle in this district, where feudalism had reigned supreme and the knout of the bey and the kulak had held sway, was almost non-existent. Liberalism towards the weak elements in the Party and the kulak element was the order of the day. In practice, the pressure of the bourgeoisie and the kulaks was reflected in the mistakes made in the Land Reform. The kulaks kept the best land, the poor peasants did not get sufficient support, and many poor peasants were left defenceless in the face of the threats of the kulaks and the usurers. Favouritism flourished, intrigues were incited, and the policy towards the countryside was conducted from the position of these intrigues of the kulaks. The kulaks and the bourgeoisie were breathing freely. The secrecy and discipline had slackened. Internal matters became café gossip, the sound communists were attacked and affairs went so far that the kulaks and people who had served sentences for political offences were encouraged to sit in judgment on the communists on account of their just actions towards the kulaks. Naturally the Central Committee immediately put an end to this situation, took measures against the culprits, and strengthened the composition of the party organization in Lushnja and its leadership.

But such opportunist work did harm to the Party and had bitter consequences. The kulak element is still active there, and some time ago it even launched acts of terrorism; it fights against the strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives and the introduction of new agrotechnical methods into agriculture. The bitter experience of the Lushnja organization should be a great lesson for all the other organizations of the Party in our Republic, to be vigilant and consistent in the implementation of the correct political and organizational line of the Party, to step up the class struggle in the countryside and to mount a

merciless attack on all the different manoeuvres of the kulaks.

b) *The conclusions of the 9th Plenum have been a lesson and a valuable experience for the entire Party*

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is of great importance to our Party, for it disclosed gross errors in the activity of Tuk Jakova, Manol Konomi, and Theodhor Heba. These comrades committed Rightist errors. It was shown that Tuk Jakova's activity was characterized by great opportunism and liberalism, pronounced lack of revolutionary vigilance and serious negligence in carrying out duties. In practice, these errors had led Tuk Jakova to act and think in opposition to the Party's political and organizational line. Because of this he not only underestimated Ymer Dishnica's capitulation in Mukje, Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunist views, and the anti-party work of the group of Niazi Islami and Co., but he was very slow to understand these things. Tuk Jakova had not developed a correct understanding of the party and state policy towards religion and the Catholic clergy in particular, and acted in opposition, while failing to see the danger of elements of the reactionary clergy. Tuk Jakova did not hate the class enemy enough, and this several times caused him to fall into the opportunist position.

As the Secretary of the Central Committee in charge of cadres, Tuk Jakova had not carried out his task properly and had shown serious laxity. In Tuk Jakova there was lack of vigilance, and he had excessive self-complacency. Because he had such views, the struggle to strengthen the Party, criticism and self-criticism, and inner democracy had been weakened. All these things showed clearly that Tuk Jakova had long since been in opposition to the line of the Party, and had the Party gone

the opportunist way of Tuk Jakova, this would certainly have led to the liquidation of the Party and the people's state power. The Resolution of the 9th Plenum of the Central Committee correctly points out that,

*"This opportunist work by comrade Tuk Jakova was not condemned in the past as it is being condemned today, not only because this harmful work by comrade Tuk has now been made very clear by concrete facts, but because Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism were wanting in the Political Bureau. The establishment of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism in the Political Bureau resulted in these harmful actions of comrade Tuk Jakova's being clarified, condemned, and put forward to the Plenum of the Central Committee which fully endorsed and further developed the conclusions of the Political Bureau on comrade Tuk Jakova's activity".**

The conclusions of the 9th Plenum have been a valuable lesson and experience for the leadership and the entire Party. Taking into account his mistakes as well as his past record and his promise to correct his mistakes, the Central Committee dismissed comrade Tuk Jakova from his functions as Secretary of the Central Committee, expelled him from the Political Bureau, but left him in the Central Committee. As for comrades Theodhor Heba and Manol Konomi, they were expelled from the Central Committee on account of their profoundly opportunist views, influenced by the pressure of the local bourgeoisie and external imperialism in general. These two comrades have shown themselves to be cowards and capitulationists in the face of the difficulties they encountered and the tasks the Party had entrusted to them . . .

These were the principal deviations from the party line during this period. The attempts by the internal and

* "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. II, 1st Alb. ed., p. 65.

external enemy to weaken our Party have taken these forms, and these were the mistakes and the unsound views that have been observed among the comrades. The Party has not been afraid to reveal these mistakes, to criticize them sharply and to clear them up on the basis of criticism and self-criticism. And precisely because of this our Party has not been weakened, but has become even more tempered. The internal and external enemies of the Party are prattling that because of these measures our Party is destroying itself, growing weaker, and so on. Such a thing wouldn't worry them at all, for this is what they are aiming at, but what they are howling about is that their men, both open and hidden, are being exposed, their support is being smashed, their methods are being uncovered, and the unsound views, which appear among the people of our Party and which constitute a resource and support for Titoism, are attacked, corrected, and cleaned up. Let the Titoites weep and howl; right now our people are rejoicing and happy, for they see the Party of Labour of Albania becoming steeled, and bolshevized, and the construction of socialism marching ahead. Day by day our heroic Party is developing as the steel-like leader of our people, an invincible bastion which is heroically and successfully defending the lofty interests of the people and the homeland. With great loyalty, our Party is following the teachings and the glorious road of our great teacher and leader Joseph Stalin.

5) *THE MARXIST-LENINIST EDUCATION OF MEMBERS AND CADRES OF THE PARTY. PARTY PROPAGANDA*

"To eliminate the political and ideological backwardness of our Party," says the Resolution of the 1st Congress, *"all the party organs and organizations must do systematic*

*work to master the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, to consolidate the communist consciousness of the party members and to become acquainted with the laws of socio-economic development. The Party must consider the problem of the political and ideological uplift of its members as one of the most important problems that must be solved correctly and urgently."**

On the basis of the decisions of the lst Congress of the Party, the Central Committee studied and took decisions on the Marxist-Leninist education in the Party, defined the courses of education, and prepared the curriculum for every course. The one-year Party School for the members of the district party committees and executive committees, as well as for the cadres working at the centre, has been opened. The extracurricular two-year correspondence course, and the course of journalism attached to this school have also been opened. In five district centres, three-month (now, five-month) courses have been set up, mainly for the cadres of the apparatuses of the party committees and the executive committees of the districts. In 10 centres (now, 20 centres), one-month (now, two-month) courses have been organized under the party committees in the districts, chiefly for the secretaries of the basic organizations in the countryside and the work centres. The Marxist-Leninist education among the masses of the Party is being carried out through political schools, study groups (in two categories) and individual study. The programs are based on the study of the short course on the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)", the History of our Party, the Constitution of the Party of Labour of Albania, and the Constitution of our People's Republic.

* "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. I, 1st Alb. ed , p. 463.

To help the development of education in the Party, party cabinets[5] (16 cabinets) and libraries (5 libraries) have been set up under all the district party committees. One hundred and twenty-eight books of an ideological character totalling 2,084,000 copies have been translated and published. The translation and publication of comrade Stalin's Works have begun, the 1st and 6th volumes have been published, and the 7th and 8th volumes will be put out this year.

The political and ideological elevation of the Party is still not regarded as one of the most important problems, and is not properly guided by the party committees and the basic organizations. Until some time ago, the Marxist-Leninist education of the party members and candidates was not properly taken care of and supervised by the basic organizations, and the party committees had undertaken to carry it on by means of propagandists only. This wrong practice has caused the party committees to confine their duties to the setting up of education courses in the Party and to employ the agitation-propaganda sections and the party cabinets to check on attendance, to take disciplinary measures, and so on. As a result of this wrong practice, their guidance has been weakened in the most important problems of the ideological work in the Party, as in improving the quality and the method of propaganda, the work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the youth, which has been completely neglected, and in the work among the masses of the Party who have not taken part in these courses, among the non-party working people, the workers, the peasants and the intelligentsia.

[5] These are set up at the district party committees, and deal with the education and qualification of the propagandists, and with lecture work.

It is very harmful to the Party if the lack of interest in, or underestimation of, the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory in many leading cadres of the Party and the state, in the districts and at the centre, is not resolutely combated. It is precisely individual study, in which the comrades with the best ideological training take part, that is going worst, and the results are poorest. What is the matter? Is it the unsuitable methods? On the contrary. The decisions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) say: "The main method through which the cadres study Marxism-Leninism, should be the method of individual study". But the problem, comrades, is in the underestimation of the study of Marxism-Leninism. Until a year ago, this situation, with a few exceptions, was also evident among the members of the Central Committee.

This underestimation is evident in the tendency of the party committees which are ready to send propagandists to the villages for weeks at a time for wholesale purchases or all sorts of campaigns, thus weakening the courses of party education. It shows up in the tendency of certain party and state cadres, of the economic enterprises and other institutions, as well as of the organs of the party committees, to send to the party schools and courses those who are "not so busy" and "not so indispensable", and not the most responsible, sound and promising cadres. We must put a stop to this short-sighted cadre policy.

There are pronounced defects and weaknesses in the quality of party propaganda. After the Congress, the Central Committee concentrated its attention on setting up the education system in the Party, but the work for training propagandists was utterly insufficient. Of course, the great need for the training and uplift of the propagandists was felt immediately, and many seminars were

held for this purpose during the summer, and an education system for the propagandists was set up during the school year. However, the work of the agitation and propaganda sections and the party cabinets in the districts, the attention of the party committees, and assistance from the Agitation and Propaganda Directorate of the Central Committee and the press, have been weak and deficient.

The Party faces an important problem: on the one hand, it must increase the number of propagandists in order to keep pace with the extension of the ideo-political education in the Party and among the masses, and on the other hand, it must be very careful to see that the quality of propaganda is not lowered.

The decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) regard as improper practice the effort to draw as many communists as possible into the network of the party education courses at the expense of the quality of practical propaganda. We must rebuild the structure of party propaganda in such a way as to guarantee the raising of its quality and its ideological level, — say these decisions.

With these teachings of the Bolshevik Party, and displaying great care in choosing, training, and uplifting the propagandists, the political and ideological work will grow stronger and the level of party propaganda will be raised.

In the field of propaganda, there is formalism and a separation of theory from practice, from the life and practical problems of the Party. Formalism in the political and ideological work is apparent in the way agitation and propaganda are carried out among the masses, with big words which are not understood, not linked closely with the needs of the people, unconvincing and lacking militancy. This is obvious in the party cabinets which, in their present state, are not yet powerful centres for

spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and the line of our Party, but beautiful expositions, devoid of life and activity.

Likewise, in the propaganda through the press and lectures, it is observed that matters are approached from a purely historical angle, and though the obsolete outlook and alien manifestations are exposed, there is no Marxist-Leninist analysis, and our new communist outlook, which must serve as a guide to action, is not opposed to the old one.

The role of the press in helping the party members in the study of Marxism-Leninism, in the analysis of many problems and the exchange of experience in the political and ideological work, has been utterly insufficient. The leading cadres of the Party, the members of the Central Committee, the party secretaries in districts, etc., have given very little help in this work.

An end must be put once and for all to indifference and the non-communist attitude adopted by many party members and responsible cadres towards the distribution, and even more so, towards the reading of the press and books. It is beyond comprehension how a party organization which does not read the press can lead the work.

Comrade Stalin has said:

"The press is a most powerful weapon by means of which the Party daily, hourly, speaks in its own language, the language it needs to use to the working class".*

*"The point is that nowadays it is utterly impossible to lead without 'trouble', let alone without newspapers."***

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 198 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 128 (Alb. ed.).

In order to raise the propaganda of the Party (its political and ideological work) to a higher level, and to educate the party members and the leading cadres politically and ideologically as quickly and as well as possible, all these defects and weaknesses must be combated, the decisions of the Central Committee must be carried out persistently, and the great and brilliant teachings of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin must always be taken into account.

Recently, the Central Committee took important decisions on raising the educational and ideo-political level of the party and state cadres, in which it is envisaged that the Party School should extend its course to two years, that various courses, differing in content and duration, will be attached to it, that participation in higher education will become compulsory for those in the party organs and the cadres of the press, and a series of seminars will be arranged to raise the level of the party cadres ideologically and professionally.

Comrades, the Party and the government have created such conditions that the broad masses of the working people can emerge from the darkness and backwardness of the past. With great zeal and enthusiasm, the masses of the people in town and country are attending the classes against illiteracy and the various schools. The sons and daughters of the workers and peasants can be seen everywhere in teacher training, vocational, and artistic schools, as well as in the schools of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Without this cultural and educational development of the masses, the development of the economy cannot even be thought of, much less achieved. And what is more, no advance can be made without the cultural and educational advancement of our Party, the vanguard of the masses. The masses of the Party must be at the head, in everything, everywhere, and all the

time. The situation of party education is not very satisfactory and it is improving very slowly. . .

This Congress must mark an important turning point in the rise of the political-ideological and educational-cultural level of the Party. Hence it is necessary for us to set about persistent study, so that not only a few, but the broad masses of the Party, raise their educational and cultural level, unceasingly study the Marxist-Leninist theory, and put it into practice.

a) *Strengthen the work of the Party in the ideo-political and cultural fields*

In the conditions of the construction of socialism and the new society, especially in the conditions of the encirclement in which our country finds itself, the strengthening of the political and ideological work in the Party assumes increasing importance day by day. It assumes even greater importance if we consider that since liberation our Party has increased from 5,266 to 44,418 members and candidate members. It is true that these thousands of party members and candidates are distinguished for their profound love for, and loyalty to, the Party, and their militant enthusiasm and fervour to build the new society. But we must not forget that they bring with them into the Party all the cultural and educational backwardness they have inherited from the past, all the influences of the feudal-bourgeois ideology, with which the old society has fed them.

Should we think that since we have a great deal to do right now, we should first get these things underway, and then begin to study and set about raising our cultural-educational and ideo-political level?

No, comrades, it is not permissible for us to think this way. Those comrades who think so should be warned that soon they stop with the job half done, because the

impetuous development of our new society demands the uplift of its vanguard, of cadres to lead it. Whoever does not keep pace with them, will tag along for a while, but will be left behind eventually. This is a dialectical law that should be thoroughly understood. This is what great Lenin and great Stalin teach us.

> *"Without a knowledge of Marxist-Leninist theory"*, say the decisions of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B), *"without mastering Bolshevism, and overcoming their own theoretical backwardness, our cadres will be lame in both legs, because the task of giving correct leadership to all the branches of socialist construction requires mastery of the fundamentals of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the practical workers, requires knowledge so they can be guided by theory in solving questions of practical activity."**

But if we are to study, some comrades might think, we should be relieved of many tasks, of worries over procurement, economic questions, and so on. Is this permissible for us? No, not in the least. The Party is at the head of the people's power, and it bears full and serious responsibility for leading the great and rapid transformations taking place in our country in the economic, cultural and social fields.

Then, what is the way out? Comrades, we, present-day communists, are fortunate because all the ways out have been illuminated for us by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

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* "The CPSU in the resolutions and decisions of the congresses, conferences, and plenums of the CC", part III, 7th Rus. ed., pp. 318-319.

"Of course, theory turns into something without an object," comrade Stalin says, *"if it is not integrated with the revolutionary practice, just as practice becomes blind, if its path is not illuminated by a revolutionary theory."**

The more we take this lesson into account, the better and more correctly we shall respond to the tasks which the construction of socialism faces us with.

It should be pointed out that many cadres are very busy, tire themselves out, precisely because they do little study. There are many other comrades who, under the pretext of having too much work, hide their lack of courage and will to study persistently, to enter the tower of knowledge and science, to set about studying the Marxist-Leninist science. There are also many communists, especially new rank-and-file party members, who remain far removed from the struggle against their old outlook, and they are not to blame for this, but, because of the lack of extensive, systematic ideological work, these comrades fail to grasp the Marxist outlook about the things around them, and their Marxist awareness is at a low level. If they want to advance, all these comrades must always remember the teaching of comrade Stalin:

*"It must be accepted as an axiom that the higher the political level and the Marxist-Leninist knowledge of the workers in any branch of state or party work, the better and more fruitful will be the work itself, and the more effective the results of the work; and vice versa, the lower the political level of the workers and the less they are imbued with the knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, the greater will be the likelihood of disruption and failure in the work. . ."***

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 92 (Alb. ed.).

** J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 247 (Alb. ed.).

Without thorough-going work for the Marxist-Leninist education of the mass of the party members there will be continual distortions and deviations in the line of the Party, there will always be difficulties in solving economic problems, the communists will not be in a position to combat bourgeois ideology properly to ensure a higher level of ideology in education, culture, art, and literature, and the influences of the feudal-bourgeois and reactionary ideology will constantly show up in the Party, thereby weakening its militant and revolutionary spirit.

b) *For a close integration of theory and practice*

This is urgent and indispensable, for we are very backward, I again repeat it, we are backward, all of us, without exception. We must learn Marxist-Leninist philosophy, learn its method, which is dialectical materialism. It is absolutely necessary to study this philosophy and this method, because only in this way will we understand Marxism-Leninism, which will arm us to squash and throw out the bourgeois theories and enable us to wage a general political struggle. Lenin teaches us:

> *"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement"**.

This means, in the first place, that theory must be integrated with practice. Practice means translating theory into reality. Industry and agriculture realize, that is to say, turn into reality, chemical, physical, and biological knowledge. One can be practical, but then work in a mechanical way; one can be a theorist only, but then work out plans of things which are not realized. Hence, practice and theory must be closely integrated. Therefore, the working class and its vanguard, the communist or

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 5, p. 434 (Alb. ed.).

workers' party, need a correct method of analysis to achieve correct revolutionary deeds, a method which must not be a dogma, that is, to provide ready-made solutions, but a method which can size up facts and circumstances which are not always the same, a method which does not divorce theory from practice. And the Marxist-Leninist philosophy, dialectical materialism, teaches us this method.

The history of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that only the party which has mastered the Marxist-Leninist theory can press forward confidently and lead the working class ahead.

The history of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that mastering the Marxist-Leninist theory does not mean learning the formulae and conclusions by rote, but means assimilating this theory as your own and learning how to use it to solve practical problems of the revolutionary movement in various conditions of the class struggle of the proletariat. Therefore, we must all study the short course of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" and make this powerful weapon of Bolshevism, which sums up the experience of the Bolshevik Party, our own. Every communist must regard it as the most important means of discharging the task of mastering Bolshevism and equipping the party members with the Marxist-Leninist theory, that is, with the knowledge of the laws of social development and political struggle. The "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" is the means of enhancing the Bolshevik political vigilance of the party and the non-party people, it is the means of raising the propaganda of Marxism-Leninism to the required theoretical level.

The short course of the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B)" must become an inseparable weapon of every communist and illuminate his path to action. The more and the better the Party and all those

who lead the political, economic, cultural, and social life master it, the faster and the more confidently our Party of Labour and our entire people will forge ahead.

We must strengthen leadership by the Party in the field of ideo-political and cultural work, fighting against any tendency to laziness or disparaging the work for mastering the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, as well as against underestimation of general culture, for only in this way will we eliminate the defects in our work and carry the cultural revolution in our country constantly forward.

V

ON SOME PRESSING TASKS CONCERNING THE COUNTRYSIDE

I am not going to dwell on the economic problems and tasks in the countryside, because comrade Mehmet Shehu will speak about them in his report. There is no doubt that our labouring peasantry is closely linked with the Party, and this means that the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry has become a reality. The peasantry stands loyal to the Party of Labour which freed it from the yoke of bondage, and is leading it towards socialism. There is no doubt that it has not only accepted the leadership of the working class, but regards it as indispensable and its salvation. This is the basic guarantee of advance to socialism. We must constantly strengthen this alliance, for on our road to the construction of the foundations of socialism, there are enemies who are fighting furiously to weaken this alliance.

During this short period from liberation until today, colossal progress has been made in the countryside: life is better, the economy is better, primary and secondary education have spread at a rapid rate, a successful struggle is being conducted against illiteracy and disease, slowly but surely, new methods of work and production are being introduced. But our countryside is far behind the town. Our peasant is patriotic and progressive, he wants to make up the lost time as soon as possible, and to wipe out the backwardness left over from the past, but naturally, everything cannot be changed overnight. Struggle and effort are needed. There is no doubt that we are meeting ob-

stacles in establishing new forms of work and production in the countryside, and this has its source in the backwardness of the countryside, as well as in the inability of our state power to cope immediately with all the requirements of such a big job for the construction of the country, in the lack of cadres of a high level, capable of solving the problems of the countryside properly, as well as in the petty-bourgeois tendencies of small-scale production which manifest themselves every hour of every day in the countryside. Thus, the Party faces the arduous task of getting over these difficulties. The peasantry is loyal to our Party and its main ally. It supplies the people with food, industrial crops, its ranks replenish the number of workers who set industry and the mines in motion, it provides the bulk of the soldiers who defend the homeland and the victories of the people. We are building the foundations of socialism in alliance with the peasantry. Our Party faithfully follows the teachings of Stalin who says:

> *"To foment class struggle in the countryside is not by any means the main task at present. The main task at present is to rally the middle peasants around the proletariat, to win them over to our side again. The main task at present is to link up with the main masses of the peasantry, to raise their material and cultural level, and to move forward, together with those main masses, along the road of socialism"**.

We must always bear in mind that the Party is very interested in the development of industry, because it is the mainstay of the construction of socialism and the support of the people's power. In this respect, the rate of development of our industry within this short period is very satisfactory, and will become even greater under our

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 125 (Alb. ed.).

1st five-year plan. But we must not forget, on the other hand, that the Party is just as interested in the development of agriculture, for without developing agriculture, industry remains like a fish out of water. Our industry should be based on the home market, that is on the peasant and cooperative market. We are greatly interested in improving the economic situation of the peasantry, raising the economic and cultural state of our peasants ever higher, and increasing the productive power of the peasant, as well as his purchasing power, thus strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

Our economy in the countryside is chiefly a dispersed, individual economy, in which the system of small-scale individual farming, with all its defects and difficulties of every kind, is prevalent. The fight to overcome these obstacles is arduous, hence this calls for greater efforts and attention, more concentrated assistance, and better management on the part of the communists. The Land Reform, the application of new agrotechnical methods, and continued assistance for the peasantry from the state, have brought obvious improvements in the rural economy, but this still remains a field where the Party must wage great battles to score new victories. We can say that we have won the first battle in the countryside, but now it becomes the task of the Party to transform the existing peasant economy, and in the process, without rushing things or marking time, to set it on the road of the general system of economic development which leads to socialism. Such a process of development of the peasant economy is aimed at creating the conditions which promote the national economy, gradually and unceasingly raising the wellbeing of the broad masses of the labouring peasants, and along with this, the wellbeing of all the working people of our country. In this development of the peasant economy we mean that our peasantry and its economy must pass from

the primitive or transitional state it is in at present, to a more advanced stage, thus enabling agriculture to advance in step with the development of our industry. One should help the other, and they should advance side by side. The peasantry must take the road of the working class which leads it, and thus steel the alliance of these two classes which constitute the decisive factors of our society.

Comrade Stalin teaches us how to follow this road and score victory. Comrade Stalin says:

> *"First of all, the survivals of war communism in the countryside must be eliminated. Further, a correct policy must be pursued in relation to the prices of manufactured goods and agricultural products, a policy that will ensure the rapid growth of industry and agriculture, and the elimination of the 'scissors'. Furthermore, the total amount of the agricultural tax must be reduced, and the tax must be gradually transferred from the general state budget to the local budgets. The vast masses of the peasantry must be organized in cooperatives, primarily in agricultural and credit cooperatives, as a means of drawing peasant economy into the general system of socialist construction. The countryside must be supplied with the maximum amount of tractors as a means of bringing about a technical revolution in agriculture, and as the way towards creating cultural and technical centres in the countryside. Finally, the plan for electrification must be carried out as a means of bringing the countryside closer to the towns and of abolishing the antithesis between them".**

This is a work program for us for a very long time to come; this is the objective of our 1st five-year plan and

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 159 (Alb. ed.).

the coming plans, which will bring us very satisfactory results on the road to the construction of socialism, on which our Party and great Stalin are leading us.

Thus, on our Party falls the arduous task of leading the people on this glorious road. On our Party falls the responsibility of leading our peasantry to carry out these great tasks. There is no doubt that the work of the Party in the countryside must be improved; the leadership it gives, as well as its organizational and political work must be strengthened. The leading cadres must pay special attention to the basic organizations and the communists in the countryside. In this respect, more regular work, greater care, perseverance, and patience are required, because, in general, the district party committees devote only superficial attention to the countryside, and only in the direction of demands for the fulfilment of obligations. These demands are not coupled with sound political, ideological, and cultural education. The party committees do not make enough effort to teach the comrades of the countryside how to organize their work better. The countryside and its communists are given many orders but few explanations about how to implement these orders. The directives are put forward and discussed in the countryside in a superficial and perfunctory way without linking them adequately with the concrete situation there. Very often, the people who go there to put forward these instructions not only lack adequate knowledge of the situation in the countryside and the economic problems, but they are not well prepared either. The explanation of the directives is of great importance, therefore superficial work should never be permitted. The instructors engaged in party work in the countryside absolutely must study and acquire a good knowledge of the problems of agriculture, agronomy, livestock farming, and fruit growing, just as the instructors and the communists generally, who work

in the cities, cannot lead if they don't know about industry, trade, finance, and other matters. Without learning these things it is impossible to lead. Empty words, high-flown statements, conferences of a general character on the international situation, do not get very far. Nobody listens to them attentively, for they have heard them a thousand times over, and they bore people and waste their time. We must teach the peasant about agricultural matters in down to earth terms, and advise him concretely on how to use the new agrotechnical methods, showing him all this in the field, in practical experiments. Then, the peasant will listen to us with great attention; he will be grateful to us and follow us to the end. Therefore, the Party must exert all its efforts to educate the communists of the countryside so that the countryside can be led in this way on the road of the construction of the foundations of socialism.

Some leading cadres of the Party in the districts must give up, here and now, the spirit of neglecting party affairs in the countryside, of failing to study the minutes of the meetings of the basic organizations which mirror the entire life of the Party, and they should hold regular seminars with the secretaries of the basic organizations. These principal duties are closely linked with the tasks of the Party in the countryside, which must be studied and analysed with the greatest care, taking prompt operative measures and giving immediate assistance to the communists to meet their needs and to solve the problems of the peasants as well as possible.

Certain leading comrades are more concerned to have good relations with the government or the Central Committee than they are to have good relations with the peasantry. They must not forget that if their relations with the people, the workers and the peasants are not in order, then they will be in bad odour with the leadership of the

Party and the state. The leading cadres of the Party in the districts must, without fail, give up their ugly methods of administration, for no advance can be made in anything by merely issuing orders, and this is especially true in connection with the peasantry. As far as the peasantry is concerned, explanation, education, active interest in its needs and problems are required. Comrade Stalin says:

> *". . . to lead, one must be a good manager, one must be familiar with and understand economic affairs. . . Hence, the one who can lead is one who understands economic affairs, who is able to give the peasants useful advice about economic development, who can give the peasants assistance in economic construction. To study economic affairs, to be directly linked with economic affairs, to go into all the details of economic construction — such is now the task of the communists in the countryside"*.

In the district where party work is going on well, we see satisfactory results in the development of the agricultural economy. Thanks to good leadership and proper advice, the peasants have harvested bumper crops, the procurement plan has been carried out well, the personal example of the communists has been at a high level, compulsory elementary schooling has been achieved a hundred per cent, the press has gone out, been distributed and read regularly, harmful symptoms in the Party have been combated, fanaticism has been fought successfully, the women have taken part in production, they have been uplifted politically, have gone to schools, have gone to work in factories and various other jobs. . . The leading cadres of the Party in the districts and the party organizations in the countryside must attach the greatest importance to the

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 129 (Alb. ed.).

people's councils in the village, which is an important organ of power at the base. This must be understood thoroughly and correctly, and the councils must be given all their competences and rights to lead and exercise power in the countryside. It is urgent and absolutely necessary for the village councils to be strengthened with the representatives of the people, and to implant democracy in them. The illegal methods of commandism must be liquidated. The councillors of the villages must acquire accurate knowledge of the laws and ordinances, especially those closely connected with the economy. The apparatus of the council in the countryside must be simple and inexpensive, and the tendency to have as many people as possible in the village on salaries must be combated, because such salaries are a burden on the peasantry. The councillors of the villages deem it an honour to be elected and run their own villages. The Party must strive to strengthen the councils and to educate the councillors. The monopolizing of work by the communists must be done away with, and full confidence must be placed in the representatives of the people. We must not follow the example of the party organization of Brezhdan village in Peshkopia, which has charged a communist with six responsible posts, or the example of the basic organization of Vergo village in Saranda, where its secretary has been saddled with eight responsible posts, at a time when there are scores of patriotic men and women who are in a position to honourably carry out the tasks they are charged with. We must combat these sectarian tendencies, for they harm the Party, divorce it from the masses, convert it into a caste shrunk into itself, which will never be able to solve problems without the masses, or carry out decisions, however correct they may be, without the help of the masses, without the consent of the masses and without their control. A Party such as ours, so popular and so dear to the working masses of the coun-

try, cannot allow bureaucratic and sectarian elements to compromise the great prestige of the Party, to weaken the strong ties it has with the masses and to weaken party leadership.

The question of the political and cultural education of the communists in the countryside, and of the peasantry in general, is one of the main tasks of the Party. We must understand clearly that if we fail to devote the greatest possible attention to this problem, the countryside will remain behind in all aspects. In no way must such a thing occur. But backwardness, ignorance, fanaticism, and so on, cannot be wiped out at a single stroke. The state expends millions upon millions of leks to eliminate them. One of the main tasks of the Party is to achieve a hundred per cent compulsory primary education. All the children, boys and girls, without exception, must finish the elementary school. For the implementation of this law, the Party must carry out a major campaign of persuasive propaganda, be very strict, and make no concessions. Stern measures must be taken against those parents who, for one reason or another, hinder their children from going to school. The parents will soon come to understand that such a measure has done them a great deal of good, and no harm at all. If we win this battle, we will have achieved one of the greatest successes. But the Party must not be satisfied with just this. The Party must insist that the bulk of the boys and girls who complete the elementary school, especially in the countryside where the problem is difficult, must attend 7-year schools, vocational courses, agricultural schools, secondary schools and the University. And even this is not enough. A persistent struggle must be waged to eliminate illiteracy among the broad masses in the countryside. We have achieved successes on this score, but the struggle must be waged persistently and with great patience. Everybody who can read and write in our

People's Republic must deem it a honour and a duty to become a teacher of those who still do not know how to do so. Think of the great service these teachers have performed for their homeland and the construction of socialism by teaching illiterate people how to read and write. A communist called Ndrec Ndue Gjoka lived and fought in Mirdita. He was a teacher. He could tolerate neither the oppression nor the ignorance which fascism and Gjon Marka Gjon imposed on Mirdita. Right after liberation, assisted by Bardhok Biba[6] and implementing the Party's directive, on his own initiative, he opened 50 schools in Mirdita as early as December, 1944. But can 50 schools be opened without buildings, pencils, notebooks, and especially, without teachers? Yes, they can! There is no fortress the communists cannot conquer. Ndrec Ndue Gjoka, a poor peasant, used the peasants' homes as schoolrooms, he gathered up notebooks and pencils from here and there, and shared them out, he found the teachers, his socalled headteachers, among the former pupils of the "Orosh Boarding School", to whom he had previously spoken about the opening of schools, and then he gave them a short course in teaching methods. And the schools, fifty of them, were set up, and they operated very well indeed, till the Ministry of Education approved them in 1945. The former pupils of the "Orosh Boarding School", who have now become experienced teachers, proudly say, "We are the first teachers trained by Ndrec Ndue Gjoka". But our comrade Ndrec Ndue Gjoka was murdered by the Gjon Marka Gjon traitors on the Vorra pass in 1946, precisely on account of this great patriotic work of his. I call on the Congress to honour the memory of this outstanding

[6] First Secretary of the Party Committee of the Mirdita district and Deputy to the People's Assembly, killed by the reactionary bands.

communist pioneer of light and education. If everybody would think and act like this, and it is in this way that everybody should think and act, the question of illiteracy would soon be transferred to the archives of the history of the People's Republic of Albania.

The Party must give the greatest attention to the distribution of the press and literature and to organizing the reading of them, for there are great weaknesses in this respect. Unpleasant as it may be, we must admit that there are even leading cadres of the Party and the state organs who do not read the press and literature. How can such good-for-nothings push the work ahead? This should be put an end to. The Party must raise the problem of reading the press and literature in the countryside very firmly, and continually check up on it. Further, educative and technical conferences about the problems of the countryside must be held more regularly, and the town must continuously help the countryside in this direction. Our intelligentsia must go to the countryside to educate our peasants. Many prefer to draw up order after order, decision after decision, but little do they think that these decisions must be carried out by people who need help to understand the issues clearly, to educate themselves, and to have broad vistas of work opened to them. Office work alone does not help to resolve the problem. In our country, there are many people who make no move to test their work in practice, to teach the masses and be educated by the masses. The party people, learned people, must put their knowledge at the service of the masses, not just in words, not just in memos and orders, but in a living way, in constant contact with the masses of the people.

We often say that in the countryside there is backwardness, fanaticism, and the influence of the anti-popular clergy. These observations are correct. But how are we going about curing these ills? Orders and decrees won't

cure them. They are cured only by sound political and ideological education, unceasing revolutionary work, with meetings, with individual persuasion, always persuasion, which must not brutally attack the feelings of the people who have a burden of traditional prejudices going back to centuries.

The organization of the Democratic Front, led by the Party, should give a great deal of help with the political education of the broad masses of the people, and especially those of the countryside. But this very useful organization is underestimated and regarded as formal. These views are totally mistaken[7]. The Democratic Front must be enlivened, become powerful, as it used to be in the time of the National Liberation War. It must mobilize the broad masses of the people, educate them politically, inspire them with ardent patriotism and great love for the homeland, explain every problem to them, and arouse their enthusiasm and confidence in the strength of our People's Republic. The Front must be regarded as an enormous active force guided by the Party. Affairs in the

[7] Due to a mistake in the past, and as a result of the Yugoslav revisionist interference, when the Front had been brought into greater prominence than the Party, some people mistakenly went to the other extreme, discarding the Front as a means for the mobilization of the broad masses of the people around political and social problems. After the 1st Congress of the CPA the Party immediately attacked these trends which appeared among some communists as well as the opinions of those who held that "the Front should no longer exist, since the political work with the masses was carried out by the trade unions, the organizations of the youth and women," etc. The Party made it clear that the Democratic Front was the embodiment of the unity of the people around the Party, a form of organization which had become a sound tradition and proved most appropriate for the unceasing strengthening of the political unity of the broad masses of the people in struggle for the socialist construction of the country and the defence of the homeland.

countryside cannot be managed if the Party fails to create a broad body of rural activists around itself and the council. Can the Party lead in the countryside if it fails to create a strong body of rural activists? Can the Party carry out its tasks properly if it fails to devote special attention to the youth, to strengthening the youth organization? Can the Party lead and carry out its tasks properly if it fails to take special care of the women's organization? No, not in the least. To establish links with the masses means to link yourself with the organized masses, and if these important organizations are underrated by the Party, then you are not linked with the masses. Everything must be explained to the masses, their approval must be obtained, they must be allowed to criticize your mistakes, their advice must be welcomed, and the lessons must be learned from it. But where is the voice of the masses to be found if these organizations are abandoned? Naturally, this is not the right road. It is wrong and it must be abandoned quickly. It is important to fight the sectarianism which shows up in the issuing of membership cards of the Front, in which many people worthy of being in the Front have been left out. But there is more to it than that. Those who are not in possession of a Front card, are called enemies of the people, without evidence, without facts, and things even reach the point that no one must speak to them. Such actions are not on the line of the Party, but run counter to it. Wherever things stand like this, it is grist to the mill of the enemy. The Party has said that only those who are against the regime of people's democracy in deeds and on the basis of facts, in the past as well as at present, should not have a place in the Front. The Party in the districts must check up on this matter well, because in issuing Front cards, there is injustice, petty intrigue, disguised personal rancour to which evil people give vent under the guise of the course steered by the

state power and the line of the Party. The Party's line must be safeguarded and defended.

We must not forget that in the countryside, the Party has a great force in the organization of the people's youth, the heroic new generations of our country who have worked wonders and are the most progressive section in country and town, who are the greatest and inexhaustible source of cadres for the Party and the state power. There are cases when the youth organization in certain villages is regarded as an organization separated from the Party. There are villages where we have young people, and no communists. There are villages with two communists, and a good many young people. But it never dawns on these two communist "hermits" to get together with the youth and, in this way, strengthen the leadership in the countryside; instead, they follow a sectarian road, the road of isolation. In certain districts, insufficient interest is shown in leading and educating the youth in the countryside, in others the youth organization is looked upon simply as a source which supplies the state power with forces to carry out actions. These views are not correct. It is the youth organization which musters the best forces of our homeland; it is the steel pillar of socialism, the Spring of Albania. Therefore, the Party must look upon it as such, and take the greatest care of it. The leaders of the youth must also improve their organizational, political, and cultural work in the organization. Bureaucratism and pronounced, harmful sectarianism, which reduce the ranks of the youth, must be shaken off. The leaders of the youth must not turn away from the youthful, happy and dynamic spirit which characterizes our young people. The Party must take the greatest care of the education of the new generations in town and country, in factory and fields. The youth of our country is like a mighty vulcano erupting throughout the country, an invincible revolutionary force

which destroys anything obsolete in its way and builds the new, its happy future. Thus, our Party, the Party of the new, of that which is emerging and developing, must respond to our youth, meet its needs, educate and lead it.

The leadership of the Party and the leaders of the youth must apply themselves so that the youth organization is extended throughout the country, to all the villages. The leaders of the youth must see to it that its best cadres are distributed to every place, in order to ensure the necessary leadership of the youth. The youth must guard against and discard the sectarian method of work in the countryside and elsewhere, which consists in the failure to create a broad body of activists around itself; it must be careful in applying the party organizational form in the life of its organization, because the party organizational form differs from that of the youth. This method of work among the youth has brought about sectarianism and failure to create a broad body of young activists both at work centres and in agriculture. Above all, the youth must be educated and able to become a bearer of proletarian politics in the countryside, as Stalin teaches us. The teachings Stalin has armed us with in this direction are meant not only for the youth, but for the party members, too. As Stalin teaches us, it is necessary that the young peasant activists must be supplied with popular pamphlets and handbooks explaining the decrees issued by the state power in favour of the peasants. The youth must know them by heart and always explain them to the peasantry. The youth in the countryside must become the champion of the revolutionary law; it must stand as a granite rock in defence of the peasantry from the kulaks, and all those who seek to violate the law. The young activists in the countryside must read the pamphlets on the rudiments of agronomy and farming, learn the methods to improve it, and teach them to the peasants. As comrade Stalin says,

it often happens that the peasant does not take the young communist seriously, makes a mockery of him, considering him a child. To do away with this, the youth must be closely linked with the economy and production in the countryside, and give useful advice to the peasant on agro-technology and other matters. The youth in the countryside must read the pamphlets on the laws, agricultural taxes, the local budget, on questions of building the people's councils, on the participation of the peasantry in state affairs; they must study the pamphlets on the agricultural cooperatives, the Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives, and the buying and selling cooperatives; they must study the pamphlets on the development of culture in the countryside, the extension of reading rooms, the liquidation of illiteracy, and so on. The youth in the countryside must study pamphlets on the alliance of the workers with the peasants, on the meaning of this alliance, the importance of this alliance, and so on. As can be seen, these great tasks, which comrade Stalin sets the young communist, and which I summarized briefly, are always on the order of the day, not only for our youth, but the members of the Party, too, must implement them. In this way, we will stir things up in our countryside. The countryside will advance, our agricultural cooperatives will be strengthened, they will forge ahead and become a brilliant example to be followed by our entire working peasantry in the near future.

The most important task of the Party is the strict implementation of the directives which the 1st Congress and the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee have laid down in connection with the agricultural cooperatives. The agricultural cooperatives are the brilliant future of socialism in the countryside, that is why the propaganda to set up agricultural cooperatives must not be toned down. But in this matter, which is as important as it is

delicate, we must advance with careful steps, without rushing things, till we create the necessary economic and political conditions to move forward. Rather than being over-concerned about increasing the number of them, we must enhance their quality or strengthen them, because, under the present conditions, we might run the risk of doing harm to this important question. The Party faces the task of striving to strengthen the existing cooperatives so that they can progress, grow richer, and become an example for the entire individual peasantry round about them. Many cooperatives in our country are well on the way, growing stronger and improving their work, but some are marking time, and others are not doing well. In the agricultural cooperatives, organizational work must be improved, efforts must be made to understand and implement their Constitution to the letter, great attention must be paid to book-keeping, work according to norms must be developed, socialist emulation and the broad participation of the women in production must be stepped up. It is especially necessary to train leading cadres for the cooperatives in schools and courses. To achieve success in these urgent matters concerning the cooperatives, we must give special attention to strengthening the party organizations in them, because in some cases, they have been and still are weak. The example of the party organizations in the Fier and Lushnja districts has not been satisfactory concerning the leadership given by the basic organizations in the agricultural cooperatives. Things are different in Korça, where the party leadership in the cooperatives has been better, and they have advanced, have made gains, and are growing stronger both economically and politically.

The final matter has to do with the class struggle. The class struggle in our country has not died out, nor

will it die out as long as classes exist, until the complete triumph of socialism. This is why Lenin and Stalin teach us that at this stage it does not die out, but on the contrary, continues until the complete liquidation of classes.

The Central Committee has continually raised this problem, and has explained how to wage the class struggle, pointing out the dangers the comrades may be faced with and the mistakes they may make in the course of solving this problem. But there are communists who have a superficial understanding of this important question, who fail to grasp fully that the problem of class struggle implies the economic struggle, the political struggle, and the ideological struggle, and that it must be waged simultaneously in these three fields. Some rest content with having liquidated the kulak, and think that everything is over, and there is no need to proceed further. It never crosses their minds that the question is not so simple, and that it is not for nothing that the Central Committee has said that the kulaks must not be liquidated at this stage. It should be understood that in the battle for the bread, abundant products, the socialist transformation of agriculture, and the development of livestock farming (economic struggle), you should not neglect the struggle for peace or fail to defend the victories already won (political struggle), fail to come to grips with backwardness and the bourgeois and idealistic prejudices (ideological struggle). In waging a political struggle, the economic situation and the ideological trends must be taken into account. Moreover, in waging a correct and successful ideological struggle, the economic and political situation must be taken into consideration. All these aspects of this problem must be put forward and solved at the same time, in order to solve the problem of class struggle. It was not without reason that the Central Committee has said that, in this situation, the kulak must be restricted eco-

nomically, and not liquidated. It was not for nothing that the Central Committee, relying on the teachings of Stalin, has said that great caution must be displayed to avoid confusing the middle peasant with the kulak. But what happens in reality? Many leading communists have taken the shortest, but erroneous course, of total economic liquidation of the kulak as well as his total political isolation, and this is understood as though "nobody should even talk to the kulak". As far as ideological struggle is concerned, it has been little attended to. Many a time, the axe of such communists has fallen on the middle peasants, too. Then there are communists who go to the other extreme. They relax the struggle against the kulaks and do not even restrict them economically. As for the political and ideological struggle, it is self-evident how poorly these people conduct it. One lot are not on speaking terms with the kulaks, while the other lot eat and drink with them.

But as I have stressed at other times, the class struggle can not and should not be waged only in the countryside and against the kulaks alone, and in no way should it be waged through the erroneous sectarian and opportunist methods I mentioned above. The class struggle must be waged fiercely, correctly, and in all-round manner, in town and country, in offices and factories, in the cooperatives and the enterprises, against the kulaks, the big bourgeoisie, speculators, thieves, saboteurs, against the petty-bourgeois views which exist among the people and the communists themselves, including those of working class origin, against the pressure of the bourgeoisie, bureaucratism, and ideological trends alien to us, against mystical, idealist, religious, fascist, imperialist trends, against ignorance, backwardness in every field, against sectarianism, opportunism, selfishness, pedantry, and individualism. The class struggle must be understood and

waged, as I said above, in the three aspects of this question, economic struggle, political struggle, ideological struggle. The struggle must be waged in these three fields simultaneously in order to successfully solve the important problem of the class struggle. And to solve this problem, as well as other vital problems facing the Party and the people correctly, the communists in the first place, without exception, must be equipped with the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, and closely integrate it with practice.

In general these are the tasks facing the Party in regard to the strengthening of its work and activity in the countryside as a whole. Our Party will honourably discharge these tasks and achieve results in this direction. This will result in the successful carrying out of the five-year plan of our national economy.

VI

STRENGTHEN AND DEMOCRATIZE THE PEOPLE'S POWER

The great task of the Party and the working masses is to enliven, strengthen and make the people's power as revolutionary and democratic as possible. The power of the councils is entirely new. It emerged from the National Liberation War, created in struggle against the old power of the bourgeoisie. We owe this great victory to our Party and the Soviet Union which gave us the pattern and its own experience of building the people's state power. The Party has carefully followed the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in both the theory and the practical application of the forms of the people's state power. The people's state power in our country has become steadily stronger, and the masses have felt and understood that it is theirs and close to them. This has been demonstrated every time by the various elections to the People's Assembly and the people's councils in our country, in which never less than 97 per cent of the votes have been cast for the Front. The new administrative division into districts, localities, and village councils has been an important measure to strengthen the state power, to bring it as close as possible to the broad masses of the working people and to integrate it with them.

These are positive results and solid foundations which enable us to go ahead. But this situation would not be satisfactory and might get worse if the Party were to fail to channel all its efforts to the consolidation of the

state power, to its further democratization, fighting with the greatest ruthlessness against the elements of bureaucratism and the old reactionary tendencies in the concept of the state power and application in practice of the old methods of work. Such a danger must not be neglected in any way. The broad, active participation of the working masses throughout the entire hierarchy of the state power, the just struggle to implement the Founding Constitution of the Republic and the state laws, are the only means of vanquishing the dangers which might weaken and destroy the people's power. This seems easy to understand, but its implementation in practice is not such an easy job.

There are communists who do not properly understand what constitutes the democratic and popular essence of our state power. They think that this democracy consists merely in the procedure of the elections which are held on the basis of the laws of the People's Assembly. They think that these elections and the voting are sufficient to prove the popularity of our state power. These communists are wrong, not in pointing out the close ties of the people with the Party and the state power, for this is an indisputable reality, but because success in the voting is not enough, and we must not get swell-headed, thinking that the whole job has now been done, that the state power has attained perfection, and has become completely democratic and popular. No, we still have a great deal to do in this direction.

There is no doubt that the Party is greatly preoccupied with the question of state power to make it function as nearly perfectly as possible. The Party teaches its own members and the entire people to elect the best, most active people, those most loyal to the people's cause, to the organs of power. It advises them in particular that freedom of speech and criticism should be respected

absolutely in the elections. In this direction, there are certain communists who distort the line of the Party. They are gravely wrong and should be punished severely. It has occurred that the lists of candidates proposed for election to the organs of power are not discussed vigorously by the electorate, and on several occasions certain leading communists have imposed elements undesirable to the masses. Life has proved that in such cases the people have been right, and those communists who have dared commit such an ugly deed have been in the wrong; they have supported unhealthy elements with vices and a bad record. In several instances, such attitudes, condemnable under the Constitution of the Party and the laws, have resulted in undesirable elements being elected to the people's councils and the courts. May I refer to the case of Tërbaç village. Some leaders of the Party in Vlora proposed a person who was no good as assistant judge for that village, and the electors of Tërbaç did not accept him. These communists still persisted in imposing him on them. Tërbaç village, quite rightly, rejected him. These communists again insisted, then the electorate refused to vote, and the ugliest thing of all occurred: in the long run, the assistant-judge was imposed on them. The bulk of the voters abstained. But what is still more condemnable is the fact that the leading cadres of the Party and the state organs did not divulge this action for almost a year and a half. There is no doubt that the main culprit had no place in the Party or in any state function, save in prison, where he was put. Such actions, which are condemned under the law and by the Party, are enemy actions, the only aim of which is to discredit the Party in the eyes of the masses and instil in the masses the view that "the laws and directives of the Party on free elections are nothing but demagogy". Their other aim is to bring into the state power anti-people elements and enemies to carry out

sabotage from within, to implant the maggot of sabotage and bureaucratism in the very heart of the people's state power. Of course, wherever these elements penetrate, the state is weakened, the people's affairs are never dealt with, their problems are not solved, nor their grievances settled.

Sometimes, certain individuals violate state laws by appointing people and dismissing others who have been elected to the councils, acting from above, contrary to the Constitution of the Republic and the law on the councils. Appointments and dismissals should be done by the people's councils themselves and the electors. Far from helping the state power to become as popular and democratic as possible, these condemnable actions create a mistaken view among the members of the council about the question of leadership, making them think that they are no longer responsible to the people who have elected them and to whom they must render account, but to the state apparatus. Automatically, they begin to think that once the elections are over, they have no further responsibility to the electors. Accounts are rendered only to the apparatus. The view is created that "we must be on good terms with the representatives of the Party and the Chairman of the Executive Committee", and responsibility towards the electors is forgotten. This is a flagrant distortion of the meaning of the correct line of the people's state power and democracy. There are many cases when councillors are dismissed from above without giving the matter a second thought, without bringing up the question for discussion and decision in the people's council. They are lightly divested of their immunity by the organs above, "because they have not set their personal example in discharging this or that task." Thus it occurred that the former chairman of the Ishëm locality did so many terrible things at the expense of peasants that the council

of the locality did not dare to take measures, but waited for orders from above, from the Executive Committee of the Durrës district, which, together with the Party Committee of that district, were sound asleep.

All such mistakes, which must be combated and eliminated, can only hinder the strengthening and democratization of our people's power.

Now, let us go a step further. After the councils and the members of the councils are elected, what actions are taken and how are these councils regarded? I can say that in those districts where the Party and the leadership have understood the question of democratic centralism, of inner party democracy, and the leading role of the Party correctly, the question of the state power is also well understood. Undoubtedly there are mistakes and shortcomings, but the work is proceeding better in Tirana, Peshkopia, Korça, Gjirokastra, etc.; the case is not the same with Shkodra, Fier, Elbasan, etc.

Generally this is what occurs: after the people's councils elect the executive committee, the leading role of the councils is forgotten, the councils become virtually formal, and the executive committee becomes all-powerful. The executive committee turns its gaze towards the Capital, and its concern is to be on good terms with the government and the district party committee, forgetting all about the people's council from which it has emerged and to which it must render account. People in the executive committee mistake themselves for the administrative apparatus which is dependent on the central authority, but which in turn is also under the constant supervision of the working masses.

As long as it is not properly understood that state power emanates from the people and belongs to the people, and unless this basic principle is duly translated into

life through various forms, we shall continue to make mistakes. The democratic essence of our state power remains a dead letter, the state power becomes a lifeless body in which bureaucratism becomes predominant within the advanced forms, which are bound to shrivel and die. What is left of our people's state power if it does not belong to the masses, if they do not take an active part in it, fail to keep continuous check on it, if the working masses do not guide their own destiny by means of the people's councils, the commissions, committees, administrative and economic organs, cultural institutions, the trade unions, the organs of the Front, the youth, the women, the union of buying and selling cooperatives, and so on? It stands to reason that nothing is left but the forms, which will steadily degenerate into bureaucratic forms, and thus the essence of the people's power will automatically change. We must always bear in mind and be guided by the teachings of comrade Stalin:

> *"What distinguishes the Soviet state apparatus from the apparatus of the bourgeois state?*
>
> *Above all, the fact that the bourgeois state apparatus stands above the masses and, as a consequence, it is separated from the population by an impassable barrier, and, by its very spirit, is alien to the masses of the people. The Soviet state apparatus, however, merges with the masses, for it cannot and must not stand above the masses if it wants to remain a Soviet state apparatus, for it cannot be alien to these masses if it really wants to embrace the millions of working people. That is one of the fundamental differences between the Soviet state apparatus and the apparatus of the bourgeois state"*.

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 162 (Alb. ed.).

Therefore, it is not the forms that we are lacking, but we must enliven these forms. The leading cadres of the Party and the state power must thoroughly understand the important role of the people's councils, and wage a fierce struggle against all those who hinder their genuine activity. The councils must be activated and assume all their powers and rights. The communists, in the first place, must activate the councils and vigilantly safeguard their powers, defend the laws and the rights of the councils, and the councillors against any infringement or abuse.

The Central Committee has said these things over and over again, but unfortunately, there are still some party committees and executive committees in the districts, there are still certain communists, who content themselves with statements, but still make mistakes in practice. They fail to make the necessary efforts to activate the people's councils, their commissions, the deputies of the People's Assembly, and the members of the councils. In the view of certain communists, the worth of the people's representative, whether deputy of the People's Assembly or member of the people's council, is largely formal. If the deputy is a member of the Central Committee or a minister, then that is quite another matter. They have nice manners, fine words, and opportunism galore in store for him, while for the others they have closed doors and unfriendly faces. This kind of behaviour towards the representatives of the people is anti-Marxist, and must be condemned. It also implies that the essence of our people's power has not been understood. The deputy and the member of the people's council are honoured people, among the best people, and they have many rights and powers with which the people have vested them. Whoever underestimates the representative of the people and his functions, cannot call himself a Marxist, for he is an incorrigible bureaucrat. The deputies and the members of the people's councils are en-

titled to demand a rendering of account, either in the forums which they attend or outside them in the intervals between sessions. They must check up on the implementation of the laws and the decisions which are taken. They must be in touch with their electors, mediate, give advice, check up, press for the implementation of the laws and decisions, and not only must all doors be open to them, but the demands of the deputies and the members of the people's councils must be immediately responded to by everyone, from the Prime Minister down to the chairman of the people's council in the village.

As well as this, the deputies and the members of the people's councils themselves must become conscious of the lofty functions and tasks the people have entrusted to them. The law ensures the rights of every citizen of the Republic, whether with or without official functions, but at the same time, it also charges him with duties. To represent the people is the highest honour, but with their votes, the people not only give him an honoured title, but they charge him with responsibility. The people cannot allow their representative to fail to meet his electors and talk with them, to fail to listen to their advice, or to their grievances, or not intervene whenever the law is violated. Such an indifferent stand is impermissible. and the people should not, and will not, allow it. If there are persons who hinder the activity of the deputy or the councillor in carrying out the functions the people have charged them with, the Constitution of the Republic, the state laws, the Party of Labour always stand by the deputy and the councillor to punish all those, whoever they may be, without exception, who violate the law and the line of the Party.

Apart from this, in the question of relations between the Party and the state power, there is a weakness which must be done away with as soon as possible: the role of

the state power is underestimated, and the party apparatuses monopolize this role. This question must be correctly understood. The Party leads our entire life, consequently, the state power, too. It gives advice, helps and checks up, while the state power directly runs the economic and other affairs. The Party must not confound its leading role with the tasks assigned to the state. By confusing these roles, certain communists draw wrong conclusions, paying no heed to the state organs, failing to activate them, and often even paralysing them. There are communists and committees which think that all problems will be solved with the members of the Party alone, and this gives rise to lack of faith in the honest, experienced, and patriotic element. Hence, the erroneous idea that the cadres of the organs of power, whether communists or not, are less capable than those who work in the organs of the Party. This tendency is not manifested openly, but has been observed from time to time in practical activity, and it leads to the liquidation of the organs of power. In this way the organs of power are underestimated, and the party committee monopolizes the work of the state organs, takes over their competences, thinking that it will solve matters better. In point of fact, it takes upon itself tasks which are not its responsibility, and does neither them nor its own jobs well. For their part, the executive committees shirk their duties, because their initiative is checked and they disclaim any responsibility. Certain party committees have turned themselves into state committees. Together with their apparatuses, they interest themselves mostly in economic problems, down to the smallest detail. They exercise such a control that it is confused with the functions of state control. This monopolization of state affairs is evident especially in economic matters, for example in Fier. While the Bureau of the Party Committee there takes up the procurement problem

7 to 8 times, the Executive Committee behaves as though it had nothing to do with this important problem. In 1951, the Party Committee of the Korça district analysed 27 economic problems, while the Executive Committee took up only 3 problems.

While superseding the role of the state and monopolizing its affairs, naturally the Party Committee never stops to analyse the problem of the state power, of strengthening and democratizing it. Such is the case in Shkodra, Durrës, Përmet. Why should they bother to analyse it, when they regard the state power as an adjunct?

If these matters are not understood and tackled correctly, then our state power cannot be strengthened and democratized, because failure to understand these fundamental questions properly engenders other mistakes. Those leading cadres who are not clear about all this, are not clear about their duties towards the people either, do not accept control by the masses and do not learn from the masses. There are others, too, who do not behave well towards the people and create an unhealthy and bureaucratic spirit in the state apparatus. In some districts the people are not welcomed by the officials, and their grievances do not find just and prompt solution. People are often heard to say about these matters, "The water comes pure from the spring but it gets muddied on the way". Our people are realistic; they show how much they trust the Party, but they also warn it to take measures against those who distort its correct line. It is distorted by irresponsible and weak elements who commit flagrant injustices, steal and damage the property of the state and the people, and escape the vigilant eye of the Party and the state control organs. Of course, they are discovered and punished, but if the leadership strives with might and main to rely on the people in everything, to do everything together with the people, many of these injustices

and defects can be forestalled. The enemy disguises itself. A vigilant party which strengthens its ties with the masses, bases its actions on the masses, is not afraid to acknowledge its mistakes, allow the people to speak their minds and criticize mistakes, such a party never gets lost. It forges ahead, becomes bolshevized, and the enemies and the saboteurs cannot exist long under their various disguises. There are communists who, when they come before the people, restrain the criticism of those who do their work badly, and they justify this because allegedly the Party is being criticized. But let the Party be criticized if it does not work well. Criticism will help it to become stronger and stop making mistakes. However, in most cases, it is not the Party, but certain individuals of the Party who are criticized, those who work badly, and who, in an effort to hide their dirty linen, suppress criticism, allegedly so that the Party won't be harmed. This is diabolical, and we must hit it hard.

I have in mind several reports which say that "the Party does not make the requisite use of its levers, such as the organizations of women and youth", and so on. But is this statement true? Let us stop to consider this matter. These mass organizations play a major role in strengthening and democratizing the state power, building the base of socialism, and educating the new generations and the working masses with the new spirit. Under the guidance of the Party, these organizations have accomplished heroic feats and worked wonders. The deeds of the working class, the youth and the women, gathered in their respective organizations, are great and heroic. The role of the Democratic Front, which under the leadership of the Party educates the masses in the lofty spirit of patriotism, is also great. But there are communists who do not have enough confidence in these organizations and underrate their role. They think in a sectarian way

that the communists must do everything, and that bureaucratic office work is everything. These bureaucrats swamp you with false reports and hide the root of the evil from you, though the evil is amongst them and not in the Party, for the Party long ago understood the great role of these organizations, and its care for them is extremely great.

Is it the fault of the Party when it works day in and day out and mobilizes hundreds of women in Tirana, women of the people, patriotic women, who in response to the appeal of the Party walk five hours to dig holes for tree planting, and when they reach the place, they find neither picks nor shovels? "Where are the picks and shovels?", the woman comrade in charge of the job is asked. And she makes bold to reply blandly that she had telephoned here and telephoned there, and other such tales. But the evil was done. The patriotic women of Tirana returned home tired out, without having done any work, while the comrade responsible for the women's organization didn't even get her shoes dirty.

A non-party Tirana woman, a martyr's mother and an outstanding activist complained to me one day about certain party comrades who take no interest at all in the mass organizations. "Injustices are being done, comrade Enver," this woman said to me, "the rights of the people are being violated as though it doesn't matter. I am a deputy for my city block, I am a prosecutor, and sometimes I find it difficult to carry out my duty. I intervene so that measures will be taken to put things in order. I contact the comrades in the higher organs about this, and they answer, 'Yes, yes, certainly, we shall see to it, we'll analyse it', and once my back's turned, they pigeonhole everything and go to sleep. This is no good, comrade Enver", this woman told me, "my sons laid down their lives for the people and for this state power,

thousands of mothers' sons laid down their lives for the Party, we should not allow these irresponsible people to go on like this". This patriotic woman went on, "I call women and men together to hold a conference to clarify many problems, and get everything ready. I search high and low for some comrades of a much higher level than me, and beg them at least to come and speak there for ten minutes. 'We are busy in the office', they answer, and so I have to tell the people to go home". Such communists must be subjected to severe criticism, and measures should be taken against the incorrigible. Such communists who make no effort to carry out these important tasks of the Party can speak for hours on end in the basic organizations about "the shop assistants who do not behave themselves towards the people, who are not clean in their work and are not disciplined", and so on. Then, if you ask them what should be done, they have a ready-made answer: Measures should be taken; they don't say that first they must be educated, and then fall back on measures. In the first place it is the duty of the communist to become the educator of the masses, to set an example, and to go and teach the people. Can our state power be strengthened and democratized if the cadres of the Party fail to mobilize the mass organizations and there educate the masses and raise the tasks to the political plane? No, it cannot. The Party must implement Stalin's teachings and the experience of the Soviets in strengthening the people's power. This is what Stalin tells us:

> *"Our comrades sometimes fail to see that around the low units of our party, Soviet, cultural, trade union, educational, YCL, and army organizations, around the departments for work among women, and all other kinds of organizations, there are whole teeming ant-hills — organizations, commissions, and conferences,*

which have sprung up of their own accord and embrace millions of non-party workers and peasants — ant-hills, which, by their daily, inconspicuous, painstaking, quiet work, provide the basis and the life of the Soviet state. If our Soviet and party organs did not have the help of these organizations embracing millions, the existence and development of Soviet power, the guidance and administration of a great country, would be absolutely inconceivable. The Soviet state apparatus does not consist solely of Soviets. The Soviet state apparatus, in the profound meaning of the term, consists of the Soviets plus all the diverse non-party and party organizations, which unite the Soviets with the 'rank and file', which merge the state apparatus with the vast masses and, step by step, destroy everything that serves as a barrier between the state apparatus and the people.

*That is how we must strive to 'enlarge tenfold' our state apparatus, making it near and dear to the vast masses of the working people, expelling the survivals of bureaucratism from it, merging it with the masses and thereby preparing the transition from a society with the dictatorship of the proletariat to communist society".**

The Party must incessantly strive to teach people always to proceed from the interests of the people and the state power, to be just, and ready to serve, to be modest and well behaved with the people, and to rout the enemies of the people, saboteurs, plotters, thieves, and so on, ruthlessly and completely. The Party must promote and push forward the new cadres, and unhesitatingly punish the lazy and the bureaucrats.

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, pp. 163-164 (Alb. ed.).

It devolves on the Party to arouse in the working class the militant spirit of the state power, and the people must feel the urgent need to strengthen the state power for the sake of their own wellbeing, and for the elimination of the survivals of the exploiting classes and the successful construction of the foundations of socialism.

If we really want to build the foundations of socialism, we must strengthen and democratize our people's power with might and main.

The socialist ideas on the state cannot be implanted among the people by means of agitation alone, but this especially requires practical work. The most reliable means of enhancing the consciousness of the people is the implementation of the laws and decisions to the letter in all fields of activity. The main thing in organizational work is the selection of people and the check up on the implementation of decisions.

On the other hand, without a profound understanding of the laws, without relying on, and referring to, these laws, we cannot proceed along the road of strengthening socialist justice, and cannot strengthen our people's power. Acquainting the masses with the laws of the state and being strict in their correct implementation is an important means for winning over the broad masses of the people and linking them closely with the people's power. It stands to reason that there can be no talk of respect for the law in those state, cooperative, and economic organizations where state discipline is breached and there is disorganization in the fulfilment of the economic plans and the safeguarding of state property. The Party must be ruthless towards such unhealthy symptoms, must energetically sweep the state apparatus clean of these people who breach discipline, violate laws and commit abuses. The thief should be regarded as the most dangerous spy, for he is as ready as the spy to sell himself

to the foreigner. The Party must attach extreme importance to the state control apparatus, and it must become a powerful weapon in the hands of the people's power. It must become a tool for the improvement of our apparatus, a really exemplary institution, says Lenin. To this end, it is necessary that the best elements in our social order, namely,

> . . . *"first, the advanced workers, and, second, the really enlightened elements for whom we can vouch that they will not take the word for the deed, and will not utter a single word that goes against their conscience — should not shrink from any struggle in order to achieve the object they have seriously set themselves"**.
>
> *"The workers whom we are enlisting as members of the Central Control Commission must be irreproachable communists, and I think that a great deal has yet to be done to teach them the methods and objects of their work"***.

The Party must devote great importance and special care to, and exercise detailed strict control over, the ideo-political and professional education of the cadres of the state power. Our task is to train new cadres, loyal to the Party, the state power and the cause of the people, active, dynamic, honest cadres dedicated to work. Not only should the various political and professional courses and schools function in an orderly way, but they should be extended and increased. The cultural level of our cadres is very low, and does not respond to the great needs of the time. We must remember that we are no longer in the period of the partisan war and the early post-

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 551 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 553.

liberation time when everything was solved in a military manner. This is the period of the construction of the foundations of socialism, and the construction of socialism needs educated people. Our cadres must be equipped with general culture, but at the same time, they must undergo specialization in order to become masters of the work in a definite branch, because:

> *"To give real leadership,"* Stalin says, *"one must know the work, one must study the work conscientiously, patiently, and perseveringly. One cannot give leadership in the countryside without a knowledge of agriculture, without a knowledge of the cooperatives, without being familiar with the price policy, without having studied the laws that directly concern the countryside. One cannot give leadership in a town without a knowledge of industry, without studying the life of the workers, without paying heed to the requirements and needs of the workers, without a knowledge of cooperative, trade union and club affairs. But can all this be acquired at one stroke?"* asks comrade Stalin. *"Unfortunately, it cannot. To raise party leadership to the requisite level, it is first of all necessary to raise the qualifications of the party workers. Today the quality of the party workers must be the first consideration"**.

Proceeding from the teachings of comrade Stalin, we are faced with colossal tasks in this respect, because our cadres' level is low, and in most cases, when they go to the countryside or the factories, they hold conferences of a general character and are not able to give concrete help in regard to agricultural or industrial problems. Herein, Stalin teaches us, may lie the causes of the weakening of

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 173 (Alb. ed.).

leadership which consists in discrepancy between the tasks laid down by the Party and its possibilities at the moment. Thus, great care is needed to draw into the Party and the state power the best people from the workers and the peasants, who have advanced thanks to the development of the political activity of these classes. The Party will thus be more easily able to meet the great needs of development, to satisfy the working people's demands and needs, which are always increasing, advancing, and developing.

Comrade Stalin teaches us that another danger may emerge:

> *"During the recent period, during the period of economic development, the apparatuses of the state and public organizations have considerably grown and gained in strength. The trusts and syndicates, the trading and credit institutions, the administrative-political and cultural-educational organizations, and, finally, the cooperatives of all kinds, have grown and expanded considerably, having absorbed hundreds of thousands of new people, mainly non-party people. . . . Their power and influence are growing, too. And the more their importance grows, the more palpable becomes their pressure on the Party, the more persistently do they strive to weaken the Party's leadership, and the stronger becomes their resistance to the Party. The forces in those apparatuses must be regrouped and the leading people in them must be distributed in such a way as to ensure the Party's leadership in the new situation. But that cannot be achieved at one stroke, as we know. Hence the danger of the state apparatus becoming divorced from the Party."*

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 7, p. 172 (Alb. ed.).

It is, therefore, absolutely necessary for the Party to attach great importance to the strengthening of the state power. The party basic organizations in all the state, economic and cooperative institutions must play their leading role. They must discover the defects, put them right, and inform the leadership of the Party, the highest organs of the Party, about what they are doing. It is the duty of the basic organizations to concentrate on the work of improving the state apparatus, so that this apparatus can perform well, in an organized, precise, operative manner, free from bureaucratic methods. It is essential for the Party to integrate its political work with economic management, for, as I said above, there are comrades who are unnecessarily prone to engage more in economic affairs, and lose sight of the political tasks of the Party, or to abandon economic work completely, taking only a spasmodic interest in filling the gaps. Comrade Stalin teaches us that,

> *"We should not separate politics from economics. We cannot escape the economy, just as we cannot escape politics"*.*

The experience of the Bolshevik Party teaches us that no field of political, economic, and social activity should be lost sight of by the leadership and escape the control of the party organizations. We must guard against the mistakes I cited above, because certain comrades want to do everything on their own, take too many things upon themselves, and inform the Party and the organization of the most insignificant details relating to the economy and the management of state and social affairs. If we act in this way, the outcome will be that they are quite unable to carry out all the tasks they have taken upon

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 121 (Alb. ed.).

themselves, and the authority of the social and economic organizations disappears.

Another task of the party organizations in the state apparatus and the enterprises is to educate the working people in the spirit of responsibility, patriotism and strict respect for the laws and state discipline. The basic organizations must promote criticism and self-criticism to correct the defects in the state apparatus. Only in this way can the state apparatus become strong, the influence of the communists grow, and the state five-year plan be carried out successfully . . .

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Works, vol. 9

ON THE STATE OF THE PARTY'S ORGANIZATIONAL AND POLITICAL WORK AND THE MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN IT

Report to the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

May 11, 1953

Comrades,

This is the first Plenum of our Central Committee after the death of the great Stalin. Stalin, who taught and educated us, lives no more, but the magnificent ideas, the cause and deed of Stalin live and will live through centuries. Loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, our Party will be constantly led in its work by the teachings of Stalin, and will always score victories on its road.

I invite you, comrades, to stand up to honour the memory of Stalin, our great teacher and leader.

Comrades,

Under the plan approved by the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee, today we shall consider the situation of the organizational and political work of the Party and the measures to be taken for its further strengthening. Having always in view the great experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the experience of our Party, we shall strengthen the political and organizational work of the Party. Despite the successes achieved in our work, we can say that the level of the political

and organizational work of the Party still lags behind the demands of life and the rapid rates of the economic construction and cultural development of the country. The moment calls for a further raising of the level of political work and the strengthening of organizational work to such a degree as to realize the tasks assigned by the Party successfully. In order to achieve victories in the economic and cultural fields of the socialist construction of the country it is necessary, at the same time, to strengthen the management of the economy by the Party. On this question, our Party proceeds from the teachings of Stalin, according to whom economic successes, their stability and continuity, depend entirely on the successes of the organizational and political work of the Party, for without these conditions the economic successes would be built on sand.

Considering the situation of the Party from its organizational aspect, we shall assign the tasks we must accomplish and the measures we must take for its further strengthening.

. . . . . .

II

ON THE MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING INNER PARTY DEMOCRACY

The 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania charged the party organizations with the consistent application of their inner democracy as one of the most important tasks, and in this direction, satisfactory results have been achieved. The control of the mass of the Party over the organs of leadership has been increased, the role of the plenums of the party committees and of the meetings of the activists has been enhanced. The inner life

of the basic organizations has become more militant, and criticism and self-criticism has been strengthened. On the basis of the development of its inner democracy, results have been achieved in further invigorating the Party, putting it in a more militant position and in its leadership of the political, economic and cultural work of the country.

One of the conditions for the strengthening of inner party democracy are the elections of the leading organs from the bottom to the top level. We have regarded this as an important question, and the meetings to render account have been carried out regularly, better conditions have been created to study these questions more thoroughly and to analyse the problems more deeply. Greater assistance has been ensured for the basic organizations from the party committees, and for the district committees from the Central Committee. On the other hand, encouragement of criticism has made it possible to have livelier discussions of party problems at these meetings. The level of the party conferences, which were held in the course of December 1952 and January 1953, was raised still higher. During the elections, the masses of the Party, both at the base and in the party conferences, showed themselves to be highly vigilant and militant in the discussion of candidacies for the elections to the leading organs of the Party.

But this does not mean that the meetings for the rendering of account and elections have been up to the mark everywhere. We can say that we have taken a step forward in this direction, but we should fight more persistently so that these meetings are prepared for and held at a still higher level, and become really militant tribunes for the thrashing out, analysis, and direction of all party problems. We should struggle against certain serious shortcomings which threaten to turn these meetings

into mere parades of self-satisfaction which have a purely formal character. These shortcomings are: the failure to prepare reports properly, failure to delve deeply into the shortcomings and mistakes, lack of adequate knowledge of the real situation, failure to grasp the main problems, being content with little, avoiding criticism from the mass of the Party in various ways and failure to encourage this criticism, etc.

The participants in the party conferences and meetings of activists must feel more deeply responsible towards the trust which the organizations have shown in them by sending them to these meetings; they should prepare themselves well and fearlessly criticize the shortcomings in the work of the party leadership. It should be always kept in mind that the key to raising all the work of the Party to a higher level, to increasing the activity and initiative of the party organizations and its members, consists in strengthening the control of the mass of the Party over the activity of the leading organs.

Inner party democracy should be resolutely applied. We should bear in mind that the growth of the working class, which is taking place in our country, is a factor of first rate importance for the strengthening of inner party democracy. If the Party increases its ranks with elements of the working class, if, day by day, the Party creates good living conditions for the workers, if it works persistently to raise the cultural level of the working class, then the inner party democracy will be greatly strengthened, it will be real. Stalin also teaches us that,

> *"The second obstacle to the implementation of democracy in the Party is the pressure of the bureaucratic state apparatus on our party workers, . . Concretely: The Party has to carry on work for the political education of the working class, to heighten the*

latter's political understanding, but at the same time there is the tax in time to be collected, some campaign or other that has to be carried out, for without these campaigns, without the assistance of the Party, the state apparatus can't cope with its duties. And here our party functionaries find themselves between two fires — they must rectify the line of the state apparatus which still works according to old patterns, and at the same time they must retain contact with the workers. And often enough they themselves become bureaucratized".*

In addition, an indispensable condition for the strengthening of inner party democracy is the drawing of the mass of the Party, on the broadest possible scale, into the discussion of the great economic, political, cultural, and social problems preoccupying the party organizations in work and production centres, in villages and cooperatives, in the administration, in the cultural and educational institutions, and in the activation of all the communists to carry out tasks. J.V. Stalin teaches us that,

*"We understand democracy to mean raising the activity and political understanding of the mass of the party members; we understand it to mean the systematic enlistment of the party membership in the discussion of questions but also in the leadership of work"***

Experience shows us that we have great shortcomings in this direction. There are party members who do not take part in the discussion at the meetings of the organizations, and attend only to listen or to vote, when it is a case of adopting a decision or electing the leadership. Such

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* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, pp. 9-10 (Alb. ed.).

** Ibid., p. 40.

comrades who attend the meetings formally are found in the leading organs, too. Here, the responsibility lies with the individual comrades who allow themselves such an indifferent stand towards party problems, but a great responsibility also falls on the leaders of those party committees and basic organizations who have not created conditions for the education and activation of all the comrades. This is also the main reason for the fact that in our Party today there are a great number of candidates for party membership who have been on probation for two, three, or four years, and the party organizations are still unable to give their opinion on their admission to the Party, because they have so far failed to test the qualities and capabilities in work. Major tasks lie ahead of us, and their fulfilment calls on us to mobilize the masses for heroic deeds and give them correct leadership. First and foremost, these tasks fall upon the Party, and, therefore, they will be carried out only by activating the members to the maximum on the basis of the inner party democracy, by activating them in the leading work of the Party.

Our Party's main method of strengthening the unity of its ranks, discipline, and inner democracy, is criticism and self-criticism. This sharp weapon in the hands of the Party, to discover and correct our mistakes and shortcomings, is beginning to be employed more correctly. The communists, guided by the teachings of the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the strengthening of criticism and self-criticism, are using this weapon more courageously in their everyday struggle against difficulties, shortcomings, and manifestations alien to the Party. But we may say that this tested method of the Party is still not employed to the necessary extent and in all directions. It often happens that criticism and self-criticism are made in general terms, without deeply analysing causes and effects, without pointing out the responsibility of him who

is making these mistakes. There are cases when party or state leaders, intoxicated with some success or with self-esteem, do not take kindly to criticism, overlook the real weaknesses in their work, do not take into account the proposals made by their comrades or the workers, and thus violate the organizational rules of the Party and the state. Though criticism from below has been invigorated, there are still many comrades who show they are afraid of getting into the bad books of someone who should be criticized, or of displeasing him. That is why they either keep silent about these shortcomings, or make these observations in a roundabout way. An expression of the stifling and discouragement of criticism is the insufficiently critical attitude of even some members of the Central Committee and senior state functionaries towards their own shortcomings. In principle these comrades are in favour of criticism and self-criticism, and never cease giving orders that this sharp weapon should be used "courageously", but when it comes to themselves, it's quite another matter. They begin to run away from their responsibility, will not tolerate criticism from below, stifle it in various ways, bring pressure to bear on those who criticize, and sometimes even take revenge against them. This occurs especially in the state departments, in the executive committees of the district people's councils, in many people's councils in localities and villages.

An even more negative attitude in this direction has been maintained especially towards the suggestions and criticisms of the working masses, towards their proposals and the valuable initiatives to revolutionize production, to improve the organization of work. Such an attitude has been taken, time after time, towards the letters of criticism sent by our working people to the organs of the state power, the party press, etc. It does happen that the ministries fail to take into account and reject the proposals

of the workers for rationalizations, etc., without thorough consideration; it does happen, as in the case of the Ministry of Construction, that even the correct proposals and suggestions of the central organs of the youth organization are scorned and rejected.

It is indispensable to encourage and support correct criticism from below, even if it is only five per cent true, as Stalin teaches us; we must warmly welcome the criticisms of the rank-and-file communists and our working people, and not turn our backs to them. The leaders of the Party and the economy should cultivate to the maximum the feeling of sincere self-criticism, and should create favourable conditions for the control of the masses over the leadership; we should draw as many people as possible into the socialist construction of the country. These should be our slogans of the day. . .

The communists, the working people of our country are directly interested in correcting shortcomings and mistakes, in wiping out bureaucratism, procrastination, conservatism, which are dangerous manifestations for our Party and state. A correct stand towards our shortcomings and mistakes has its source in the very character of our Party and our people's democratic system. Progress is called for, and we are striving for it, to fulfil the state plan, to realize the directives of the Party and government. Everyone is interested in the advance of our economy, in strengthening the defence potential of the homeland, in strengthening the state power and the Party. The leaders and functionaries of the Party and state should respond to these ardent desires with work and deeds, listening carefully to the opinions of the masses and fighting to carry out their valuable proposals. Sound criticism and self-criticism are the weapons that save the party people and all the working people from bad habits, which preserve the purity in the party and state ranks, which promote

the progress of work, for they clear the field of careerism, power-seeking, cronyism, servility, being content with little, etc. It is only by strengthening inner party democracy that we can steadily strengthen the Party and the unity of its ranks.

III

ON STRENGTHENING THE UNITY OF THE PARTY, REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE AND VIGILANCE IN THE RANKS OF THE PARTY

1. — Strengthening the unity of the party ranks

Our Party of Labour is strong and invincible because it is built on the Leninist-Stalinist organizational principles, on the basis of the many years experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and because, through all its activity, it has always been guided by these teachings. It is strong and invincible, because it has constantly fought for the strengthening of the unity of its ranks, for the strengthening of its iron discipline, for the strengthening of inner party democracy, which constitute the fundamental law of its development and life, the main organizational principle of the party of the new type. But the tasks ahead of us for the realization of the five-year plan and the construction of socialism call for the further strengthening of the Party, the directing and leading force of the whole country, call first and foremost, for the strengthening of unity of the party ranks, which we should guard as the apple of our eye in order to make our organizations ever more solid and militant. . .

However, this is a problem we should continually bear in mind so as to preserve the unity of the Party as the most precious thing and fight with determination to

eliminate from the consciousness of party members dangerous petty-bourgeois and feudal survivals, such as the spirit of commandism, conceit, personal friendship based on kinship relations, unhealthy ambitions, cronyism, reservations towards the Party, backbiting, unhealthy and insincere criticism, etc., which are a source of infringements of the unity of the party ranks and which the enemy endeavours to encourage and exploit to its own ends. We should wage this struggle sternly in the towns and in the countryside where these survivals are still very pronounced.

The unity of the ranks of the Party lies in the unity of thought and action, in the unity of word and the deed, in mobilizing all the communists to reach the single objective: the point-by-point application of the program, tactics, and organizational rules of the Party.

> *"The party is not only an association of like-minded people; it is also an association of like-acting people,"* comrade Stalin says, *"it is a militant association of like-acting people who are fighting on a common ideological basis."**

This teaching of comrade Stalin shows that in the parties of the new type the struggle cannot be disorganized and without a base of sound ideological principles; inner party democracy cannot be understood separately from steel-like discipline. On the contrary, inner party democracy, on the one hand, and its steel-like and conscious discipline, on the other, constitute that single indivisible unity which is called democratic centralism, the guiding principle of the organizational structure of our Party.

2. — Strengthening discipline

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 5, p. 361 (Alb. ed.).

The successful realization of the party directives, of its policy, of the targets of the state plan, call for steel-like and conscious discipline as the indispensable condition for advance in the socialist construction of the country. It is true to say that there is insufficient struggle to establish such discipline in the party ranks. It is often observed, in nearly all the districts, that some party members do not attend regularly the meetings of the basic organization, do not pay their dues regularly, do not take part at the meetings of the activists and leave these meetings without permission. Naturally, these are signs that discipline is weak, and that the basic organizations and the party committees in the districts do not take particular care over such an important problem, so as to constantly educate the communists and take measures to punish the incorrigible. A lack of discipline is shown even among the members of the Central Committee who are irregular in their attendance at the Party School, the ideo-political courses and seminars, in which the Party has created all possibilities for the education of its members in the Marxist-Leninist ideology. These manifestations of the lack of strong and conscious discipline must be put an end to.

On the other hand, in our country, party discipline and state discipline constitute a single and indivisible whole. Cases of an artificial division of the party discipline from the state discipline have been observed in practice. The fact is that there are more than a few cases in which different measures have been taken by the state against communists working in the state apparatuses for their mistakes and faults, whereas the party organizations, of which these comrades are members, have not taken them to task for their mistakes and faults, have not criticized them, and have not adopted a stand towards them. The evil here rests in the fact that the breach of state discipline,

of the discipline of the plans, has not been properly assessed as equal to a breach of party discipline. It should be understood that the breaking of state discipline, failure to fulfil the plan in the mine, factory, or anywhere else, is, at the same time, the breaking of the discipline of the Party. Fulfilment of, or failure to fulfil, the political and economic targets of the 1st five-year plan has to do with the realization or non-realization of the line of the Party, of its policy or program. The Resolution of the 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, referring to the failure to fulfil the 1951-1952 plan in all items, says among other things:

*"If these deficits in the realization of the plan in the past two years are not liquidated during the next three years of the five-year plan, certainly, the complete realization of the plan will be jeopardized, and this will have grave consequences for our people's economy,"** and as a result, the policy of the Party will be compromised. . .

Our Party and its Constitution recognize only one discipline for both the comrades with responsibility and the rank-and-file communists.

The failure of the leadership of the Party Committee of the Shkodra district, or the basic organization of the Shkodra Motor-vehicle park, to be seriously concerned when the directorate of this park planned the dismissal of 130 workers, is incomprehensible. Who are these workers who were to be dismissed, allegedly to reduce personnel? They are young workers, whom the Party has trained for a long time in courses, whom it has educated, made cadres of them, and now, it is so lightly demanded that they must be thrown out in the street, because financial discipline allegedly calls for it. This has been stopped, but

* "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. II, 2nd Alb. ed., p. 339.

the party leadership in the district and in the enterprise should be vigilant and should not allow such actions, even when they are taken by the Ministry. The party organization is responsible to the Party for everything that happens in the enterprise, village, the cultural, educational and other institutions. Having the responsibility, the Party should call to account the party members at the grassroots and the leaders, regardless of the positions they hold, for the implementation of the decisions of the Party and the government, for the establishment of an iron discipline.

Experience shows us that, wherever the party and state discipline is relaxed, even in the slightest, wherever people and leaders are covered by the rust of bureaucracy and of being content with little, where discipline is lacking, where personal responsibility in work is not felt, and, as a result, the way to deception, theft, and abuses is left open, there the enemy's hand has been at work. This is what happened, for example, in the Tirana Motor-vehicle park, where, due to the fact that the leaders of the enterprise, its party organization, and the leadership of the Ministry had closed their eyes to disorder and abuses, because of the fact that they had allowed themselves to fall into petty-bourgeois passivity, the way was left open to thefts and abuses. That leader who reconciles himself to, or tolerates such a situation, may be all sorts of things but he is not a leader. Measures of the severest nature should be taken against him, otherwise, the discipline of the plan, the line of the Party, and its program are seriously compromised.

The lack of conscious discipline among party members shows itself also in the failure on the part of certain communists to carry out orders from the district party committees when it comes to going to production. The district party committees strive for a more correct distribution of the party forces, but they should not underestimate the

resistance which shows up among some communists who are to go from administration to production. There are many communists who prefer their offices and paper work and run away from production like the devil from holy water. The feeling of petty-bourgeois comfort prevails in these comrades, they lack drive in work, initiative, and courage, they are infested with the worm of bureaucracy, which they bring into, and cultivate in, our party and state apparatuses. These "communist" bureaucrats are not disposed to fight, and offer no resistance to petty-bourgeois influence and to the pressure of non-party elements concerning the establishment of the iron discipline of the Party. The communist should always be ready to go anywhere, wherever the interests of the Party require it. This is how we must understand party discipline, and this cannot be understood or achieved without strengthening inner party democracy. Discipline and inner democracy constitute two sides of a single question, the two sides of the fundamental organizational principle on which the Party is built — democratic centralism.

3. — Strengthening vigilance within the Party and education of the masses in this direction

J. V. Stalin teaches us that it is indispensable that,

"We must never forget that, as long as the capitalist encirclement exists, there will also be saboteurs, diversionists, spies, terrorists, sent in behind the lines of the Soviet Union by the foreign intelligence agencies. We should bear this in mind, and struggle against those comrades who underestimate the fact of the capitalist encirclement, who underestimate the strength and danger of sabotage".*

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 14, p. 108 (Alb. ed.).

These teachings of Stalin are of great importance to the Party, to the state organs and our people today, in the period of the construction of socialism, when a stern class struggle should continue to be waged. Revolutionary vigilance is indispensable in every sector and every situation, but it assumes a greater importance at present, in the specific conditions of our country, which is geographically encircled by savage and rabid enemies, the Belgrade Titoites, the monarcho-fascists of Athens, and the neo-fascists of Rome, tools of American imperialism, because the greater our successes on the road of the construction of socialism, the greater will be their efforts to undermine our People's Republic. Experience, the living facts, trials against spies and diversionists in the service of foreign espionage agencies, have brought to light the plans being drafted and the manoeuvres resorted to by the external imperialist enemies to undermine our Party, our people's power, our road of the construction of socialism, starting with the infiltration of spies and diversionists, their efforts to establish contacts with the elements of the overthrown classes in our country, down to their efforts to introduce into the ranks of the Party and our organs of the state power, people predisposed to serve them. This situation brings us face to face with one of the most important tasks, the need to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance to the maximum. The situation we are in makes it necessary to do away immediately with the attitude of underestimating the class enemy, which is held by some party and state cadres who think that "his teeth have fallen out, and he can't bite". To think in such a way means to disarm oneself before the enemy.

Considering our Marxist Party as a citadel which opens its gates only to worthy and loyal people, we should guard it from any attempt of the enemies to introduce into its ranks doubtful characters and strangers. The question

is that the measures adopted following the verification and renewal of the party documents, must be rigorously applied, analysing in detail each candidacy under discussion for admission to the Party, strengthening the check-up on the work of every communist, submitting the activity of each comrade to severe criticism, deeply studying cases of negligence and the shortcomings of a comrade, or of the sector where he works. The Party is a sacred thing, therefore preservation of the purity of its ranks is the principal task of each communist.

One of the most important problems, on which keen political vigilance should be displayed, is the sector of cadres. The enemy strives with might and main to hide his past, to pose as "a good worker" so as to occupy posts of responsibility in the Party, the state power, etc. There are quite a few cases of positive blindness on the part of our organs of the Party and the state power in this respect. Such is the case of a dubious element in the Durrës district who was not checked on, who goes to the Party Committee of the district, poses as a communist and asks for a job; his personal file is written purely on the basis of what he tells them, and the Bureau of the Party Committee takes up his case and puts this person in charge of cadre policy in the buying and selling cooperative of the district. Such an action of the Bureau of the Party Committee in deciding on the cadre on verbal evidence alone is in flagrant opposition to the instructions of the Central Committee, which explicitly lay down that without official documents no decision can be taken about any cadres. From this it is obvious that the party leadership in Durrës, and in particular, the former first secretary, N.B., has scarcely any consideration for the application of the directives and decisions of the Party concerning cadres. But this matter which occurred in the Durrës organization is not a simple one, and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee has

analysed it in detail and taken measures. The letter "On the lack of vigilance in the party basic organization of '8 Nëntori' State Farm at Sukth", referring to the infiltration of two hostile elements into this organization, obliged the Bureau of the Party Committee of the Durrës district to have this directive-letter studied in all the party basic organizations of the district. This letter was analysed in the Sukth party basic organization, in many party organizations in the district, and in the party organization of the Party Committee itself, after a delay of four months. In view of this, it is quite natural that another hostile act should occur, as it did in the case I have mentioned. The Central Committee was not informed about either of these dangerous occurrences. It is true to say that the party leadership of the Durrës district has not been short of aid from above, but the former secretaries of the Party Committee of the Durrës district did not appreciate this aid, they proved to be negligent and swell-headed. In the Bureau of the Party Committee of the Durrës district there was favouritism, pronounced lack of vigilance towards the party's enemies, serious breakdown of discipline, failure to exercise proper check-up on work, and especially lack of check-up on the application of the directives and decisions of the Party. The former first secretary harboured unhealthy views regarding the people of the Central Committee, the instructors, whom he considered as coming to catch him out rather than to help him.

The analysis of this unhealthy situation existing in the plenum of the Party Committee of the Durrës organization, and in particular, in the Bureau of the Party Committee, in connection with the pronounced lack of vigilance, should become a lesson for our whole Party. To deal with this situation and put the Durrës district among the ranks of the progressive districts, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee decided to discharge the secretaries of

the Party Committee, and, at the same time, took measures towards the strengthening of the party leadership of the Durrës district.

But the people of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, who have gone to Durrës time after time and have not looked into these questions thoroughly, bear heavy responsibility and have been lacking in vigilance. The responsibility falls in particular on the Central Committee team, headed by the Secretary of the CC, comrade Josif Pashko, which stayed for a long time in this district and did not manage to detect such an unhealthy situation.

Similar opportunist weaknesses in the selection and appointment of cadres, the lack of vigilance towards the class enemy, have been observed particularly in the sectors of trade, cooperatives, and finance, and this is why there are more cases of misuse, theft, and other abuses in these sectors.

Our task is to select and appoint people according to the Leninist-Stalinist principle, analysing the two aspects: political reliability and ability for the job. Any other way of solving this problem leads to deviating from the road of the Party, to seriously damaging the realization of the tasks with which the 1st five-year plan faces us. In the selection and appointment of political cadres reliability and ability for the job constitute the dialectical unity in the policy of appointing the cadres who will see that the tasks of the plan are carried out successfully. This, on the one hand, and guarding the party and state secrecy, the vigilant protection of the common property through a stern struggle against people who talk too much and are careless towards party and state documents and socialist property, on the other hand, constitute an important task for the Party and every communist. In our state apparatus there is a lack of vigilance in guarding secrecy. Many commu-

nists and employees in the state and economic organs forget the Party's teachings on the necessity of enhancing revolutionary vigilance. These comrades forget the class struggle and continue to be careless about guarding party and state secrets. Thus, in many offices no concern whatsoever is shown for the protection and security of documents; they are entrusted even to undesirable elements, and it has happened that even important documents are stolen. This happens in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, in that of Internal Trade, in cooperatives, and elsewhere, in which our orders to foreign countries, these very secret documents, directives and instructions, etc., are left in the hands of people about whom there is no political reliability at all. Some other cadres, who want to show that they know everything, gossip about and disclose their duties in the state power, the decisions and measures adopted there, and other secret state matters entrusted to them. The duty of the party organizations is not only to point out to the communists the need for strengthening vigilance, but, at the same time, to bring home to them the aims and objectives, the practice and tactics of the work of sabotage and diversion by the foreign espionage and diversion agencies. This is the only way to close the road not only to the spy, but also to the thief, who, as Stalin says, should be considered the same as the spy and the traitor, if not worse.

Another sector of great importance in which the enemy may fight us, in which, therefore, we should be very vigilant, is that of ideology, art, education and culture, science, and sport. Class struggle manifests itself powerfully in these sectors, too, but so far the struggle of the Party, of the cultural, artistic, and other institutions against bourgeois ideology, is very weak.

Frequently, both ideologies co-exist peacefully in these institutions. It is imperative to wage the ideological strug-

gle there, especially at present, when the Party has a greater number of able and experienced cadres who can wage it. Thus, today, there are manifestations of cosmopolitanism, which find expression in the submission to bourgeois culture, in some scientific articles published in the scientific reviews of the Institute of Sciences, and so on, in which authors or speakers refer to bourgeois authors and scientists and accept their theses, as about the origin, language, customs, and history of the Albanian people. Cosmopolitanism shows up in some teachers and professors with the old culture, who underrate the history of our people's traditions, and exalt the history of bourgeois traditions of West Europe.

In the ideological sector it is necessary to wage a powerful struggle against symptoms of parochialism, and we should not forget that parochialism was a means of disruption used by the bourgeois ideology against our national unity. Unhealthy viewpoints are manifested in many sports enthusiasts who, losing the control of the real spirit of sport, create impermissible grudges amongst the fans of various football teams. The Party and all its leaders should not stay aloof from these things, but should fight in the correct way to wipe out these unhealthy hangovers.

The Party should always be vigilant towards, and consistently struggle against, religious fanaticism, mainly in the countryside, and particularly in the Shkodra district and the locality of Kavaja. The party organization in the Shkodra district should not forget that the Catholic clergy goes on working to propagate its reactionary ideology through religion and the Church. There are even cases when priests openly preach in church that "those who do not believe in God should not be trusted". This is an open call against the Party, against Marxism-Leninism, against the state power of people's democracy. To allow them to carry on an open or subtle struggle against our Party,

under the pretext of the correct policy pursued by the Party towards the Catholic clergy in Shkodra, means to be greatly lacking in vigilance, if not capitulating to the enemies who raise their heads. The Party should react without fail to this hostile work of the Catholic clergy, and, if they persist in it, the Party and the state power should take severe measures according to the law. The Party and the Youth in Shkodra should work very hard against the efforts of the clergy who are trying to fill the churches everyday, and by means of this to influence the women and the youth in particular. Some Bektashi temples have begun a similar practice. In addition to that, it is observed that the number of Muslim women in Shkodra wearing the yashmak is increasing instead of decreasing, and in some cases it has become the vogue with women activists and workers to wear it. There are party comrades, especially in Shkodra and Kavaja, who say that they are not able to prevail on their mothers and sisters to take off the yashmak. This justification won't hold water. The real reason is that idealistic views and fanaticism still exist in the heads of these party members, as in the case of that candidate to party membership in Shkodra, who crossed himself whenever he heard the church bell ring, even when present at the meeting of the party organization, and who preferred to be expelled from the Party rather than part from the cross.

These constitute very serious problems for Shkodra and for the whole Party, problems to be solved through a very well organized political and ideological struggle by the Party, through vigorous revolutionary work, and not by means of repressive measures and decrees, as some comrades claim. It is the duty of the party organizations to be vigilant in the ideological sector, too, as in all other sectors. This is an even greater task, especially for the

party organizations of the sectors directly engaged in the ideological problem.

The spirit of high political vigilance should be implanted in the whole mass of working people. But such a spirit has to be created, because it does not come of itself. Our people are fighting with heroism to carry out the tasks of the Party and the government. They whole-heartedly love the Party and their people's power. They are ready to defend their victories at any cost, and they have demonstrated this in deeds. It is our duty, the duty of the Party, of the mass organizations, and our state organs, to guide this readiness of our people more than they have done so far, on the road of boycotting the enemies: the spy and the diversionist, the thief and the squanderer, in order to create around them an atmosphere that will stifle them and force them, willy-nilly, either to repudiate their hostile activity, which they are not very likely to do, or to reveal themselves and be eliminated.

The warnings of ordinary people, the workers' letters, have greatly helped the Party and the state power to discover shortcomings, mistakes, thefts, negligence, and other hostile activities. It is the duty of every party organization, and every communist and worker of the Party and the state power, to strengthen their links with the masses day by day, to inform them of the tasks and decisions of the Party and government, to carefully listen to their suggestions, to urge and encourage their criticism, to teach them the forms and methods that the enemy resorts to in order to harm us. And when we speak of strengthening links with the masses, we should bear in mind, in the first place, strengthening our ties with the organized masses, with the organizations of the masses: the Front, the trade unions, the youth organization, women's organization, which should be guided, activated, and helped in the mobilization of all the working people to carry out the

tasks of the Party. It is only in this way that political vigilance will become the concern of all the working masses. Only in this way are we going to deprive the enemy of any possibility of harming us in our work for the construction of socialism.

IV

ON THE MEASURES TO STRENGTHEN THE METHOD OF WORK IN LEADING THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE APPARATUS

1. — The 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania laid down the tasks of strengthening the work of the party's leading organs, of carrying out the principle of collective leadership rigorously, raising the plenums and meetings of activists to a higher level, strengthening the check-up on the carrying out of decisions, increasing the activity and initiative of the party basic organizations and the communists. The carrying out of these tasks has brought about some improvement in the work of the Party. But, though work in this direction has been strengthened, important shortcomings still exist.

a) The bureaus of the party committees have not always risen to the occasion in tackling and solving the important key problems and in presenting them to the plenums and meetings of activists. In some bureaus of party committees the idea still exists that they can give leadership even without the plenums of the party committees. We may say that this view manifests itself not so much in the failure to hold regular meetings of the plenums as in the failure to prepare for them thoroughly. Activation of the members of plenums is still restricted, both as regards the study of problems and in the check-up

on the application of the decisions taken by the plenums and by the bureau of the district party committee. The bureaus and secretaries of the party committees have not properly appreciated the plenums as schools for the education of leading cadres. There are some even more dangerous manifestations among some first secretaries who do not properly appreciate collective leadership, and solve the main problems, not only without the party committee, but even without the bureau, on the spur of the moment, by themselves. . .

In many leading comrades in the Party there are symptoms of power-seeking, which stem from their excessive self-satisfaction. These are dangerous manifestations, and should be eliminated, because they are alien to the communists who should be examples of modesty and wisdom and should be resolute in the strict observation of the organizational rules of the Party. As for the members of the plenum, they still fail to properly appreciate their important position in the leadership of the Party, and this can be seen in their limited participation in the discussion of the problems of the plenum and in demanding a rendering of account. There are some members of the plenum who have never contributed to the discussion in the meetings of plenums.

The experience of the meetings of activists shows that some party committees do not speak frankly about the state of affairs to the mass of the Party and hesitate to make self-criticism of their errors. Insufficient notice is taken of the objections, proposals, and criticism, which are made in the meetings of activists, by the bureaus and plenums of the party committees. They are not subjected to special analysis, so that appropriate measures can be taken. Such an underestimation of the meetings of activists violates inner democracy and weakens the work of the party.

b) The party organizations do not see the question of cadres as one of their chief concerns. They are not well acquainted with the cadres and do not supervise their work. Their qualities are assessed from behind the desk on the basis of bureaucratic data. Cadres are constantly being transferred, mainly by the party committees and directorates of the Central Committee, and in particular by the economic directorates of the Central Committee. In 1952 the party committees have transferred 25.3 per cent of the cadres on their establishment. There are cases when cadres are shifted without being first informed of the sector they are entrusted with. The state organs, too, act like this in regard to transfers, and in some cases we may call such transfers scandalous. . . It is necessary to put an end to such a harmful practice. Of course, cadres will be transferred in the future, too, since our country's economic and cultural development gives rise to the constantly growing need for cadres, but the point is, we must know how to restrict excessive and unnecessary transfers, and take timely measures to train the cadres we need. Transfers or appointments constitute one part of the Party's organizational work, and the most important work of the Party is to study, select, and educate the cadre in the whole complex of the cadre policy. There are many weaknesses in this direction, owing to the fact that the question of checking on the application of decisions is not closely linked with the individual cadres. The work for the training of cadres presents many weaknesses: the question of reserve cadres has remained almost a formality, and these reserve cadres exist only on paper. As for weaknesses in the work of control, this is apparent even in the insufficient care in drafting decisions. These decisions often have the character of general directives, and such a thing shows that the party committees or the basic organizations have not yet properly switched from

the methods of giving leadership in general, abstract terms, to a concrete leadership, to operative decisions based on close and living ties with all the sectors. Decisions are taken one after another and no one knows what happens about them. Nothing but bureaucratism can arise from this. This happens because certain people think that a decision should be taken on this or that question, and in this way, what can be better done today is left for tomorrow, and people are overwhelmed by a sea of papers. What is bad is that some party committees measure the extent of the application of their decisions and the value of their work with the number of decisions and questions they take up for consideration. It is understandable that such a method of work and such views have not given satisfactory results, therefore we should put an end to these wrong methods.

c) The basic organizations in production centres, especially those in mines and industries, are beginning to play their role better. But the work in these sectors still needs strengthening, because in the leadership of mines and various enterprises of this sector it can be seen that there is little reliance on the working class element, on the party and non-party workers. The Party should support, organize and lead the work in these sectors, carry out the decisions of the government and the Central Committee, but it is impermissible for the managers of an enterprise to ignore the aid and suggestions of workers, or fail to consult to the proper extent with the party organizations and the workers. The basic organizations of the countryside have improved on the past, but they are still weak. They do not give sufficient concrete leadership in the problems of agriculture. The party work in the village, especially the political, educational and cultural work, continues to be weak. Even weaker is the life and militant spirit of the basic organizations of the administra-

tion. They have not turned their attention to the strengthening of the apparatus, discipline, vigilance, and vocational training. Amongst other reasons, this is due to the fact that certain responsible comrades working in the government departments and the administrative sectors underrate the role of the party basic organizations. There are still many serious weaknesses in the work of the party basic organizations in general. Many meetings are held, an average of two, three, or four in a month, but their level is low because they are not well prepared, and because the party committees swamp them with masses of papers and decisions to be studied. Many letters, decisions, and instructions have been sent from the centre, too. This has hindered the basic organizations' own initiative to examine and solve the problems they face. Thus, for example, the basic organization of Kaluth village (Përmet) held eight meetings during the second six-months of 1952, two of them on its own initiative, and six on the recommendation of the Party Committee. Thirteen problems were taken up in those meetings, two of them on its own initiative and eleven recommended by the Party Committee, of which six are part of the decisions sent by the Central Committee. Another form of smothering the initiative of the basic organizations, especially in the countryside, is the inundation of the village with delegates, as occurs, for instance, in the Tirana villages, where, despite all the visits, the work is poor. In the meetings of the basic organizations, things are discussed in general terms, the carrying out of tasks is not carefully checked on, and these are not shared out fairly. Some of the communists are not drawn into the active life of the Party, and the new members, especially, are left out. The work becomes the monopoly of the secretaries of basic organizations and some other communist. Thus, not only is it not done well, but the basic organization is

weakened, the members become inactive, criticism and self-criticism is hindered, and party discipline is weakened. Therefore, measures should be taken to eliminate these shortcomings, for this is the only way in which the Party and its leadership will be invigorated. . . . . .

VI

WORK FOR THE STRENGTHENING OF ORGANIZED LINKS OF THE PARTY WITH THE MASSES

The links of the Party with the masses, the continual strengthening of these links, is one of the Party's fundamental organizational principles. Lenin and Stalin teach us that the communist party is the embodiment of the linking of the vanguard detachment of the working class with the masses of millions of working people. Joseph Stalin used to say that in its links with the masses, in the strengthening of these links, in its readiness to listen to the voice of the masses, stands the strength and invincibility of the Bolshevik leadership.

1. — The work of the Party with the trade unions

Enlightened by the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, our Party has devoted special attention to the strengthening of its links with the broad masses of the working class and with the other working masses. The trade unions, principal organizations to link the Party with the working class, rally in their ranks 82 per cent of the total number of workers and office employees of the Republic.

Under the guidance of the Party, the trade unions have improved their work from year to year. The concern of the trade union organization for promoting and controlling the socialist emulation has increased. The shock

worker movement has been extended, and the new movement of vanguard workers is growing.

But the leading organs of trade unions, from the trade union committees up to the central committees of the unions[1] and the Central Council, have not considered the work for the fulfilment of the state plan as their principal problem; they have not fully turned their faces towards production, and they have serious weaknesses in the work for the communist education of the working class. . .

During the struggle for the realization of the plan, especially under our conditions of the period of transition from capitalism to socialism, as the great Lenin teaches us, there will be frictions and conflicts. The question here is not of antagonistic conflicts between the workers and the state administration, like the conflicts and the struggle between the workers and the capitalists in capitalist countries, which end up in strikes and are intended to weaken and overthrow the bourgeois state, but of a kind of economic struggle, inevitable in this period, and a manifestation of the class struggle which is expressed in the struggle of workers against bureaucratism in our administration, against mistakes and shortcomings in work, against manifestations of insufficient interest in the continuous improvement of the material and cultural life of workers which is observed among some managers of our enterprises. In our case, these frictions aim at wiping out bureaucratism, mistakes and shortcomings in work, i.e., they do not aim at overthrowing state power, as in capitalism, but at strengthening the state power which is in the hands of the working masses, in the hands of the people. These frictions are solved through agreements,

[1] Such central committees of the trade unions were created in 1946 for the following sectors: industry, mines, agriculture, construction, communication, education, and administration, and existed till 1956.

and when they do not find a proper solution immediately, this is precisely when the need for the Party to intervene is felt.

The party organizations and organs have the right and the duty to intervene in such cases and to prevail on the managers of enterprises and departements to rigorously carry out their obligations towards the workers.

In many cases the workers' demands, proposals, and suggestions are not taken into account. Some leaders stifle the criticism of the masses in various ways: by discouraging criticism from below, by not accepting the criticism made, or by openly suppressing criticism. Moreover, some of them even ask the workers to criticize them for their shortcomings, but this is only a formal request, and sometimes made with the aim of softening the criticism rather than making it sharper. . .

The trade union organization is weak. Its leading organs, starting from the Presidium of the Central Council, headed by comrade Pilo Peristeri, should do more to fight the bureaucratic distortions in their work. This is apparent in their insufficient work for the fulfilment of the plan and their separation from the masses. Live work with the masses is smothered by papers and decisions, criticism and self-criticism in work is weak, and there are signs of laziness and favouritism.

But the shortcomings in the work of the trade unions are a reflection of the insufficient concern and the continuing underestimation of them by the party committees, the basic organizations and the state organs.

The party organizations do not see to it that the workers' general meetings and the production meetings, which are important forms for the activation of workers in the administration of enterprises, discuss concrete economic problems of production, criticize shortcomings and those who cause them, and listen to the workers'

proposals, etc. During 1952, in the construction sites of the Cërrik Oil Refinery the state incurred a loss of more than 1,300,000 leks, owing to the raising of the cost of construction, but the question of costs, the question of organization of work and rationalization of manpower were never once raised at the production meetings. In this way the leading organs of trade unions are tailing behind the situation. The party basic organizations in enterprises continually examine problems of the plan, criticize the weaknesses, and adopt decisions to improve the work. But in the majority of cases these decisions are not made known to the workers, and nothing is done to mobilize the collective to go all-out for the carrying out of the decisions of the party basic organization. Such a practice gravely harms the links of the Party with the working class.

It is known that the main means through which the Party leads the trade unions is the active participation of the communists in this organization. But in this direction there are two grave weaknesses. First, many of the communists working in, or elected to, the trade union organizations fail to carry out their tasks well. They do not work actively to enliven this organization, they do not struggle as they should against formalism in work, and, moreover, it is they themselves who understimate this organization. This is especially so among the communists who do not work directly in the trade union organization, but who have been elected to its leading organs, or entrusted with tasks as activists of the organization. The check-up of the basic organizations on the work of these communists is very weak. Second, people not capable of this work have been appointed to the leadership of trade unions in some districts and some large production centres.

Because of their insufficient concern about the leading cadres of the trade union organizations, because of their

failure to demand accounting from the communists who are entrusted with important tasks in this organization, sometimes certain basic organizations of the Party carry out the work of trade unions themselves, displacing them, thus violating the normal methods of work and damaging the authority of trade union organizations in the eyes of the mass of workers.

The extension and education of the circle of non-party activists has special importance in the work of the trade unions. In the main, it is the most conscious workers, the outstanding technicians and engineers who make up this circle of activists.

> *"Thence, the non-party active"*, Joseph Stalin said, *"is not only a connecting bridge, but also the very ample reservoir from which our Party draws new forces."**

The extension and education of this circle of activists in the process of daily work constitutes one of the principal tasks of the party basic organization and is directly linked with the strengthening of the ties of the Party with the working class. There are serious shortcomings in this direction. The party basic organization and the trade unions show insufficient concern for the work among the activists. They do not put them to work, do not set them tasks, and generally the commissions set up under the trade union committees of the enterprises are formal. Since they fail to put the active members to work, they often seek increases in their staff, because they do not thoroughly understand that the greatest work of the trade union organizations should be carried out voluntarily by the activists.

It is the duty of the party committees and the basic organizations to fight against the existing underestimation

* J.V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 316 (Alb. ed.).

of the trade unions, to urge the communists to work conscientiously for the ever greater strengthening of the trade unions, to propose the best and most capable communists for election to the leadership of the trade unions. The directorates of the Central Committee of the Party, especially those of industry, agriculture, trade and education and culture should show special concern in helping the leading organs of the trade unions, as well as the party committees and the basic organizations to radically improve their work in this direction.

2. — The work of the Party with the organization of the Youth Union

The Party has always attached special importance to the work among, and the communist education of, the youth. The Party wants all the young men and young women to work with all their might for the general good, for the construction of socialism. Only through such work can the communist education of the youth be carried out. The organization of the Labour Youth Union of Albania is the main assistant of the Party in the work of the communist education of the youth.

The best indication of the strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses of the youth, the strengthening of its influence among these masses, is the extension and the composition of the ranks of the Youth Union, as well as the strengthening of the internal life of this organization.

At the end of December 1952, the Labour Youth Union of Albania included over 95,000 members (24 per cent of them young women), i.e., over 34,000 more than at the end of 1951. Today, youth organizations have been set up in almost every village. But the extension of the youth organization is still handicapped by sectarianism. Estimating the total number of young men and young

women from the age of 14 to 26 at about 300,000 (including here the communists of these ages), it results that only 32 per cent of the youth are organized. In round figures, the youth organization includes 68 per cent of the worker youth, 24 per cent of the peasant youth, and 72 per cent of the school youth. This state of things is not satisfactory at all. The main conclusion is that the Party still has weak links with the overwhelming majority of peasant youth, and especially with the young women. The fact that over 30 per cent of worker youth still remain outside the youth organization is also significant.

One of the main reasons for this sectarianism lies in the weak links of the communists, especially of the leading comrades of party committees, with the broad masses of town and country youth, as well as in the great weaknesses of the work for the communist education of the youth. Many communists, in the country especially, show little concern for the life, work, education, and entertainment of the youth.

The youth organizations, those in the country especially, appear to be very weak, and they have little influence on the unorganized mass of the youth. The party committees and the Central Committee of Youth have not gone deeply into the question of special work with the country youth, taking into account its backwardness, the fact that its overwhelming majority is outside the organization, that there are not party organizations in many villages, and that the work for its education is more difficult. At a time when thousands of young men have been through intensive political training for two years in the ranks of the People's Army, when every year thousands of young men and women have taken part in the construction of the greatest works of the country, the youth organizations have a shortage of cadres.

Only 16 per cent of the young women are included in the youth organization. The main reason is that the teachings of the Party are not properly conveyed to them and their parents. The fact is that, wherever the Party has worked well, the results have been better.

In this direction, we should commend the Party Committee of Rrëshen, that of Tropoja and of Peshkopia, which thanks to their good work, recently sent the first 135, the second 346, and the third 250 young women as volunteers for the construction of the Mat hydro-power station. But the work to draw young women in greater numbers into the work of education and the struggle for the construction of the foundations of socialism is weak. There is insufficient resolute struggle against obstacles and difficulties in this direction and against the enemy's activity. For its part, the work of the Central Committee of Youth in this direction has been formal and superficial.

The Party attaches special importance to the work among the pioneers. Some successes have been attained in this direction. The pioneers' organization has been extended throughout the Republic and includes almost all the country's children from 9 to 14 years of age. But in the work among the pioneers, and generally among the children, there are many weaknesses. The pioneers' organization has not been properly orientated towards more fruitful work for better results at school. Out-of-class and out-of-school activity for the education of pupils is weak, because the Ministry of Education has not considered it as one of its important problems. Work for the education of pioneers, taking into account their concrete conditions, their age, and possibilities, is not sufficient. The party committees have remained almost as strangers to this problem; the cadres at the head of this organization are weak, without experience or pedagogical and cultural training. The Ministry of Education

and the teachers have shown very little concern in this direction, and the numbers of publications and other material means for the work among the pioneers are insignificant. The party committees, the state and cultural organs, the apparatus of the Central Committee, as well as the Central Committee of Youth, should adopt measures to implant love for, and loyalty to, the Party ever deeper among the children.

One of the most important conditions for the Party's leadership of the youth, is the work of the communists in the youth organizations, and the leadership of them by the communists.

The number of workers leading basic youth organizations is a mere 11 per cent. So far no concern whatsoever has been shown to ensure worker leadership for the peasant youth. Stalin teaches us that the worker youth should be charged with the task of leading the country youth, to convey the party spirit, the spirit of the working class, among them, first and foremost by tackling the key problems for the education of country youth.

In general, the youth organization appears very weak. One of the main reasons for this weakness is the poor work of the youth leadership itself, which is swamped with bureaucratic work and detached from the mass of the youth. The youth leadership has not responded as it should to the drive and enthusiasm of the youth, it has kept aloof from the problems of the base, and has done little to help the youth in their daily struggle with difficulties. A weakness in this direction has been caused by comrade Q. who, in the absence of comrade Ramiz Alia[2], led the work in the Central Committee of Youth. This comrade has shown signs of swell-headedness, arrogance, and obstinacy, characteristic of an unhealthy intellectual,

[2] At that time attending the High Party School.

and for these reasons he was discharged from his duties as Second Secretary of the Central Committee of Youth, which took measures for the strengthening of the youth leadership. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party is confident that the shortcomings and weaknesses existing today in the work of the youth leadership will be put an end to so that this organization will become a support and militant reserve of the Party.

But it should be thoroughly understood that another very important reason for the weaknesses in the work among the youth is the meagre concern shown in this direction by the party organizations themselves. The party organizations have still not sufficiently understood the importance of the youth organization and, as a consequence, they have not shown due concern for it, have not led it, nor supported it, and have not checked up to a sufficient degree on the work of the youth union.

This is apparent in the fact that the party committees, and the basic organizations do not consider the youth leadership or the support and aid they should give it, as an organic part of their work. The apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, too, and especially the Organizational Directorate with comrade Sadik Bocaj at the head, bear responsibility for this.

It is a pressing duty of the Central Committee, of the party committees, and of the basic organizations to radically improve their work in the direction of the youth organizations, to fight sectarianism with more determination, to give special attention to the country youth, to activate the young men who have served in the army on this issue, and those who have taken and are taking part in the great actions of construction, first and foremost in the construction of the Mat hydro-power station, and to assign to the leadership of the most important organizations of the agricultural sector, selected

workers, elements who can bring into them the party spirit, the spirit of the working class.

The party committees, the basic organizations and the Central Committee of Youth should take measures to incorporate in the ranks of the youth organization the greatest possible number of young women. They should attach special importance to the work among the young women volunteering to work on the hydro-power station. Likewise, they should show greater concern for the work among the pioneers, for their communist education, to instil in them the love for schooling and for work, for the homeland, for the Party of Labour, and for the Soviet Union.

3. — The work of the Party among the masses of women

The Party devotes great attention to work among the masses of women. In the conditions of the struggle for the construction of socialism the work among the masses of women assumes even greater importance. They constitute a great numerical reserve in which fresh energies, previously unexploited, are lying dormant, and it is up to the Party to awaken them and put them in motion for the general good. Therefore, the participation of women in the economic, social, and state life of the country assumes great importance. Today, 8.7 per cent of the party members, 8.6 per cent of the members of the party committees, and 4.3 per cent of the members of their bureaus, are women. Eleven per cent of the members of the people's councils in the countryside and 20 per cent of judges and assistant judges elected are women, 12.9 per cent of the elected members of the Central Council of Trade Unions are women, and in the district councils 16 per cent are women. In the leading organs of youth in the centre and in the districts, there are 185

young women, or 22.5 per cent of the total. Thirty per cent of the workers in industry are women, in the mines — 6.6 per cent, in the state sector of agriculture — 19 per cent. In education 37 per cent of the staff are women, and in the health services — 37.4 per cent. The total number of women engaged in production and administration amounts to over 25,000. It can be seen that there are improvements in this direction. The country woman has become a powerful force in agricultural work by taking part in many of the jobs possible for women. But in the life of the state, of the Party, and in the economic and state sectors, women are still taking only a limited part.

The main reason for this is the still very low cultural level of women, which seriously handicaps the rate of development of the society. A great majority of women do not effectively enjoy the equal rights with men, guaranteed them by the Constitution and laws of the state. Backward customs and prejudices are prevalent among women to such a degree that they, especially in the country, are convinced of their incapacity for social and state activity, of their inferiority to men, and in many a case they seek to resolve any misfortune through God, fortune telling, amulets, etc. Fanaticism, conservatism and the lack of confidence on the part of men, have a direct bearing on keeping backward customs alive.

The party organizations have not considered this as one of their main problems. In their work among the mass organizations they have been least of all concerned about work among the masses of women, and in general, the work among women is one of the weakest sectors of the work of the Party. The party organizations have failed to keep in mind that it is the task of the Party to train women to carry out their duties as citizens of the Republic, to actually enjoy the rights which the state laws ensure them, and to bring up and educate their children well.

The leadership given in the problem of women is entirely general, and with pronounced fits and starts. Even when the party committees and basic organizations study the problems of women, they do so perfunctorily, and in minutes of the basic organizations you often find such words as: "The women's organization is weak", and the decision: "The women's organization should be mobilized."

According to some statistics, about 109,000 women have already passed through courses against illiteracy. There are still about 90,000 illiterate women under the age of 40. Attendance of the courses against illiteracy by, and especially the progress of, women is unsatisfactory. The party organizations and the state organs still fail to consider the struggle against illiteracy among the masses of women as the first condition for fighting prejudices and backwardness, and to enable women to take an active part in political and social life.

Because of the weak political work among the masses of women, there are cases when they maintain opportunist attitudes towards kulaks and enemies and sometimes feel sorry for them. The participation of women in the political conferences and meetings in the villages is insignificant. In the opinion of some people, especially the secretaries of basic organizations, political work among women belongs to the women's organization alone, and it is there they lay the blame for the formal existence of women's organization in their villages.

The concern of the party organizations to teach women about educational and health matters, so that they can bring up and educate their children properly, is minimal. Even the concern of the state organs, especially the Ministries of Health and Education, in this direction has been quite inadequate.

The Presidium of the Women's Union of Albania has not made enough and timely use of the forms of work that would rally and activate more women; it has failed to create around itself and the district presidiums of the Women's Union of Albania the broad circles of activist women, or to train the women's organizations in the districts and at the grassroots to solve the problems women face.

The Presidium of the Women's Union of Albania has not concerned itself sufficiently over the question of cadres. But the main causes of the weaknesses rest in the leadership of the party organizations, beginning with the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party, which has not carefully supervised the carrying out of decisions on work among women, down to the basic organizations. In general, the level of the comrades working in the leadership of the women's organization is low, they do not enjoy complete trust or authority among the masses of women, and some of them consider work among women tiresome.

Many communists, especially in the country, but also in town and in the army, are still under the influence of fanaticism, conservatism, and backward customs regarding women. In many cases they do not activate their own wives and sisters, do not work with them, and often hinder them. Thus, for example, three communists in the party basic organization of the agricultural cooperative of Perhondia in the Berat district did not allow their wives to take part in production, saying, "I am able to provide for my wife myself", or, "My wife's job is to please me", etc. Not a single young woman from the villages of Kruja, Puka, etc., has attended training courses opened by the state, because the work of persuasion and explanation of the party committees regarding this matter is weak.

The constant development of the people's economy calls for the participation of an ever increasing number of women in work. Some successes have been attained in this direction, and there are many city women who apply for employment. But the participation of women in work raises important problems which must be solved so that women can yield the maximum output at work and bring up and educate their children. Extension of the network of mother and child institutions is an important task of the Party and the state.

The question of the education of women, at courses, schools, work centres, is of great importance so that they can learn and master a trade, learn the technique and raise themselves in responsibility. The work of the women's organization as well as of the party organizations in this direction is weak. Not enough concern has been shown for the participation of women workers in qualification courses. The number of young women who ought to have been sent to education, agricultural and health service courses has not been achieved. The situation in regard to getting young women to work in the "Stalin" Textile Combine is even worse. Only 62 per cent of the total number envisaged for the year 1952 were sent. The question of promoting women to posts of responsibility and raising their qualifications is treated with conservatism and lack of faith in the strength of women, and the basic organizations fail to understand that these are important problems for them.

The duty of the party organizations is to radically improve their work regarding the women's organization, to make it their own problem, the problem of the state, and not regard it as a problem belonging only to the Women's Union of Albania. They must fight to make the communists the first to set the example in the work for the education and activation of their wives, should be

well acquainted with the problems of the women's organization and give it concrete, daily leadership. The political and cultural uplift of the masses of women and, in the first place, the wiping out of illiteracy, should be considered as a problem of the first order. Beginning with the apparatus of the Central Committee, greater concern must be shown for the implementation of the decisions of the Central Committee of the Party and the Political Bureau concerning the work among the women. . . . . .

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THE LAW MUST BE ENFORCED WITHOUT LAXITY

Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

November 9, 1953

I agree with the remarks made by all the comrades of the Political Bureau and I believe they complete the picture of the situation which was presented to us regarding the work of our organs of justice. These organs are the central institutions of justice, and they are of extraordinary importance. Their mission, charged to them by the Party, is great and serves the interests of the entire people.

Amongst our party members the sense of justice should run in the stream of their blood. Respect for justice is one of the characteristics of our people from whom our party members emerge. Our laws, which express the policy of our Party, are the embodiment of the wishes and aspirations of our people. Hence, the duty of every communist to fight to the end for the carrying out of the laws of our state. Our laws must be applied fairly and impartially by the whole Party, and especially by the courts of justice of all levels which are the state organs set up precisely for this purpose. Despite the successes that we have achieved in the implementation of the laws, it is a fact that there are also many violations in this respect due to various causes such as the work of the enemy, insufficient knowledge of the laws, the negligence and

arbitrarity of certain directors, the work of irresponsible persons who even include certain communists who hide behind their party membership. We should expose and condemn the lawbreakers in the revolutionary spirit of our Party. The important thing is that the laws should be applied to everyone alike. There is one law for all. It should be carried out by everyone, and especially by those who have been charged with this important function. The workers of the organs of justice should be strict and just in applying the laws. The Party should assist them to fulfil their duties successfully. No one should be so carried away by the rush of daily affairs as to fail to look well into all aspects of the problems. We should not look only at one aspect of the problem and forget the other. For instance, someone who thinks only about fulfilling the plan without considering the needs of the workers, is not respecting the Labour Code, and thus violates the law. Certain party members and workers do not maintain a correct attitude to the law. Allegedly in the interests of the job they often interfere unjustly in the solution of questions, and thus in one way or another infringe the rights of citizens, and they become dissatisfied.

Absolute correctness must characterize the work of the organs of justice. The workers of these organs should be skillful and fair; in particular they should be of sufficient level ideologically and politically, as well as professionally. In their judgement of penal cases the circumstances under which a crime has been committed should be carefully interpreted. I do not think that due importance is given to the selection of the cadres of justice. There is some underestimation in this aspect. I think there is gross underestimation of assistant-judges, because this problem has not become the concern of the party committees to the degree it should have been done

so that these cadres should come from the ranks of the most honest and active people, more or less trained and of sound judgement. The work of electing assistant-judges has been very poor and formal, assistance from the Party has been lacking. Therefore, the Directorate of Administration and the organs of the Party in the districts and at the grassroots must try to provide the organs of justice with the best persons, otherwise the shortcomings we are discussing will continue. If the majority of the rank-and-file people do not have a high political consciousness and if, at the same time, they do not learn continually from the theory and practice of cases, the High Court will have to deal with thousands of cases a year and will not be able to get out of this situation. The comrades there are working hard, but they have so many cases for study on their hands that they do not go as deeply into them as they should.

From time to time the Party will take up specific problems of justice, it will make its comments and give directions on how the law should be implemented. This in no way encroaches upon the independence of our courts. It seems to me that the question of independence should be better understood. When we say that the courts are independent, this in no way implies that they are beyond the supervision of the people, who elect them, and of the Party. On the contrary, the control of the people and of the Party is exercised over everybody. In our courts the control by the people and by the Party is achieved in several ways: first, the courts are controlled by the people who elect them; this supervision by the people is of major importance in principle and practice. The judges should render account to the people, a thing which is not done as much as it should be, because they do not report to their electors. Consequently people cannot judge, for instance, how the President of the

Court, the judge or the prosecutor are accomplishing their tasks, or give their opinions about their work. Therefore, this matter must be put in order. The question is that when a judge hears a case, his verdict must be fair, lawful, truthful, convincing, and acceptable to the people. In unravelling the concrete case the judge is independent in the sense that he is obliged to apply the law and assess the circumstances of the case according to his conviction, without being influenced by improper interference, but this in no way implies that he does not render account to the people who have elected him to the job. The people have the right to call him to account, to criticize, and to dismiss him, if he has not worked well. Second, the courts are controlled by the Party; this control by the Party does not jeopardize the independence of the High Court. This danger is more likely from the Ministry of Justice. Infringement of the independence of the courts may come about occasionally also when some party committee acts outside the law, but these are cases that can be avoided. Third, the High Court is dependent on the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

We call on you, comrades of justice, as communists whom the Party has assigned to work in a sector of great importance for the activity of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we call on you to render account for the work you have done. But rather than by the Central Committee, this job should be done by the Presidium of the People's Assembly, where we have party comrades of the best standing. One of the main duties of the Presidium is to see how the laws are applied. The Presidium has now organized its links with the masses, but it should further strengthen them with the people's councils and the people's courts at all levels. From time to time it should also demand reports from the High Court, from the State Prosecutor's Office, from the district courts and

prosecutors, and when it sees their work is not going well, it should give the necessary instructions and demand that they make self-criticism before the people. The Presidium of the People's Assembly should exercise these competences better from now on. Therefore, one of the principal tasks of the comrades of the Presidium will be also to check up on the courts of justice in order to ensure the precise carrying out of our revolutionary law without any laxity. The links between the organs of justice and the Presidium should be close, and it is in this context, and not according to the false interpretations of the bourgeoisie, that the principle of the independence of the courts should be understood.

It is my impression that the report submitted to us on the work of the organs of justice does not give a clear picture of the shortcomings that exist in the work of the High Court. This is not a question of engaging "in self-criticism for self-criticism's sake" but of making a profound analysis of the shortcomings in the work, of disclosing their causes, and of defining the tasks to improve the situation in the future. Otherwise, how will these defects, which it seems to me should be better looked into, be overcome? The President of the High Court says that collective work is running smoothly, the cases brought up for judgement have been prepared in conformity with the law, while the other comrades of the High Court say otherwise. Then it emerges clearly that you do not have a unified opinion about these problems, it appears that the President of the High Court is opposed to the other members of the High Court who say there are errors in the work of this organ. It goes without saying that the President of the High Court has a lot more to do in this direction, and so has the State Prosecutor. These comrades should make greater efforts in order to raise their technical-professional skills to a higher level. In

addition, collective work among them should be on a stronger and healthier basis, for this would yield better results. In this direction, experience is not lacking, nevertheless, I want to say that the President of the High Court and the State Prosecutor's Office should be in closer contact with their colleagues, should profit more from their experience and their opinions. The President of the High Court, for instance, although he has gained some experience, can learn from many comrades of the High Court who have a good theoretical training and practical experience. Therefore, he should ask for their help quite frankly saying, "I need your assistance. Let us do this work together so that I, too, may gain greater experience". Nothing but good can come out of this. Cadres are developed in work, through their own efforts, as well as with the help of others. In this struggle to work and learn, some shortcomings will be observed. They will be criticized, and should be admitted frankly and with modesty. It is not impossible that some comrades of the High Court might have some petty-bourgeois hangovers which lead them to underrating the President of the High Court, but if such things are observed they should be raised within the party organization where they should be sifted out and clarified. Our criticisms should be fair and based on principles. If criticisms of this sort are not accepted, then we are up against a kind of arrogance which should be combated, because it hampers the work, while whoever criticizes for ulterior motives will sooner or later be exposed for what he is.

Just as in the courts, in the offices of the State Prosecutor and district prosecutors, too, we should have good honest party people who will properly uphold socialist law. The public prosecutor, like all the workers of justice, should not be afraid of any one and should not be subjected

to unfair interference undertaken for evil ends. The law must be applied without any laxity. As in any sector, any manifestation of unhealthy familiarity between the organs of the State Prosecutor's Office which are entrusted with upholding the law, and the other state organs, like the investigator's office of the Ministry for Internal Affairs and others, is damaging and impermissible. Therefore, we should further strengthen the party spirit in the work of all the organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the relations among them.

The organs of justice have scored success in carrying out the great tasks with which the Party and the people have charged them. Of course, there are shortcomings in their activity, but the Party advises and criticizes them so that they correct them. We are confident that the shortcomings which emerged from this analysis will be corrected and the work of the organs of justice will go still further ahead.

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ON MEASURES TO FURTHER RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING MASSES

Report to the 9th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

December 24, 1953

Comrades,

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party has been called to this meeting to analyse the reasons for the measures recently taken by the Political Bureau and the government, as well as to lay down the necessary guidelines for the future regarding the urgent need to improve the standard of living of the working masses of the town and countryside.

In June this year, after analysing the difficult economic situation of the working masses of the town and countryside, the Political Bureau directed the government to take a series of important economic-administrative steps towards improving the standard of living of the workers of the town and countryside.

Despite some improvement, the economic situation of the workers in the town and countryside is still very difficult[1]. The directives to quickly build big costly projects,

[1] The difficulties in the economic situation referred to in this report were due to certain factors, namely, to the still pronounced backwardness of the country, to the insufficient experience in the planned management of the economy, to the extraordinary obstacles caused by the intensified hostile activities of the US and British imperialists and their lackeys on the borders of our homeland, etc.

which are often not so essential for the present, the inflation of the administrative apparatus and failure to fulfil the state plan have made it very difficult to improve the living conditions of the urban and rural workers. The necessary care has not been devoted to increasing agricultural and livestock products which are essential to the improvement of the living conditions of the workers as well as one of the main supports for the further economic development of the country, because the principal means and forces were concentrated mostly on the big industrial projects which continually demanded new forces, means, and supplies. This has created a very difficult situation.

To cope with the needs of the people better it is necessary to analyse the difficult economic situation of the people in town and countryside. This will also enable a better understanding of the reasons which impelled the

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To overcome these difficulties, the PLA relied mainly on its own efforts, but at the same time the CC of the Party turned to the CC of the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union for help in coping with this situation. However, after J.V. Stalin's death in March 1953, in the relations between the PRA and the USSR, there appeared the first signs of interference in our internal affairs and of impermissible pressures on the part of the Soviet leadership. There appeared a lack of complete readiness to give unconditional and disinterested assistance to a small, still backward, socialist state and especially geographically completely encircled by sworn enemies of socialism and of the national independence of the People's Republic of Albania. This manifested itself in the demands of the Soviet government in June and December 1953 to reduce the rates of development of industry in Albania and to cut out the plan of the construction on a number of important industrial projects essential to the economy of the country. The real aim of these demands came to light later, when the interference and pressure of the Soviet leadership assumed a brutal and blatant character.

Political Bureau and the government to take measures and define the proper tasks to improve the situation.

I. — THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE PEASANTRY

Following the liberation of the country, with the application of the Land Reform, and the assistance and concern of our Party and our people's power for peasantry, the situation of agriculture was improved. In general, agricultural production was increased above that of the prewar period. Thus, as far back as 1946, 14.8 per cent more bread grain (wheat, maize, rye) was produced than in 1938. Similarly, every year after liberation, the area of arable land has been increased at a satisfactory rate, and today we have 130,000 hectares of arable land more than in 1938. Such important industrial crops as cotton and sugar-beet, which were unknown formerly or planted in very small amounts, have now been introduced in our agriculture and have reached quite a high degree of development.

But in spite of this, the economic condition of our peasantry is still low. The steps taken so far in agriculture have been insufficient and have not made it emerge from its backwardness and increase production.

In grain production, overall, there has been an increase since liberation, but this has been small, and we have not been able to produce sufficient grain within the country in any year. To ensure bread for the people we have had to import considerable quantities of grain from abroad each year. Of the bread grains, the production of maize has fared worst and its average yield since liberation has been very low. If we take the yield of maize realized each year after liberation we will see that it has fluctuated from the maximum of 12.8 q per hectare

(in 1947) to the minimum of 8 q per hectare (in 1952). Only in 1953 will we realize a yield of 13.30 q per hectare, which is a little above that of 1938.

The main reasons are that in pre-liberation Albania maize was the main crop, planted in small plots on the best land, with most of the manure and available manpower used in cultivating it. Apart from this the droughts of the post-liberation years 1945 and 1946 as well as 1950, 1951 and 1952 had an appreciable negative influence. Meanwhile, the areas planted to wheat have continued to expand, and there has been a relative stability in its yields. It has been quite different with wheat and other cereals, in general. These crops have enjoyed rather more favourable conditions. In 1949 we imported 5,000 q of seed wheat which was the best yearly consignment for seed after liberation. At the same time, in order to protect the wheat from rust, varieties of early wheat have been sown more extensively, drainage canals have been opened, parts of the land have been levelled, the rudiments of agricultural science have been disseminated (before liberation, with the exception of the Korça region, the other districts sowed wheat on almost untilled ground), and the people's power has done continuous propaganda work about increasing the areas sown to, and the yields of, wheat and other cereals.

The production of grain per unit area is low also because in certain regions considerable areas of the best land have been taken up by new industrial crops. This has been necessary. But we would have had better results in production of both grain and industrial crops, if we had followed more correct criteria in the distribution of industrial crops.

The area planted to industrial crops has been increased by about 36,000 hectares in comparison with the pre-liberation period, but the question of growing them

only on suitable land and concentrating on increasing their yields has not been studied profoundly. Extension of the area sown to these crops, even on soil unsuitable for them, and close planting them has been chosen as the way to achieve the necessary production, without taking into account the will and desire of the peasant or whether he has at his disposal the manpower which the cultivation of these crops requires. These mistakes led to the taking of land at the expense of the normal production of grain and the achievement of minimal yields of the industrial crops themselves. Hence, for years in succession the production envisaged for bread grain and industrial crops has not been attained, creating great deficits. Just in the years 1950, 1951 and 1952 a deficit of 1,840,110 q of bread grain was created in comparison with what was expected, and during the same years, there was a deficit of 15,000 tons of cotton and 41,657 tons of sugar-beet.

The causes of the low yields in the production of grain and industrial crops are: the severe droughts of these recent years, the low level of agrotechnical knowledge, the inadequacy of the means of traction and draught animals, the insufficient aid given by the state in the form of seeds, chemical fertilizers, and farm tools. Apart from the fact that 83 per cent of the area under cultivation is fragmented into individual holdings, production depends a great deal on the weather, our agriculture has not yet emerged from backwardness and advanced agricultural technique is not applied in it. The working up of the ground is not done well, the sowing is done late and the period for the preparation and planting of the fields drags on and on. Two-thirds of our farms, especially in the mountain areas, use wooden ploughs instead of iron ones. This is due not only to the hesitation of farmers to give up the use of primitive

tools, but also to the fact that the state has distributed very few suitable ploughs. Thus, during the four years from 1949 to 1952 throughout the Republic about 8,500 ploughs have been sold, equal to one plough for every 5 or 6 per cent of our agricultural economies. Nor have the farmers been provided with enough iron harrows and animal-drawn cultivators, essential implements for the working and breaking up of the soil and preserving its moisture. The work of propagating advanced methods in agriculture has not been well organized, and it is not achieving satisfactory results. As well as this, the technicians, the organs of the people's power, and the Party have not taken properly into account the age-long experience of our farmers in both the cultivation and the use of various agricultural crops.

Where the experience of our farmers has been taken into account, and where good work has been done in introducing modern agricultural technique, the results have been better, despite the years of drought. The years 1950, 1951, and 1952 have not been favourable for agriculture, yet the damage caused by drought has not been so conspicuous where better work has been done.

Besides the unsatifactory production of bread grain and industrial crops, a thing which has had a great influence on worsening the economic situation of our farmers is the deplorable situation in livestock farming. In 1945, our livestock, with the exception of buffaloes, managed to improve on the prewar level. But in later years, especially during the great droughts of 1950, 1951, and 1952, livestock breeding suffered an obvious decline. Thus, in comparison with 1938, by December 1952 there were 100.9 per cent solid-hoofed animals, 97.7 per cent cattle, 52.4 per cent buffaloes, 93.8 per cent sheep, 83 per cent goats. This decline in livestock has not only reduced the livestock products available for town and countryside,

but it has also had a direct impact on impairing agriculture, because of the considerable reduction of the number of oxen and other draught animals.

Since liberation the number of yoke of draught animals has decreased, though our needs for them are more than 100 per cent greater, since the area planted and the kind of work the new crops require have been increased. From the December 1952 census of livestock it turns out that we have 74,600 yoke of oxen and buffaloes, which is 18,300 or 20.6 per cent less than in 1938. Every yoke has to turn about 4.2 hectares of land while in 1938 it had to turn 2.3 hectares of land. In addition, the distribution of the oxen is uneven and, in certain agricultural zones of the country, the situation is even more serious: in the Vlora district, for instance, for every 100 hectares of arable land, there are only 19 yoke of oxen with which it is completely impossible to accomplish the necessary work (1951). Today, over one-third of our individual farms have no draught oxen. The shortage of oxen is one of our greatest weaknesses in agriculture.

At the same time, about 33,000 farms in our countryside have no sheep and goats. The reduction of draught oxen and of livestock in general is due, first and foremost, to the continuous decrease of the forage reserve, and especially of pastures, in favour of land for bread grain and forests. The plan for forestation and for opening new land has never been coordinated with the needs for pastures for livestock. Besides this, the shortage of fodder is also due to the insufficient distribution of lucerne and other forage crops. Of the 5,402 hectares of land planned to be planted to lucerne during the 1952 to 1953 period, only 3,305 hectares, or 61 per cent, were planted, and this was because of lack of seed. The production of lucerne seed, which is in great demand by the peasants, has not been solved. The major droughts, of

the years 1950, 1951, and 1952, have also had a great influence on the decrease of livestock, because the peasants had to slaughter or sell their animals in order to ensure their bread and to meet various obligations. The increase of livestock has also been hampered by inadequate concern for housing animals as well as by the high coefficient of standard taxation per hectare and the financial taxes.

In general, in addition to the shortage of draught animals we are also short of manpower in the countryside. This is more pronounced in the lowland areas where every agricultural economy has a relatively large area of land at its disposal, where we have begun to intensify the cultivation of industrial crops, and where our mechanized means do not match these needs. Thus, while the needs for manpower have increased, today we have a considerable deficit, because many persons have been withdrawn to work in the new sectors of our economy and in the state apparatus (as workers, office workers, soldiers, and so on). Thus, for instance, whereas in 1945 we had an average of 174 hands for every 100 hectares of land under cultivation, in 1950 this number had dwindled to 126 for every 100 hectares. This deficit, of course, is not the same in every district; in Durrës and in Lushnja, for instance, the deficit of manpower is higher than that for the Republic as a whole. The reduction of the manpower in the countryside, while increasing the ranks of the working class in industry, mining, and in other sectors, is a proper and necessary process, but under the conditions of the development of our whole economy, and of agriculture in particular, the big volume of industrial construction, and especially the very high rates at which work proceeded in these projects to complete them in a short period, have damaged the countryside and have impoverished agriculture as regards manpower and many other needs. The labour force has been

drawn away from agriculture also for the state apparatus, the establishment of which has been greatly inflated.

The state aid with mechanized means to bridge the deep gap which has been created in agriculture, due to the lack of manpower and draught animals in the countryside, has been too little. The numbers of tractors, machines, ploughs, etc., which have been placed at the disposal of the peasantry, are quite insufficient for the tilling, sowing, hoeing, harvesting, threshing, and so on. Thus, for instance, from the total area of land under cultivation in the Republic, only 12.8 per cent of work processes have been done by the tractors of the MTS's and the state farms; the mechanization of the harvest is very low, and the latter requires many work hands from the peasantry. This year only 3.7 per cent of the area sown in cereals has been harvested with reapers and combines. But besides the small number of farm machines and tractors, through our weaknesses, they are neither well maintained nor properly utilized. There is frequent damage and many breakdowns; at the same time, while planning the work to be done by tractors and machines, the means, which the agricultural economies, and especially the cooperatives, possess themselves, have not always been taken into proper account.

The weakness of the peasant economy is also due to the system of taxation in kind. The system of taxation in kind, adopted immediately after the 1st Congress of the Party, served as an incentive for the peasants to increase the area under cultivation and crop yields. But despite the correctness of this system, the coefficient of taxation levied per hectare has been high. During the years of the great drought, taxation in kind became even more burdensome for the peasant, because he did not achieve the expected yields, and thus the percentage of the taxation in kind which we demanded was greatly increased.

Thus, for instance, on the basis of the produce realized in 1946 we took from him an average of 16.9 per cent of his production in compulsory deliveries, in 1949 we took 21.6 per cent, in 1950 — 22 per cent, and in 1952 — 20.1 per cent of production on the average. But these figures averaged over the Republic do not hold good for all regions and agricultural economies, because their yields have not been the same. Thus, there are cases in which, in certain regions and agricultural economies, the percentage of taxation, especially for maize, has reached from 40 to 50 per cent of the produce. Only in 1953, which has been a favourable year for agriculture, during which good yields were obtained, and with the reduction of the coefficient of taxation in kind, we have taken from the peasant 13 per cent of his produce on the average. Because of the failure to reach the targets of yields expected, resulting in a low total harvest of grain, and because of the taxation in kind, few peasants have had surpluses for the market, and even in small amounts; thus, in 1949 the peasants had a surplus of 221,400 q for the market, in 1950 this dropped to 133,700 q, and in 1952 they had a surplus of about 86,000 q for the market. This minimum amount of surplus, which as a rule was not all put into the market, because those who had it either used it for themselves or for the fellow villagers, could not enable the peasant to buy things necessary to his livelihood. The other income, too, which a peasant should have from raising pigs, poultry, bees, from fruit-growing and other auxiliary activities, in addition to agriculture and livestock farming, has been meagre. Thus, although the number of pigs has increased since liberation, in 1950 it turns out that only 3.6 per cent of all the agricultural economies has sows, while in 1952 we had only 66.9 per cent of the poultry we had before the war, and this has been greatly reduced because of the lack of feed due to

droughts, and because of epidemic diseases which have not been properly combated. In 1952 we had 16.7 per cent more bees than in 1938, but the number of hives in 1952 was 21.1 per cent less than in 1950. A great deal more could have been done to increase the number of bees and the production of honey, but concern for them, especially in modernizing their development, has been very slight. Today we have only 30 per cent of bees in modern hives. The hives turned out by industry and artisan workshops cost too much and are of a very poor quality. As for the auxiliary activities in the village, which play an important role in improving the material conditions of the peasantry and which help a great deal in adding to the necessary goods for consumption on the market, today they are scarcely carried on in our countryside. Although we have no information whatsoever about these products, for no institution has dealt with them so far, from certain data collected in some districts we get a clear picture of the general situation from which we can also learn its causes. In many districts of the country, domestic handicrafts have been highly developed, and from them the peasant earned an income for himself and helped the other peasants with material means and implements, and even the town, with certain articles. From the few figures we have collected in the districts of Kavaja, Lushnja, and Kruja, it turns out that in many villages of these districts whole families used to engage in producing charcoal, bricks, tiles, lime, straw mats, linen fabrics, carts, and so on. Such products were turned out in other districts, too, but now for fear of heavy financial taxes, for fear that they might be mobilized by the state as specialists, and in some cases, due to the lack of raw materials, these kinds of products have been entirely abandoned.

From what we have presented above, it is clear that the economic situation of the peasantry is very difficult, because the agricultural and livestock products are insufficient both for the peasants themselves and for the other workers of the towns and work centres, whose needs for agricultural and livestock products have increased greatly, in contrast with the small increase of these products.

II. — THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE WORKING MASSES

1. — The situation of supplies for the population of the cities, work centres, and countryside

As in former years this year, too, the population of our cities has not had the guaranteed supplies of fixed amount of foodstuffs and industrial goods. The amounts allocated by rationing are not available to the people in all items, thus raising doubt among the people about the value of rationing, which is, in fact, the basis for normalizing living conditions.

The plans for the guaranteed supply of the urban population with many important articles have scarcely been realized in all these years. This is most apparent in such items as meat, fish, beans, eggs, rice, and cheese.

Due to the special concern of our Party and government, the supply of the workers at the work centres has marked an improvement on the past, but nevertheless, in most cases the supply of guaranteed foodstuffs and industrial goods has not been accomplished one hundred per cent; for instance, this year's nine-month plan of supply of meat and fish has been realized 85.9 per cent, that of beans and rice — 90.8 per cent, of fats — 95.4 per cent, of

macaroni — 94 per cent, of woollens — 46 per cent, and so on.

Failure to realize the plans for supplying the towns and work centres with guaranteed foodstuffs and industrial goods, which ensure only a minimum, has further aggravated the economic situation of the people. It is to be noted that the volume of consumer goods realized these years does not cover the purchasing power of the masses of urban and rural workers, and moreover, it does not ensure a perceptible improvement of people's material level. In the first place, the existing guaranteed rations of the worker are insufficient and do not provide him with the necessary calories to increase his productivity at work. Thus, for instance, a miner of category "A" who works underground, instead of the 6,000 calories he needs every day, gets through the existing rations about 3,200 calories, equal to 53 per cent, if he gets his rations in full. This proportion exists among all the other categories of workers; and, as can be seen, the energy supplied is far below the requirement. The inadequate standards on which the workers are supplied, the rapid increase in the numbers of workers, as well as the inefficiency of the organs engaged in supplying them, have caused many shortcomings in their treatment, especially in the mines and saw mills, and as a result, this influences the fluctuation of manpower and the failure to reach planned targets.

At the same time, the guaranteed goods the state sells the city workers cover only part of their purchasing power, while for the other part they go to the free market to ensure their subsistence.

From the above data it turns out that in general the families of urban workers have great difficulties in securing the necessities of daily life, and especially so for those categories of workers whose incomes are below 5,000 leks.

These families cover part of the deficit by securing some other income which cannot enter into these calculations.

The situation of the free market

The quantities of goods, foodstuffs, and industrial articles available on the free market have fallen short of meeting the needs of the people, while the guaranteed market provides only a minimum of their needs.

The internal market is in a very weak state: most of the time the shops are desperately short both of local products and of imported goods. Supplies of goods on the free state market are very limited, to the extend that they fail to ensure sufficient supplies for the people to become a factor regulating prices of agricultural and dairy products put on to the market by the private sector. Some basic goods for town and countryside, like tools for the peasantry (adzes, scythes, sickles, saws, pincers, scissors of various kinds, dyes for wool, and so on), have entirely disappeared from the market. In addition to this, even certain articles which exist in the market are quite insufficient. There is great demand from the population for aluminium ware, galvanized iron, pottery, glassware, building materials, like nails, glass, ropes, twine, and so on.

The private market, which ought to have become an auxiliary to the state sector in supplying consumer goods, has been heading for liquidation due to the various administrative measures that have been taken. These administrative measures, like Ordinance N° 35 of the Council of Ministers[2], high taxes, and high license fees are not compatible with what was laid down by the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania for private

[2] This ordinance was issued on December 29, 1951; some of its articles were modified by ordinance N°9, dated September 5, 1953.

trade: ". . . *strengthening of the control over private trade so that it becomes an auxiliary to the state and cooperative sectors*"*. Ordinance N° 35 did not allow the private sector to become an auxiliary to the state and cooperative sectors; instead it played a negative role in supplies for the working masses. It was issued prematurely and did not respond to the situation of our country, since it disregarded the fact that our state and cooperative trade is, as yet, incapable of coping in full with the circulation of goods, which is increasing day by day throughout our country.

2. — The situation of the supply and consumption of some staple products

It is necessary to consider certain specific problems regarding the supply of the people:

a) In the consumption of bread we observe a speedy year-to-year increase of consumption of the state fund of bread grain.

This big increase of bread consumption is due to certain factors like: the big increase of the population in the cities and work centres (at present the state provides 350,000 persons with guaranteed bread and other foodstuffs); the withdrawal of many workers from the countryside for the big construction projects (the state has also been forced to supply their families in the village for some years); the increased distribution of bread grain among those who cultivate industrial crops; the supply of the peasantry on an exchange basis; the insufficiency of vegetables and of potatoes in particular; the increased consumption of flour in pastries; the shortages of meat,

* "Principal Documents of the PLA", vol. I, 2nd Alb. ed., p. 565.

fish, rice, beans, and especially the insufficiency of fats on the market. At the same time, there has been a lack of control over the distribution of bread by the organs involved in this task. In the face of such a speedy increase of the consumption of bread from the state's supplies, the internal resources for the increase of the state supplies have remained the same, and we have been obliged to import grain. In 1952, we imported 59,200 tons of cereals, and in the first 9 months of this year we have imported 55,900 tons, which cost colossal sums in hard currency and which are an undue burden on the balance of foreign trade, with bread grain taking up almost 45 per cent of the value of our exports. For 1954, too, despite tighting up the balance of bread grains, still the plan of imports includes 33,000 tons of cereals.

As can be seen, the question of the bread balance remains a very important question for us which must be solved in our future plans of grain production.

b) In 1953, the production of vegetables and potatoes taken together is calculated at 98,200 tons for the whole Republic, or 74,800 tons of vegetables and 23,400 tons of potatoes, which represents a daily average of 260 grams per head, divided into 212 grams of vegetables and 48 grams of potatoes. This average is small and indicates the limited use of vegetables and potatoes by our people, and the limited distribution of basic vegetables like cabbage, spinach, leeks, and others. The low consumption of potatoes and vegetables is influenced also by the fact that they are not preserved. During the non-productive seasons, in the various work centres employing numerous workers the consumption of vegetables is absolutely minimal because of the lack of preserving and failure to extend production of vegetables everywhere. The network of factories and depots of the marketing organizations for preserving vegetables is insufficient and weak.

Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurement and the Ministries of Trade and Communications should take measures to increase the production and consumption of vegetables and potatoes so as to secure a satisfactory supply of these articles of prime necessity as soon as possible.

c) The supply of meat and fish constitutes a very important problem. The shortage of these items on the market has been very acute. The needs have increased by leaps and bounds, while the resources of meat have been decreasing and the planned catch of fish has not been attained.

The figures show that per capita consumption during this year has been less than during the two preceding years. Fish is a good source of food and an excellent substitute for meat, but fishing has not responded to the demand of the people; and a good part of the fish catches has not been properly distributed. Most of it has been consumed where it is caught, and this for lack of means of moving it rapidly, and the entirely inadequate facilities of the commercial organs to store, preserve and sell fish. A major, reliable, and speedy source of meeting the needs of the people for meat is raising pigs and poultry, and, especially, geese and turkeys, which have been very little developed.

This calls for prompt measures by the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurement in collaboration with the Planning Commission to draw up a plan specifying the number (pigs, hens, geese, etc.) which the enterprises under the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurement, and each department of the auxiliary economies should raise, as well as the minimum investments necessary for this. The Ministry of Industry and Construction and the Central Union of Cooperatives should take steps for an all-round development of fishing at sea, on the coast, and in the

internal waters. More help should be given to the fishermen's cooperatives and individual fishermen in means and materials for fishing, like fishing line and rope, for a more extensive development of fishing in all waters.

d) The supply of cotton textiles for the urban population has improved from 1949 onward. In fact, per capita supply during these years has been as follows:

	1949	*1950*	*1951*	*1952*	*1953*
metres per capita	9.76	8.10	9.78	6.23	12.21

In spite of these improvements, the quantities of textiles supplied have not met the needs of the people in full.

Not so good is the situation with woollen textiles, the supply of which is not at all sufficient. The supply per capita is as follows:

	1949	*1950*	*1951*	*1952*	*1953*
metres per capita	0.48	0.84	0.35	0.63	0.39

Reductions in imports, consequently, the lack of supplies of woollen textiles for the people have meant that they spend nearly all the family reserves which represent considerable sums. Failure to supply woollen textiles, especially during these last two years, has brought about very great shortages.

The shortage of footwear on the market, especially this year, has been very marked. According to the 1953 plan, every guaranteed worker in the city is entitled to 1.1 pairs of shoes or sandals a year but even this has not been realized. The need for footwear at work centres is especially great. There are towns, like Stalin City, Elbasan, and others, which have not received supplies of footwear for 5 or 6 months on end.

The prospects for supplying sufficient quantities of cotton textiles for the people are good, but in a situation

of an acute shortage of woollen textiles, the "Stalin" Textile Combine should take steps to improve the range of fabrics, to turn out duck for workers' clothing.

The organs of planning and industry must take steps to provide footwear, for this is a worrying problem for the towns and work centres.

e) The supply of the population with fats and dairy products by the organs of trade has been poor in both the guaranteed and the free markets; there have been shortages, especially of butter, cheese and cottage cheese.

The production of edible oil is not sufficient to meet the needs of the people every year, because there have been unfavourable years for olives, although for some years the average annual yield per tree has been above the prewar level. There is a possibility of increasing the production of edible oil if greater incentive and more aid is given to the olive growers in chemical fertilizers and insecticides. At the same time, in order to provide the necessary quantity of fats for the people, it is necessary to increase the procurement of butter, edible oil, and lard on the free market.

f) The same state of shortage of commodities, even more pronounced, is observed in the supplies of industrial goods for the peasant population. The main commodities we have provided this year for the countryside per head of population are: 4.55 metres of cotton textiles, 0.31 pair of sandals, 2.5 kg of sugar, 0.64 kg of soap, 1.45 litres of kerosene, 0.2 kg of kitchen utensils, 0.2 kg of nails, 0.05 kg of rope, and so on. As to agricultural implements, like hoes, shovels, ploughs, saws and others, they have been in inadequate quantities. Thus, during the four years from 1949 to 1952, the number of ploughs sold has been enough to supply one plough to 5 or 6 per cent of the agricultural economies throughout the Republic. Harrows and cultivators sold during the same 4-year period were

enough to supply only 1 cultivator for 1.5 per cent, and 1 harrow for 1 per cent, of the agricultural economies. These are overall averages for the total peasant population. As regards building materials like cement, glass, timber, and others, there have been almost none of these in the countryside.

Workers' housing situation

The workers' housing situation in towns, and epecially in certain important centres of production, is difficult. This is so because the rate of building has not kept pace with the ever growing needs for houses, and there has been pronounced lack of attention to maintaining the existing buildings. After liberation, and especially during recent years, the needs for housing have greatly increased as a result of the major economic and social transformations in our country.

Right from the start our Party and government have taken steps to improve the living conditions and housing of the workers, with the result that during the last 7 years, from 1947 to 1953, the sum of 1,375 million leks has been invested in building houses, and 339,000 square metres of dwelling space has been built. During 1953 alone, the executive committees have invested 180,800,000 leks for urban housing, and it is expected that 40,167 square metres of dwelling space will be built.

But the measures taken are insufficient to cope with the housing needs of the population, and very little has been done especially for certain major centres of production. The quality of buildings in a number of work centres has not been good. In addition, it must be said that in these towns some of the buildings intended for housing have been put to other uses. As well as this, from one year to another, a considerable number of dwellings have become unusable from lack of maintenance and repairs.

No attention is given to keeping the existing buildings in good shape and repair, a thing which would have greatly eased the housing problem.

In a number of work centres, especially in the mining centres (Kërraba, Memaliaj, Patos, and so on), and in many towns there is not the cleanliness there should be, they are untidy, and equipment has been damaged. The managers of enterprises, the trade unions, and the party organizations have not shown the necessary concern over the improvement of the conditions and treatment of the workers. All these things have made the solution of the housing problem very much more difficult.

The ordinance of the government about extending long term loans to the workers and employees to build private houses has remained almost entirely a dead letter. The state organs have failed to set up the practical possibilities for the workers and office workers to take advantage of the favourable conditions the Party and the government have provided for them in this direction. Thus, during the last four years the workers and employees have drawn only 1,200,000 leks credit to build private houses.

III. — THE PRINCIPAL CAUSES THAT HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT THE SERIOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE PEASANTRY AND OF ALL THE WORKERS

1. — Mistakes in the rates and proportions of development of the branches of our people's economy

From an analysis made by the Political Bureau it is clear that serious mistakes have been made in our planning. These plans were influenced by wishful thinking, while the proportions of investments among the different sectors of our economy have not been sufficiently examined on the

basis of our urgent needs and internal possibilities. The credits granted us by the Soviet Union, in the first place, and by the countries of the people's democracy, due to the lack of serious study on our part, have been sought for the setting up of industrial projects which are correct in principle, but which we could have done without for a period, because they have been costly to us: From this it emerges clearly that we have shown insufficient interest in agriculture. It would have been more correct to invest a considerable part of the credits accorded us in agriculture and to develop this in harmony with our industry. This problem has not been viewed correctly, and the big projects set up in so short a period of time have weakened the countryside and impoverished agriculture from the standpoint of manpower and many other necessities. We have built the "Stalin" textile combine, the sugar refinery, the "Lenin" hydro-electric plant, the woodworking complex, the cotton-ginning plant, and a number of other projects of major importance and essential to our country. These have yielded their first fruits and have saved the people from the lack of these products. But, in regard to a number of other factories, we have stepped up the rate of building them, and we have not harmonized this speed with the development of other sectors, of agriculture in particular. There are a number of other factories that we could have done without for a while. Our agricultural products have not been enough to meet all the needs of existing industry with raw materials, nor the needs of the working class, which is increasing, or of the people as a whole, for agricultural products. The construction of big industrial projects has caused us to neglect to supply the countryside with many products, like timber, nails, manufactured products, and so on. These industrial projects have been built at the cost of burdening our economy, also because of poor organization of the work and inaccurate estimates.

Thus, in the analysis we have made of the five-year plan these errors emerge:

a) Investments for the development of agriculture are very small as compared with those for industry. Thus, of 14,330 million leks invested in construction, 5,051 million were invested in industry and mining, and 2,534 million in agriculture; we should add that these investments do not include machinery, research studies, equipment, and so on.

b) The volume of construction to be carried out inside this five-year period is very big and the facts show that, in spite of the major efforts exerted within these three years, we have realized the plan for this period only 88.2 per cent. We must mention here that because of lack of designs, in order to complete the construction of the projects which the five-year plan envisages, a volume of construction worth 14,000 million leks more than the estimates of the five-year plan, would be required. Thus, for instance, it will take 900 million leks, instead of the 680 million leks expected, to complete the oil refinery, 300 million leks instead of 200 million leks to complete the cement factory, 1,500 million leks instead of 800 million leks to complete the hydro-power plant on the Mat river[3], and so on.

c) Certain projects which have been built could very easily have been built later without doing much harm. For instance, during 1951 and 1952 we built two cotton-ginning plants of a capacity of 10,500 tons each, while our present needs can be met by only one; or the rice-husking factory which was built in 1952 could have been built later, since the existing one in Durrës can husk all the rice we gather today; the Film Studio, which was set up in 1951 and which cost 100 million leks, could have been built at

[3] The "Karl Marx" hydro-power plant.

a later date without great harm, and likewise for the projected railway in the South of the country, but on which construction has not yet started, and so on.

d) Under our conditions, the rates set for completing certain big projects were not only unrealizable, but also unnecessary, because their rapid completion was not essential for the time being. For instance, the rate set for completing the hydro-power plant on the Mat river is not only unattainable with the available manpower and means, but the advantages we will get from the electric power, which it will turn out, are not urgently required for the further development of our economy, since nearly all our new factories are supplied satisfactorily with electric power from the steam power plants with which they are equipped, and so on.

e) The large number of workers, averaging nearly 26,000 a year, needed for our investments, the large quantities of materials used in construction, the food and clothing of the workers and of their families, have reduced the quantities of consumer goods on the market, while the circulation of money has been increased and the necessary manpower for agriculture has been reduced.

The Political Bureau and the government are responsible for these serious mistakes, but it must be emphasized that our planning organs and the comrades who have run these sectors also bear major responsibility, because they have given the Political Bureau and the government little assistance with the necessary studies to correct these mistakes in good time.

2. — The work of the Party and of the state power in agriculture, industry, and all the other sectors, has many defects

In the carrying out of plans and the management of affairs there is a pronounced lack of discipline and vigi-

lance. People are not properly mobilized, and the socialist consciousness in regard to work leaves much to be desired. The struggle to introduce more advanced agricultural technique in order to lift agriculture out of its backwardness falls short of what is expected. The planting is not done well, and the subsequent work necessary to increase the productivity of crops is especially poor.

There are many weaknesses in the sectors of industry, artisan production, mining, trade, transport, and the cooperatives. Fulfilment of the plan of production in the sector of industry has not been good, especially during the years 1951-1952; in some articles, the plan has been realized in low percentages for quantity and range. Likewise, during 10 months of 1953, fulfilment of the production plan in the national and local industry and in artisan production is poor both in quantity and in range, and it is especially poor in national industry where only a small percentage of the production plan of many basic commodities, very necessary for broad consumption, has been achieved; in the food industry, for instance, the plan for olive oil has been realized 41.1 per cent of the 10-month, or 20 per cent of the yearly target; in fish — 74.9 per cent of the 10-month and 57.3 per cent of the yearly target; laundry soap — 87.5 per cent and 70.1 per cent respectively, footwear — 90 per cent and 72.6 per cent respectively, cotton textiles — 90 per cent and 84 per cent respectively. The realization of the plan for the building materials industry is also poor, as, for instance, in cement in which the plan of 1953 has been realized 66.9 per cent for the 10 months and 54.9 for the year, logs — 68.3 per cent and 56 per cent respectively, sawn timber — 88.5 per cent and 71.7 per cent respectively.

Failure to achieve the planned production in quantity and range has resulted in an unsatisfactory situation in supplying the people, with great delays in deliveries of

foodstuffs, while certain articles for broad consumption, needed especially by the peasantry, are either not produced at all, or produced in very small quantities.

For certain articles, like sugar, olive oil, and others, the planned production has not been realized because of lack of raw materials for which the Ministry of Agriculture and Procurement bear major responsibility, while for certain other goods like macaroni, fish, cement, timber, etc., the failure is mainly due to weaknesses in the work of our industrial establishments and the scant assistance to, and superficial control exercised over, the base by the district party committees, and especially by the Ministry of Industry and Construction.

Besides the failure to realize the production plan in industry, local industry, and artisan production, the poor supplying of the working masses is due also to certain other defects in the work of these sectors.

The range and quality of production are unsatisfactory. In industry, the quality and range of macaroni, soap, rubber goods, cigarettes, shoes, towels, etc. are poor. Macaroni has been produced with high acidity and tens of tons have been condemned, soap has been produced with too little fat and too much filler, which has impaired its quality. Handicrafts continue to turn out iron implements, textile goods and other articles, especially for the peasantry, of very poor quality. Likewise, local industry produces low-quality confectionary, furniture and utensils, haberdashery like combs, clasps, and so on. The efforts of the production units to extend the range of their products are very weak.

The source of all these evils is that both the base and the centre concentrate their efforts on the quantity rather than on the quality of production.

In many cases the job is not done according to the established technology which is violated right from the

time the raw materials are taken over. The question of quality has not been properly made the concern of the whole collective. The central organs have done very little to see that state standards are observed. Special responsibility for this must be borne by the Ministry of Industry and Construction and the Central Union of the Cooperatives of Artisans, as well as the executive committees of districts themselves, and the committees and basic organs of the Party, which have not shown the necessary concern over the matter.

In addition, full concern is still not devoted to the problem of the cost of production, and the fact that reducing the cost of production is the principal source for reducing the market prices of consumer goods is not kept in mind. Although some improvement has been made in this direction, the possibilities to lower costs of production are very great still, both in industry and in artisan production. Many products, especially those of the artisan sector and local industry, are still at high prices, for instance, the production of furniture and fixtures, of clothing and textiles, preserved fruit and vegetables, etc., because there are many weaknesses in the organization of the work, because there are work processes unmechanized, and irrational use of raw and other materials.

Insufficient work has been done by the Ministry of Industry and Construction, by the Central Union of the Cooperatives of Artisans, and by the executive committees of districts, to utilize the internal capacities and reserves of the producing establishments in order to raise the production of consumer goods as high as possible. Thus, today, the needs of the population of town and countryside for many items, like furniture and utensils, pottery, building materials, kitchen utensils, bedsteads, horse shoenails, scythes, sickles, knives and scissors, and so on, are not met. Both the local joineries and the artisan car-

penters are engaged mostly on orders from state enterprises. Thus, for instance, the production of packing cases for industry takes nearly half the productive capacity of the local woodworking establishments. In Shkodra only 6 per cent of the production of local industry and 24 per cent of artisan production is goods for the countryside, and so on.

In spite of the decisions taken by the government last year, the former Ministry of Industry failed to show an interest in producing consumer goods from the "Enver" Machineshop and other workshops at the industrial enterprises which have the possibility to turn out a series of articles, like adzes, hammers, hoes, shovels, charcoal stoves, flat-irons, scissors, knives, carvers, and so on.

At the same time, the Ministry of Industry and Construction has neglected to utilize remnants from enterprises, like the Woodworking Combine, the Puka Sawmills, the Textile Combine, and others, where special branches could be set up to produce various articles, like boxes, wooden valises, clothing, and other valuable goods for the market. On the other hand, there are still machines which stand idle but which, with some repairs, might be brought into use to increase the productive capacity in metal and wooden articles both by the artisan sector as well as by local industry.

We have excess production capacities in industry as in the sugar, edible oil, textile, and footwear industries, in handicrafts and local industries which are not utilized today. We have not yet been able to utilize the possibilities and capacities offered by fishing in the sea and in the internal waters, which is today one of the most backward branches of our industry. Whereas, in the cotton textile industry we have the raw material and capacities, but great efforts are needed here to raise the productivity of labour by improving the qualification of the cadres. In

the footwear industry we have the capacity to meet our needs, but from lack of raw materials we still have a deficit in these articles.

Similarly, the capacities of the artisan cooperatives in metal working, production of furniture and utensils, pottery, building materials, and others, have not been well utilized, and this because of the great shortages and the little interest shown in utilizing the local materials and the remnants from our national industry, and the lack of certain essential goods like sheet metal for kitchen utensils, tin, lead and others, which must be imported.

A major responsibility for the poor supply of the masses of the people rests on the organs of state and cooperative trade.

Besides the failure to realize the plans of production and procurement of consumer goods, there has been another shortcoming, namely, the unequal and irregular delivery of these goods due, first and foremost, to the weakness of the organs of state and cooperative trade and the supplying organs, which, having failed to realize their plans as a whole, have been irregular in distribution. For instance, the plan of meat production in Elbasan has been realized 43 per cent, while in Berat 60 per cent; the plan of production of cheese and cottage cheese in Elbasan — 63 per cent, in Berat — 76 per cent; the plan of production of beans and rice in Elbasan — 143 per cent, in Berat — 97 per cent, and in Tirana — 93 per cent; the plan of production of woollen goods in Elbasan — 28.9 per cent, in Berat — 44.9 per cent, and in Tirana — 42.9 per cent, and so on.

As a result of irregular supplies, the distribution of foodstuff to the population has been held up from one month to another.

The trading organizations have not studied the needs and requirements of the population well. The work of the Party and the trade organs to train the cadres to

serve the people better in trade and to maintain a conscientious stand towards work is inadequate. There are cases of mismanagement of goods. There are many cases of surpluses and deficits; thefts and abuses, which have damaged state property and have been at the people's expense, are observed. There are numerous cases of impolite behaviour towards the people, of not receiving them well, of not advertizing goods, and of failure on the part of supply organs to fight properly to provide high quality goods of the necessary range.

Although the question of procurement has been dealt with continually in the decisions of the Party and the government, we must say that this problem has still not been properly grasped by the Party and by the state organs. This is borne out by the major weaknesses observed.

The organs of state and cooperative trade still continue the collection of products on market-days, and they continue this practice because it is the easiest way, and they do not take steps to organize the collection of goods in the remote areas. Thus the prices of agricultural and dairy products on the market have gone up, while the products from the remote areas have not been collected, and some of them go to waste there.

The workers of the consumer cooperatives in the countryside still continue to wait for the peasants to bring goods to their stores rather than go to every village and purchase the goods from each household. At the same time, the local agents buying on behalf of these cooperatives are few in number, and are not very active.

— None of our mines have realized their plans of production, and they have created major deficits which have weighed heavy on our economy and have unbalanced our import-export trade, creating considerable deficits. During the post-liberation years, considerable sums have been invested in our mining sector. The materials and

machinery imported during the period of the two-year plan and the first three years of the five-year plan alone amount to 84,000,000 rubles. Our weaknesses in the mining sector are numerous, but what is most important is that during the coming years, too, we will be in difficulties because we are without known reserves. In more detail, the situation in our mines is as follows:

With regard to oil, in the light of calculations made these first years, that little oil we have produced has cost our people's economy a great deal. In the production of oil, as in other matters, we have had the assistance of the Soviet Union. Had we not attached importance to this problem, we would have been left without oil. The credits provided by the Soviet Union improved the situation in oil extraction. But, still the situation in this important industry remains grave for our economy. Calculations made about the economics of the extraction of oil show very big deficits every year. Calculating all the expenses incurred in the production of oil up to the refinery (costs of machinery, workers' wages, investments in housing, depreciation, etc.), and subtracting from this the sum secured from the crude oil and bitumen exported, from 1951 to 1953 we have a deficit of nearly 53 million rubles. In addition to this huge deficit, which is a burden on our economy, we have had to import 18 million rubles worth of refined oil and lubricants during the period from 1948 to 1953. This situation, too, is a result of our weaknesses in the organization of work, but more important is that in this sector we have proceeded and continue to proceed uncertain of our reserves of oil.

The known reserves are minimal and the flow from them may dry up within a short period. Besides this, the current drilling for prospecting and exploitation is quite insufficient. The flow of our oil wells is continually diminishing, and this is causing not only the considerable

deficit in production, which weighs heavy on our economy, but also great imbalance in the figures of our exports.

The expedition of oil geological studies, which started its job in 1950 and will finish it in 1956, is optimistic regarding the existence of oil at many points of our country, apart from the present oil fields[4]. But the probing of new reserves, both in the existing oilfields and in the new ones, requires investments. The Political Bureau is of the opinion that we should continue to extract and prospect for oil, though this is a heavy burden on our economy and will continue to be so for some time, if the flow of oil is not increased. We should carry on with the oil because this is a substance of major strategic and economic importance to our country and to our camp. In this sector we have made heavy expenditure, we are building the oil refinery, we have here a militant part of our working class, and we have trained oil-worker cadres. Taking into account all these circumstances, the Political Bureau is of the opinion that we should continue to extract oil and prospect for new resources. . .

From the geological studies made so far *with regard to chromium*, it turns out that there are enough industrial reserves to ensure production for the coming two or three years. The production of chromium has required less imported materials and other internal expenditure than the other minerals. Over the last five years our state has secured nearly 30 million rubles from the export of chromium. For these reasons, chromium ore should be one of the most important targets of our exports in the future,

[4] Later, for ulterior motives and acting on instructions from their leaders, the Soviet specialists working with the expeditions of geological studies presented the situation as though the oil reserves in Albania had already run out. The future showed the false character of these conclusions.

too. To attain this objective our Party and our state power should take immediate steps to provide the necessary manpower and cadres, to strengthen the technical-mechanical base to make possible the extension and the mechanization of the processes of extraction and transport of chromium.

With regard to coal, its production under the present conditions does not meet the needs of industry and the people because of the inadequate development work which has not kept pace with exploitation to create new fronts. Following the steps taken by the government the situation has improved, but the problem has not been solved definitely.

It is necessary to continue geological research work and to intensify development work at the three existing coal mines, especially at Kërraba and Priska, first of all, to meet the needs of the Capital for coal, to supply industry and the population with coal so that the consumption of firewood for heating may be reduced to the minimum in the future.

3. — The difficult situation of our import-export balance

Also connected with the mistakes made in investments is the incorrect use of the credits from the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. As far back as 1947, the Soviet government accorded us a credit which amounts to 330 million rubles. The credit from the sister democracies is 345 million rubles. These credits have been sought for the following uses: 152 million rubles for the new industries, 132 million rubles for mining, 63 million rubles for transport, 24 million rubles for agriculture, and the remainder for various machines, bread grain, consumer goods, raw materials, fuel, and so on. From these figures it is clear that the credit sought for agriculture is small

in comparison with those for other sectors[5]. Because of the mistakes we have made in our investments in using the credits, and because of the failure to realize our plans, especially in mining and in agriculture, we are now in a very difficult situation in regard to repaying the credits we have received from our friends. Calculating the situation of credits on the basis of agreements entered into with our friendly countries, we are under the obligation to repay all the instalments and interests by 1967, and these credits plus interest amount to 770 million rubles (675 million credit and 95 million interest). In recent years we have begun to pay off some of these instalments. But from 1954 the repayments will increase steeply. From 1958 on there will be 103 million rubles a year to be paid off. Taking the 1954-1959 period separately, the instalments and interest to be paid off on the agreed basis reach the sum of 327 million rubles. However, at the rate our economy is expected to develop during the same period (1954-1959), our export potential will be about 460 million rubles, thus, the repayment of the above instalments and interest alone requires 70 per cent of our exports. It is envisaged that, during the above mentioned period, our imports of articles which we are obliged to import, such as vehicles and equipment, food, machinery, fuel, consumer goods, etc., even though very tightly calculated, will be worth about 570 million rubles, thus creating a deficit of 110 million rubles in our balance of trade. As can be seen, our situation is difficult and this is due to the failure to realize our economic plans and to the above mentioned difficulties. But our inability to fulfil our obligations has

[5] The Soviet leadership at that time did not approve our requests for additional credits for agriculture, and suggested the lowering of the rates of development, or the cancellation of certain industrial projects.

been brought about also because, at the time when the agreements were concluded, our side accepted very short terms of repayment which were not based on a realistic future development of our economy, especially in the field of exports. It has worked these things out on the basis of subjective desire, confining itself to the immediate needs that presented themselves there and then in our country. . .

The measures which the Political Bureau and the government have taken are:

1. — *Measures favouring the peasantry*[6]

The peasants are exempted from arrears in obligatory deliveries of grain and dairy products. Their obligations in kind are lowered from 9 to 20 per cent. The prices of ploughs, cultivators, and harrows produced or modified in the country are lowered; and they are partially exempted from arrears in financial taxation.

[6] To reduce the disproportion in the development of industry and agriculture and to improve the living conditions of the people, during 1953, on the basis of the respective decisions of the CC of the PLA, the Council of Ministers adopted important measures to the advantage of agriculture and for the wellbeing of the workers of town and countryside. The ratio of investments in the main branches of the economy under the 1st five-year plan was revised and premature industrial projects were cancelled; the bulk of the investments released from industry went to agriculture, while the rest was earmarked for the increase of consumer goods; all peasants' arrears in deliveries of grain and other agricultural and livestock products were cancelled; the peasants' obligations for all categories of land were reduced; arrears in financial taxation were cancelled for all members of agricultural cooperatives; prices for locally produced farming tools were lowered, and the purchase prices paid by the state for some agricultural products were raised; a decision was adopted to considerably increase agrarian credits, and equip agriculture with a greater number of tractors.

The concessions envisaged in these decisions benefit all the zones and all the peasants engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry.

From the concessions in favour of the peasantry in financial taxation it is reckoned that the state has made a gift of about 95 million leks to the peasants.

Of course, these measures have been welcomed by our peasants and have encouraged them to further develop agriculture. But the measures of the Party and of the government in favour of developing agriculture should continue on a greater scale[7]. We must take all measures in favour of agriculture in order to cover the great disproportion that exists between its development and that of industry, we should assess correctly and give the greatest importance to the sector of agriculture.

2. — *Re-examination of the plan of construction*

The 1953 plan of construction required 4,200 million leks. This plan, which was 166 per cent of the volume of construction in 1952, was very difficult to carry out. The

[7] The economic measures to pull agriculture out of backwardness were supplemented with the further improvement of planning in agriculture. Excessive centralization of planning in this branch strangled the initiative of agricultural economies, and to some extent, had impeded the development of agriculture. According to the new method of planning, the state plan for the development of agriculture defined the volume of agricultural and livestock products to be procured through obligatory deliveries, the volume of surpluses to be purchased, the contracting and amount of payment in kind for the work of the MTS's. The planning of agricultural production was done directly by each state, cooperative, and individual agricultural economy in collaboration with the state organs for agriculture. This new method freed from bureaucratic work many specialists in agriculture, who were mostly sent to the grassroots, and enhanced the responsibility of the state cadres in the districts for the management of agriculture.

plan of construction for the first six months was realized only 72 per cent. Its realization during the second six-month period of 1953 would require a large number of workers and a large quantity of building materials, like sawn timber, nails, cement, bricks, tiles, etc. The Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA instructed the government to make a reduction of about 1,000 million leks in the plan of construction for the second half of 1953.

As a result of this reduction in 1953 plan the main projects underwent these following changes:

1. — The volume of construction on the Mat hydro-power plant was reduced from 380 to 120 million leks, on the Oil Refinery at Cërrik from 300 to 165 million leks, on the Cement Factory in Vlora from 175 to 130 million leks, and on the Ulza-Burrel highway from 65 to 42 million leks.

2. — Certain projects, on which work had not yet begun, and for the construction of which funds had been appropriated in the 1953 plan, were cancelled, like the bread factory in Tirana, the motor vehicle repair plant in Tirana, the 110 kV high tension line, as well as certain projects which had just been begun like the Memaliaj-Vlora railway, the Dishnica highway, the drainage of Myzeqeja, the fish cannery, and others. It is worthy of note that there are still no drafted designs in hand for the construction of these projects.

The Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA issued instructions that the reduction of the volume of investments should be kept in mind also in drawing up future draft-plans. The reduction of the volume of construction for 1953 and for the coming year means postponement of the completion of certain projects while certain others will not be built during this five-year plan period. Thus, for instance, the completion of the Mat hydro-power

plant, which was planned for 1955, is to be in 1957-1958 instead. The Cërrik Oil Refinery, which was to be completed in 1954, is put off to 1956 or 1957. The Cement Factory in Vlora, which was to be completed by 1953, will be completed during the first half of 1954. At the same time, in order to maintain a normal and realizable rate of building, certain other projects will not be built during this five-year period, like the glass, paper, rope and packaging plants, the bread factory, the black metallurgy plant, the copper enrichment plant, half the capacity of the bitumen smelting installation, and the motor vehicle workshop in Elbasan. The cancellation of these projects is due also to the great obstacles encountered in the designing and delivery of the machinery for certain factories which are part of our agreements with friendly nations, as well as to the insufficiency of the credits accorded to cover the value of imported machinery. In addition to these, during this five-year plan period other projects will not be built, like the Memaliaj-Vlora railway, the timber drying plant at Dishnica, the Gramsh-Lozhan, Çorovoda-Frashër, Lozhan-Voskopoja-Vithkuq roads, the drainage of Vurg at Delvina, the drainage of the Mursia plain, the filling of the Narta lagoon, the final dam of the "Naum Panxhi" irrigation canal, the artificial lake at Tërkuza, the National Theatre, the premises of the CC of the PLA, and the Pioneer Palace in Tirana, as well as certain other minor projects.

During the years 1953, 1954, and 1955, major projects will be built which will have a rapid effect and an immediate influence on increasing agricultural and industrial consumer goods, such as the Vjosa-Fier and Fushë-Korça irrigation canals, the land improvement project of Rushkull, the Gjadër river control scheme, the outlet of the Tërbuf, the fish, vegetable and fruit preserving plant in Vlora, the vegetable and fruit preserving factories in

Elbasan and Shkodra, the knitgoods factory in Tirana, the Stravaj road (to provide the "Nako Spiru" Timber Combine in Elbasan with sawn timber), the Cement Factory in Vlora, the continuation of work at the Mat hydropower plant, the Oil Refinery at Cërrik, and the continuation of building the 110 kV high tension line from Stalin-City to Ulza.

The reduction of investments for construction in 1953 had these positive effects:

a) Manpower was reduced from 20,500 planned for the third three-month period to 13,800, and from 18,300 for the fourth three-month period to 14,800. This reduction favoured the peasantry and enabled the agricultural work to be carried out better; this year agricultural production, procurement, and the autumn work have been done better than in the preceding years.

b) It became possible to provide the population with building materials. Immediately after the reduction of the construction plan, 5,000 cubic metres of sawn timber, 2,000 tons of cement, 60 tons of nails, etc. were allocated for broad consumption.

c) The market was supplied with foodstuffs above plan worth 20 million leks, including: 240 q of sugar, 200 q of fats, 490 q of meat and fish, 160 q of cheese and cottage cheese, 300 q of rice and beans, 600 q of macaroni, and so on. These quantities went some way to improve the provision of regular supplies for the population.

d) The construction workers were faced with more concrete tasks. The volume remaining for 1953 was reduced from 166 per cent to 125 per cent as compared with the construction work carried out in 1952.

e) The financing of construction was reduced to 1,000 million, thus preventing the increase of circulation of currency.

On the other hand, there are also these negative effects:

a) Many projects figuring in the five-year plan will not be built.

b) Because of the postponement of the completion of the Mat hydro-power plant more coal and crude oil will be consumed to run the existing power plants.

c) We will spend foreign currency in order to import the necessary quantities of fuel because of the postponement of the completion of the Oil Refinery at Cërrik.

d) Some expenditure was wasted on certain projects on which work was suspended, and premature expenditure was incurred also for certain other projects which will not be brought into use as expected.

3. — *The re-organization of the state apparatus*

Our state apparatus had been over-expanded and the number of office workers reached 40,454, apart from the Army, the Ministry for Internal Affairs, and the teachers. With such an increase of the administrative apparatus a great disproportion had been created between the persons engaged in production and the administrative personnel. This proportion reached: one office worker for every 2.42 workers, or one office worker for every 30 citizens of the Republic.

Such an inflated apparatus was an extreme burden on the state budget; it damaged the people's economy by maintaining this unproductive personnel with ration cards, as well as by taking this large number of people from production into administration. The heavy burden of the state apparatus also caused discontent, however silent, among the peasants and the workers.

The excessive expansion of the state apparatus had left the way open to bureaucracy, confusion, abuses and sabotage.

The centre had to maintain connections with 26 districts, a thing which weakened its control over the base, bred bureaucracy and concentrated the work at the centre while limiting the competences of the base.

The joint decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Council of Ministers, and the Presidium of the People's Assembly[8] contained:

a) The re-organization of the state apparatus, curtailing the number of ministries from 18 to 10 ministries and two commissions, the Planning Commission and the Commission of Control.

b) The closing down of a number of central directorates and the linking of the enterprises direct with the ministries.

c) Merging certain enterprises into one single enterprise, and the total closing down of certain unnecessary enterprises and institutions. Thus, of 300 enterprises and 17 central directorates there remain only 171 enterprises all told . . .

THE IMMEDIATE TASKS TO RAISE THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE WORKING MASSES

The measures taken by the Political Bureau and the government, to which we have already referred, and the correct use of investments in our future plans will make a direct contribution to the improvement of our economic situation. At the same time, the Political Bureau thinks that, to surmount the present difficulties, it is essential that we should once more seek the aid of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, and in addition to what has already been said about the oil and the postponement of

[8] These decisions were taken in July 1953.

repayments, to ask for new credits for agriculture and consumer goods. But in order to cope with the situation, a decisive turn should be made in all our work, so that we as leaders, all the communists, the people's youth, and all the workers make a correct assessment of the situation we are living through, strengthen discipline at work, and fight more energetically against those who, in one way or another, hamper and disorganize our socialist production. Every conscientious worker should resolutely realize his plan, look after the machinery, save materials, and turn out high quality products. The tendency of many directors and workers to produce quantity without regard for quality should be condemned as harmful. There are many shortcomings in our work: in many sectors our plans are not being accomplished in a satisfactory way; the quality of products is poor, the machinery and buildings are not being kept in good shape; there are cases of misuse of, and damage to, the people's property, and many other such things. These known weaknesses seriously hinder the improvement of life and leave the way open to the enemy to hurt us. The principle of frugality, the struggle to utilize local materials to the maximum for consumer goods is minimal. We must make the real situation clear to the whole Party, because failure to recognize this leads to complacency, to inflated demands and luxury-seeking. Here, for instance, although we have been talking about investment cuts for six months, the comrades in Gjirokastra and in Tirana have sought nearly 500 million leks in 1954 just for local investments. If this is worked out for the other districts in the same proportions, it will reach the figure of 1,500 million leks just for local building, as against the figure of 1,800 million leks under consideration for all construction work in 1954. Apart from this, many have their eyes fixed on imports. Earlier, we presented in concrete terms the aid of the Soviet Union

and of the people's democracies and the import-export situation. We will rely on the aid of the Soviet Union and of the people's democracies, and they will help us, but we should never forget our huge internal resources for increased production. Today we have set up quite an extensive industry which is capable of meeting a good part of our needs. We have highly skilled tradesmen. The complete utilization of our industry, the extension of artisan production, and the improvement of quality, are major tasks for our Party. Our party people in the enterprises and all the managers should take concrete organizational steps to extend production, for instance, by setting up, as soon as possible, auxiliary branches attached at our combines, factories, and plants, to produce various consumer goods from remnants and waste, without harming the main line of production. The organs of planning, too, should study this matter, and give concrete assistance.

We should increase our concern about the treatment of our workers. We should create better working conditions, and our future investments should be increased in this respect; but it is the task of our Party to educate the workers to make better use of the fruits of these investments and to look after the existing buildings. The cleanliness of the work centres and the dormitories of the enterprises is not at all satisfactory; there is impermissible damage, and the hygiene leaves a lot to be desired. The organizations of the Party, the youth, and the trade unions should be shaken up to enforce discipline and raise the consciousness of the workers, because many improvements in the life of the workers depend on this.

In connection with the development of agriculture, besides our important duty to assist it with investments in the coming plans, we should also take these immediate steps:

a) We must increase the production of food grain (wheat, maize, rye). We must manage to ensure our own bread within the country as soon as possible. Continuing to import large quantities of grain from year to year not only burdens our balance of imports but often puts us in great difficulties in providing bread for the people. As for cotton, we should direct our efforts, first of all, to producing sufficient quantity for the "Stalin" Textile Combine, and then for export. And we should get the necessary quantities of cotton and sugar-beet by allocating suitable land for these crops so as to increase their yields.

To increase the yield of bread grain, our aid to the countryside should be directed towards giving credits for small canals, providing locally-made and imported work tools, selected seeds, about which we now have better experience, and large quantities of chemical fertilizers. The many years experience of our peasants in planting wheat, maize and rye, should become a great support for all our Party, and especially for our young grain production technicians. They have a very good knowledge about their land for the production of grain and the suitable varieties, therefore we should listen to them more carefully. Our state farms and agricultural cooperatives which, in these recent years, have had generally better yields in the production of grain, especially wheat, should become a great support for our individual peasants in increasing the production of cereals.

Besides taxation in kind, the main source to increase the state supply of grain should be the procurement of surpluses from the peasantry through exchange for industrial products or through purchases by the state on the free market at prices which yield a profit for the peasantry. Both of these forms of procurement should be increased in the future. This year, we produced about 2,902,000 q of cereals, a quantity which almost meets all

our needs for bread. Of course, this was a good year for agriculture, and the surpluses are in the hands of the peasants, but through better work in the future, we should not only maintain this quantity but should increase it.

We must take steps to limit to the utmost the unfair distribution of bread, and the organs of distribution should study this problem without delay.

b) The Party should concern itself more over the unsatisfactory situation of our livestock. The reduction of draught oxen is catastrophic, and the whole situation of livestock farming is equally unsatisfactory. Our immediate task is to take steps to ensure the basic fodder supplies. We should open and clean up the pastures, and the pastures at the disposal of the state should be re-examined because they may be bigger than required for the state-owned livestock. We should re-examine our plans for afforestation and the 15-year plan of olive groves, making a better study to ensure that these are not at the expense of pastures. This is a mountainous country, our people have been largely engaged in animal husbandry which has all the possibilities for development, therefore our peasants should be encouraged to increase their flocks by providing pastures round about their villages. We should remove the fear that has obsessed them that, if they increase their livestock, the state will seize it, or tax them heavily and consider them as kulaks. We should convince the individual peasants that, through the measures adopted by the Party, we intend to raise their standard of living. We should work hard to convince the peasants that the Party and the government are well aware of their problems, and will help them out of their difficulties.

c) The organs of the Party and those of agriculture should give special attention to increasing production of tobacco which is of great economic advantage to our exports. It is sufficient to mention that during the period

from 1950 to 1952 we received a total sum of over 4,000,000 rubles from tobacco exports. Possibilities are such that within the coming two or three years exports of tobacco can be doubled. For this the land for tobacco growing should be zoned, and studies made of the varieties suitable to the particular zones and regions where this crop is grown. The capacity of the existing depots must be increased to meet the needs for storage.

d) We must speedily increase the production of potatoes, beans and vegetables, which are essential for the cities and work centres as well as for the peasants themselves.

e) As regards the agricultural cooperatives, our guideline should be the consolidation of the existing cooperatives so that they may really become the example and basis of socialism in the countryside. The Political Bureau has noticed that the party organizations and the organs of the government are still not well acquainted with the problems of the agricultural cooperatives, and that is why they do not give the aid necessary to strengthen them. Any repetition of the mistakes, which go as far as violation of the principle of voluntarism, must be avoided while manifestations of arbitrarity, of disregard for the suggestions of the ordinary members, and in general, failure to fully respect the Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives, which often occur, must be condemned. The party organizations should ensure the enforcement of internal order, discipline at work, the active participation of the cooperative members in production, the strengthening of organization and accounting, as well as the continuous raising of the cultural, political, and professional level of the members of the agricultural cooperatives.

In the sector of construction the plan of total investments should be reduced in comparison with what the five-year plan envisaged. The objects to be built must be the

less costly ones which have a rapid effect and greater influence on increasing agricultural and industrial production in goods of mass consumption.

On projects already begun which are not of this nature the rate of work should be slowed down so as to prolong the period for their completion. Attention must be paid to the repair and building of houses for workers at work centres and in towns, putting up simple and economical buildings, and giving up, once and for all, any luxury buildings.

In the sector of industry and artisan production the main task of the Party and of the government organs should be to achieve the maximum utilization of the existing industry in order to turn out as many consumer goods as possible, of good quality, wide range, and low cost. Our local industry and artisans should make good use of the raw materials produced in the country and remnants from our national industry. Extension of private artisan production, especially for building materials, fuel, and services for the peasant holdings should be encouraged. All auxiliary activities in the countryside should be encouraged to increase production.

In the industries of oil, copper, and bitumen extraction, geological prospecting must be extended, and in the chromium mining industry more importance should be attached to increasing production, so that these become basic items for export. Both prospecting and exploitation of coal must be continued at higher rates to keep our industry running, as well as for heating purposes.

In the sectors of trade, communication, and cooperatives, it is important to improve the services to the people and make arrangements for a better distribution of goods. The trading organs should supply the guaranteed market first of all. The amount of consumer goods must be in-

creased and urgent steps must be taken to supply goods to, and enliven, the market.

Comrades,

In this report we have analysed the economic situation of our people. We have analysed the difficulties we are encountering in raising the well-being of our people further, pointed out the steps the Political Bureau and government have taken to improve the standard of living of our working masses, and defined the tasks that lie ahead for the Party, the state power, and all the working masses. The tasks facing the Party in this economic situation are important and urgent. We consider it urgent to speed up the improvement of the standard of living of the working masses of our country, for this is the aim of our people's revolution, the law of socialism. We consider the strengthening of the alliance between the working class and the working peasantry by means of these measures as a capital task. All the work we have done so far, all our efforts in the economic field, have been aimed at raising the level of the working masses and the consolidation of this alliance. The measures which have been taken have contributed directly to this improvement, because the improvements in the life of our people are obvious despite the shortcomings and weaknesses that have been mentioned.

Thanks to the correct leadership of our Party, thanks to the efforts of the working masses, thanks to the aid of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies, our economy and culture have made great strides towards progress. In the near future, the leadership of our Party will make a detailed analysis of the fulfilment of the plans of the years 1953 and 1954, but in this Plenum we are pointing out the weaknesses and defects, those defects and weaknesses which are many and which hamper us

in our march forward. Our Party teaches us continually to disclose our shortcomings, to point out our mistakes, and to take steps to eliminate them. We must strengthen discipline at work for the realization of our plans. We must educate the people and raise their consciousness so that they are concerned about the property of the people, become extremely vigilant and mercilessly combat the class enemy in town and countryside, sparing nothing when it is a question of serving the people. The difficulties we are encountering in building socialism will certainly be overcome, because our unity and discipline are very strong, because the unity of our people round the Party is stronger today than ever.

Works, vol. 11

ON SOME ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS OF THE PARTY

Report to the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

July 12, 1954

Comrades,

On behalf of the Political Bureau I am putting before this Plenum some organizational matters of the Party for discussion and approval. The aim of these organizational questions which will be put forward in this report is the further strengthening of our Party and its leadership, raising collective work to a higher level in the Central Committee and in all the party organs, the further strengthening of the unity of the Party and of its close links with the working masses of our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania, a party of the Leninist type, plays its decisive and historic role in guiding the fate of the country. Only yesterday it led the National Liberation War, liberated the people from the enslavement of the imperialists and the local feudal-bourgeois regime, established the people's power, and the regime of people's democracy, reconstructed the homeland devastated by the war, enacted the great reforms of an economic and social character, and today it is ably and wisely leading our country on the road to socialism. All the victories attained in our country are due to the Party, to its Marxist-Leninist line, its solidarity and steel-like

unity, its loyalty to Marxist-Leninist principles: they are due to our brave and hard-working people, to their ardent patriotism and revolutionary drive.

Our primary duty, as ever, is to defend the Party as the apple of our eye, to preserve the purity of its ranks, to steel its unity, to increase its ideo-political-organizational and economic capabilities, to apply the Leninist norms everywhere in the Party, and to constantly strengthen the Party's role of direction and control in all fields of political, economic and cultural activity of the country.

In order to carry out these great tasks successfully, we should mobilize all the forces of the Party, for it would be a mistake if we were to be satisfied with the successes achieved so far, whether in the strengthening of the Party or in the economic field, and we should keep in mind that in our party and state affairs we still have many shortcomings and difficulties. The Party and its Central Committee always teach us to assess situations as they are in reality, to judge things from a critical stand, to discover and eliminate the shortcomings, because only in this way will we open the way to new and greater successes in the future. We should be clear that it is through a determined struggle against petty-bourgeois and capitalist survivals in the people's consciousness that our Party makes progress, and that, if we forget the capitalist encirclement of our country, we will be neglecting the Marxist-Leninist principles.

The principal purpose of the enemies of Marxism-Leninism has been and always remains the wrecking of communist and workers' parties, the destruction of the Leninist norms of the communist parties, the transformation of communist parties into bourgeois and fascist ones. The enemies of our people and Party have spearheaded their forces, first and foremost, against our Party, and hope that by attacking the Party and its leading organs,

they will weaken our state. Therefore, the reactionary theoreticians and the deviators from Marxism-Leninism wage a fierce struggle against the Marxist-Leninist principles and the Leninist parties. One of the most sensitive points, at which the enemies of Marxism-Leninism aim their blows, is the collective brain of the Party, its collective leadership, the collective wisdom of the Central Committee of the Party. They strive to hit the Party in its most sensitive point, because its Central Committee and the other leading organs of the Party represent the maturity and wisdom of the masses, the revolutionary spirit and creative initiative of the party cadres, of the working class, of the entire working people.

The great leading and guiding force of our people in the struggle to lay the bases of socialism is the Party, for which the Albanian people cherish a very great love, because it represents their wishes, aspirations and their happy future. In a word, the people have entrusted their direction to the Party, which defends them with great loyalty from every danger, defends their victories, and leads them towards socialism.

In order to carry out the historic task of the Party successfully we should attach very great importance to its all-round strengthening, and concentrate all our forces to enable this directing and decisive role of the Party to become a steel reality in the entire life of the country. The strength of the order in our country, as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, lies in the strength of the Party and the complete assurance of its role of leadership in, and control of, all matters, in economic questions, matters of state, the education of workers, peasants and intellectuals. The state, the central and local organs of the state power, the mass organizations, are led, educated, and supervised by the Party and the Central Committee. The decisions of the Party, of its Central Committee and the Political

Bureau should be immediately translated into life by all the state organs and the mass organizations; the Party should exercise rigorous check-up on all the activity of these organizations and organs, on the work of all the cadres, regardless of what position they may occupy in the Party or in the state. Only in this way are the tasks assigned by the Party successfully carried out, for the Party is a militant organization and is strong owing to the high level of consciousness and the vigorous activity of its members.

It is evident that we should not run things only through the state organs, through various forms of leadership, but in the first place, by educating and persuading the masses, and it is the Party, and the Party alone, which should and will carry out this job. It is essential to conduct the work in such a way that the authority of the Party, of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau is felt everywhere, for there cannot possibly be a single important state or party problem that can be solved without first being decided upon in the Central Committee or in the Political Bureau.

Our Party, born in the war and tempered in struggle against the occupiers, Trotskyites and opportunists, has strengthened and steeled its solidarity and unity, but it is our task, the task of every communist, to raise the revolutionary vigilance of the party members and of all working people to the maximum, to preserve the purity of its ranks and steel the unity in the Party and in the leadership day by day, because the enemies will constantly aim at hitting this reality which constitutes the great strength of our Party. Our Party is a young Party and its ideological and cultural level is still low. Therefore, we are confronted with one of our most important tasks in raising the ideological and cultural level of the Party and the working masses, to arm them with the Marxist-

Leninist theory, the powerful weapon and the key to all victories achieved by our Party and people. A duty that we must carry out rigorously is to further improve the organizational work of the Party, to strengthen its inner democracy, and criticism and self-criticism, especially, criticism from the base. We should teach the party members over and over again to be wide awake and to disclose shortcomings and mistakes, to criticize them sharply regardless of who makes these mistakes, whether it is an organ or a person, whatever his post of duty in the party or in the state organs. We should further improve and strengthen the work of the Party in selecting and appointing cadres according to their political record and abilities at work. In the work of our Party and state there are manifestations of bureaucratism, which hinder the smooth running of affairs, therefore we should educate the cadres, and teach them how to combat it, wherever it appears.

Our Party has blood links with the people, because it represents the finest section of the people, their vanguard section. The strength of our Party lies in its links with the masses, therefore, not only should we guard these links as the apple of our eye, but through its untiring, courageous, and well thought out work, the Party should strengthen them day by day.

Our task is, as always, to strengthen the leadership of the Party and that of the state apparatuses unceasingly. To this end, one of the principal questions for all the party organs is to see that the principles of collectivism in the leadership are rigorously observed, and to allow no violations in this respect. Questions should be solved in a spirit of collectivity, and not according to individual decisions which diminish the role of the Party. We must never allow the importance and decisive role of the Party and the Central Committee to be reduced in the future, just

as we have never permitted this until now, but at the same time never negating the abilities, qualities, and the role of the individual, which derive from the very character of our social life, without confusing this role with the cult of the individual which is an anti-Marxist and harmful practice, because this makes a fetish of the individual, weakens the decisive role of the collective and the masses in the dialectical and materialist development of society, weakens the confidence of the masses of the people in their creative strength. The cult of the individual leads to the lowering of the role of the Party as a vanguard detachment of the working class and of its leadership — the Central Committee. We should keep in mind Marx's thesis on the cult of the individual. Marx wrote:

> *"Because of my detestation of any cult of the individual, during the existence of the International I never permitted publication of the numerous messages which came from various countries in which mention was made of my merits. Sometimes I have not even answered them at all, except when I have reproached their authors. Engels and I first joined the communists' secret society on the immutable condition that anything that assisted blind submission to authorities should be removed from the Constitution"*.

The development of the cult of the individual in Marxist-Leninist party is harmful, for it not only weakens the leading role of the Party and its Central Committee, impedes the strengthening of the spirit of collective guidance in the leadership of the Party, which is the only guarantee of the wisdom and correctness of the line of the Party, but it also hinders criticism of errors, of laxity, of shortcomings in the work of the Party and various people,

* K. Marx-F Engels, Works, vol. 34, 2nd Rus. ed., p. 241.

weakens self-criticism, breeds conceit and self-satisfaction in people, and paralyses initiative in work.

The collective spirit has existed in the Central Committee and in the other leading organs of our Party, and continuous struggle has been waged day by day to strengthen collective work. The comrades of the Political Bureau can tell the Central Committee that time after time, and always correctly, the General Secretary raised before the Political Bureau and the other comrades in the leadership the question of the harm caused by the cult of the individual, and demanded that an end be put once and for all to certain excessive public manifestations by the masses of the people towards his person, such as chanting his name in chorus, the erection of busts in various cities, putting his photograph in newspapers and magazines without any apparent reason or occasion, and some other manifestations of this sort. But it is true to say that these questions which he raised on the basis of Leninist principles have, on many occasions, been taken as expressions of the modesty of his character. Now, it is necessary for the Central Committee to direct the Party, in the first place, to put an end to such a practice.

The Party and the people understand very well that their deep, pure, and sincere attachment and respect towards a leader does not have anything in common with excessive manifestations, boasting, flattery, etc. The party leaders cannot live without the deep, pure and sincere love of the people and the Party, and we the leaders should show the greatest respect for such attachment, which is a vivid expression of the confidence on the part of the party members and all the working people in us. The genuine love of the people and the party members towards the leaders should be earned by the latter through work and continuous struggle for the cause of the Party and the people. Any other sort of attachment, sympathy,

and faith outside these norms cannot be called genuine attachment and respect.

The lofty aims of the policy of the Party of Labour of Albania are expressed in the resolute struggle it carries on to defend our country and secure it from any danger, to build the prosperous life and socialism in our country, to preserve and further the people's victories and interests; the Party's continuous policy consists in raising the material wellbeing and the cultural level of the people in our homeland, in satisfying to the maximum the material and cultural needs of the working people, and in fighting for the defence of peace.

Taking into account all we have said, in order to strengthen our Party with every passing day, to strengthen the leading, organizational and supervising role of the Party and the Central Committee, the Political Bureau proposes to the Central Committee the following organizational measures:

1. — That the proposal of comrade Enver Hoxha that he be relieved from the state functions as Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and devote his whole activity to the leadership of the Central Committee for the further strengthening of the Party should be approved. The concentration of many functions in a single person in the early period after the liberation of the homeland was necessary and just, since the circumstances were difficult, our Party and state were young, they had just come out of the war and needed to be strengthened, and organized. But now that our Party and state have grown stronger and the work has extended enormously, the concentration of several functions in a single person becomes a handicap and impedes further development of the work. On the other hand, the vesting in a single person of two functions as General Secretary, or First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, and Prime Minister could

create a situation in which the guidance and the decisive check-up of the Party and the Central Committee on all the activity of the country and its levers, one of which is the central state power, might be weakened.

2. — That the position of the General Secretary of the Party should be eliminated as unnecessary, creating the position of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, who is to lead the activity of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau, and the Secretariat.

3. — That comrade Enver Hoxha should be elected First Secretary of the Central Committee.

4. — That comrade Gogo Nushi should be elected Secretary of the Central Committee.

5. — That comrades Manush Myftiu and Josif Pashko should be released from their functions as Secretaries of the Central Committee and assigned to other important state functions[1]. . .

Our Party's policy is correct. This is brilliantly borne out by life, by the successful construction of the foundations of socialism in our country. Our Party is, and will for ever remain, loyal to the triumphant doctrine of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, remain loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the great Soviet Union.

The Central Committee of our Party is a united body, as solid as a block of granite, and it is leading the Party with wisdom and courage along the glorious road of socialism and communism. The unity of the Party is like a steel block that no hostile force whatsoever, whether internal or external, can harm it. When the sick minds and the Party's internal and external enemies learn about these correct and indispensable organizational measures

[1] Comrades Manush Myftiu and Josif Pashko respectively were appointed Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PRA and Minister of Construction.

which the Central Committee of the Party is adopting for the consolidation of the Party and the victories of the people, they will strive to use them to their advantage, to the detriment of our socialist society, to the detriment of the people's interests. These sick minds and these enemies will strive to slander us, to trump up false charges, they will yelp like dogs for a while, but soon they will have to give up. The Party, as always, will increase its vigilance against the internal and external enemies of the Party and the people, and will deal them ruthless blows. The Party should make every effort to cure those sick minds that can be cured. Everything is done for the benefit of the Party and the people, therefore we should march forward, as always, towards new victories.

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WITHOUT A GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF MARXISM-LENINISM NO TASKS CAN BE CARRIED OUT PROPERLY

Discussion at the meeting with the principal cadres of the apparatus of the CC of the PLA[1]

July 12, 1954

As you know, today the meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee was held which considered and approved the report of the Political Bureau, "On Certain Organizational Problems of the Party", and took the relevant decisions. We have gathered as the apparatus of the Central Committee in order to read these materials, to grasp their importance and to prepare ourselves to help the base. The meetings of party activists will be held tomorrow, and by the 17th of this month all the basic organizations of the Party will have completed the study of the materials of the Plenum of the Central Committee.

The first thing is that you, comrades of the apparatus, must express your opinions about these decisions of the Central Committee; for you these things are clear, however, it is necessary to stress some of them.

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[1] At this meeting, on the instructions of the Central Committee, comrade Enver Hoxha read and commented on the report and decisions of the 11th Plenum of the CC of the PLA "On certain organizational problems of the Party", and dwelt on the great need to grasp Marxism-Leninism especially on the part of cadres.

The decisions of the Central Committee are aimed at strengthening the whole Party, at strengthening its leadership, its Central Committee, its Political Bureau, its Secretariat, and all the organs of the Party. In as much as the Party guides all the life of the country, the leadership of the Party at all its levels should be raised to a higher level so that no place should remain without the guidance and supervision of the Party. If it has in its hands, and checks up on the implementation of, all the decisions of the Political Bureau and the Central Committee, then all the work will go ahead. In order to achieve what Lenin says that "the Party is the combat force", then it is essential that nothing should slip from the control of the Party, from the base to the centre, and so on. We must admit that we have many shortcomings both in the party organizations and in the organs of state power, and there are many things which cannot be solved by decree. Take for instance the question of bureaucratism which cannot be eliminated simply by government decisions; if this problem is not taken up by the Party, if its leadership fails to mobilize all the communists and non-party masses and to teach them how to combat bureaucratism, this cannot be eliminated from our apparatus.

If the Central Committee fails to teach the base, fails to supervise the implementation of the decisions the Party has issued, nothing can turn out successful, because we must know that it is the communists who are leading in every activity. The work of the Party depends to a large extent on the internal consolidation of the basic organizations. The stronger they are, the better will the decisions of the Party be carried out; and the weaker the basic organizations, the more poorly will these decisions be carried out. If the basic organizations and the communists understand this, understand that the role of the Party is the

leading role, then we will have success in our work. Therefore, criticism and self-criticism must be strengthened, those who err must be assisted, but if someone does not correct his mistakes, then, after it has done all it should, the Party will take the proper measures according to each case. No influence can harm the Party, its organizational and political line, if the consciousness of the communists to triumph over all circumstances is strengthened. Every word which is said here has a broad significance. The leadership of the Party must be raised to a higher ideological level, it should have a better grasp of the economic problems and be clear on the social problems, for otherwise this leadership cannot be a true leadership, and the measures taken will be lame, we shall be overwhelmed by practicism. Therefore the perspectives should be opened to the Party; for this, it is our duty to educate the Party from above, but in order to achieve this we should first of all educate ourselves, hence we must not become complacent, but must always study Marxism-Leninism.

As you know we have a great deal of work ahead of us. Let us not forget that most of our party members are peasants and office workers, while the workers in the Party are still few in numbers, that there are petty-bourgeois hangovers in our Party which must be combated. Only the fight against petty-bourgeois survivals will strengthen the Party, and in order to achieve this it is necessary to implant Marxist-Leninist education into people's minds, to have them master the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The Central Committee thinks that you are making progress, that you are having successes, but these successes should not blind us to our shortcomings. For instance, I have heard that certain comrades of the Central Committee apparatus do not attend school regularly. This is not good because, through the example we set,

we should inspire others to study all the time, by themselves and at school, to learn at work, from life, and from books.

At the same time, the Party should strengthen its collective leadership. In our Party there is collectivism; individual decisions cannot be taken. But we must continually strengthen the collective work of the Party, beginning from the Central Committee down to the party basic organizations, since lack of collectivism is the source of many evils.

As you heard from the report of the Political Bureau, our work is characterized by the spirit of collective leadership, nevertheless the Plenum also pointed out certain excessive manifestations outside the Party towards my person. Thus, for instance, when the Party sends me on a mission to the base, I find it hard to speak easily with the workers and peasants, for I am interrupted by unnecessary cheering for me personally. On the other hand, when I ask them how the work is getting on, the comrades always reply, "very well". It seems to me that these and other manifestations of this kind should be eliminated. Basing itself on the directives of the Central Committee, the Propaganda Directorate should issue clear-cut orders that, first and foremost, it is the Party, the Central Committee, its wise leadership that should be stressed, giving instruction on how to place the photographs of the leaders, and so on. The individual has his role in history, but the decisive factor are the masses of the people headed by the Party of the working class. Therefore, at meetings and public rallies, which are necessary, we shall applaud and cheer first of all "Long live the Party!", "Long live the Central Committee!".

Now that we have been relieved of some work, we shall be in closer contact with you, we shall give you more help, but we shall also hold you to stricter account, for

that is what the Party has charged us to do, and every one must do his job well. There have been shortcomings in the work here: the work of the secretaries has not been properly coordinated, and I have often been absent from the operative work. We shall certainly put our work more in order now.

The question is that we have a major responsibility in preparing all the materials for the Political Bureau and the Central Committee. So far, this work of preparation has not been at the required level, and we have felt this lack acutely. The work of the collective of the apparatus of the Central Committee must be coordinated better and set an example for the whole Party. There are improvements in our method of work as an apparatus, but we should do more to strengthen the collaboration of the directorates with one another and in general, of the apparatus with the other respective sectors: with organs of the state power, with the organizations of the masses, and so on. Every draft-decision should come to the Central Committee well prepared, with concrete tasks, so that their implementation may be checked upon. But in preparing the materials for the leadership, the apparatus of the Central Committee should keep well in mind that proper consultations must be conducted with the base, for down there, in the village, in the mine, all round us, is the vivid life, the rich experience of the Party, therefore, in order to have everything studied well, we should seek the aid of the party and of the non-party people. It is essential that this consultation with the communists and the non-party masses should be done better in the future, and, when we present some study or decision to the Central Committee and Political Bureau, it should be of a higher level and quality. The Secretary of the Central Committee should provide the guidelines for all the decisions of the Central Committee, but I think that you comrades of the

apparatus, too, should be more demanding towards yourselves, more creative in your work, for only in this way can we be better armed when we go down to the grassroots and, when the comrades come back from the base, it will be easier for them to speak about the steps that have been taken and the assistance that has been given. From this it will be judged how one or the other is working. The Central Committee will congratulate you when the work is going well and, of course, will criticize you when the work goes wrong somewhere.

We shall struggle to have the comrades of the apparatus constantly raise their work to a higher level; the possibilities exist, and each has profited from the experience of the Party, but still more is expected of us. We must see to it that when an instructor goes down to the base he will create a situation such that the hand of the Central Committee is felt. One must not just issue orders, but people should be guided and armed, therefore, you must study, for this is the way to raise the authority of the Central Committee to a higher level.

This is what I had to say. If you have any question to ask about something that is not clear, you may do so. If there are no questions, tell us what you yourselves think. These matters will then be raised in the basic organization, too.

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FROM THE SPEECH AT THE RECEPTION BY THE CHINESE EMBASSY IN TIRANA ON THE 5th ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

October 1, 1954

Comrade Ambassador of the People's Republic of China,

Comrades and Gentlemen,

Allow me, comrade Ambassador, to congratulate you, and through you the entire heroic fraternal Chinese people, on the occasion of the great celebration of the 5th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China. I beg you also, on this solemn occasion, to convey to the glorious Communist Party of China, to its Central Committee, to the Chinese Government and people, the most ardent revolutionary and fraternal good wishes of the Albanian people, of the Party of Labour and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania.

For five consecutive years the Albanian people have joyously celebrated this marked day of the fraternal Chinese people, because your great victory, which was the logical result of the triumphant people's revolution in China, led by the heroic Communist Party of China with comrade Mao Tsetung at the head, is, at the same time, a great victory for us, for our people, for the peoples of the camp of socialism and of peace, for all the peoples of the world.

The establishment of the people's power in China, the founding of the People's Republic of China were achieved after so many bloody wars, after so much indescribable heroism by the Chinese communists and patriots, by the great victorious army of the Chinese people against the American, British, Japanese imperialists, against the big landowners, the feudal lords, the reactionary bourgeoisie and their criminal, bandit, sold-out representative, Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuomintang gang.

A high price in the blood of the best sons of the Chinese people has been paid for the proclamation of your People's Republic, comrade Ambassador, and the People's Republic of China is the glorious achievement of the Marxist-Leninist policy of your Communist Party, just as the People's Republic of Albania has cost dear in the blood of thousands of heroes of our people, and is the immortal achievement of the Marxist-Leninist political line of the Party of Labour of Albania.

The great victories of our people's revolutions are common victories, because our fraternally united peoples, inspired and educated with the brilliant ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, rose arms in hand against the common enemies, the imperialist exploiters, who had rampaged over our homelands with fire and sword. We threw ourselves into the great liberation war, for the destinies of our people and homeland were at stake. Foreigners and their local lackeys had robbed us of our freedom and independence. We put an end to that situation, once and for all. The people conquered their enemies, both in China and in Albania. The people established their state power both in China and in Albania. The people are building socialism both in China and in Albania. Nothing divides our peoples, everything unites them, therefore, in fraternal unity we march ahead. There is no power on earth to check the impetus of our construction,

because our strength is great, because the strength of our people is invincible, because the cause which we fight for and defend is just.

Our two peoples triumphed over the enemies, established the power of the people's democracy and are marching ahead with success on the brilliant road of socialism.

The great and rich experience of the Soviet Union enables our peoples to set up their new economy within the shortest possible time. A great impulse and enthusiasm for work has swept our peoples. The revolutionary energies accumulated for centuries by your people have enabled the People's Republic of China, within these five years, to make great progress unprecedented in all the thousands of years of the history of your people. The agrarian revolution in China has been carried out successfully, and today the Chinese peasant, who till yesterday was landless and savagely exploited by foreign imperialists and the local feudal lords and the bourgeoisie, has become master of his land, and now produces for his own family and people. After liberation, in the span of only three years, the heroic revolutionary Chinese people healed the wounds of the war, and thus created the conditions to pass on to the building of a modern, planned economy. The results achieved by the People's Republic of China in the field of the economy at the end of the first year of the five-year plan were brilliant, and this year's plan is also being carried out with success.

Guided by the immortal Marxist-Leninist principles, the People's Republic of China today plays an important role in defence of peace in the world. The great heroic Chinese people have given invaluable aid to the Korean and Vietnamese peoples in the wars kindled by world imperialists in the homes of these peoples. Today it is absurd and criminal to negate the role of the People's Re-

public of China as a factor of first rate importance for the solution of international problems. But the American imperialists endeavour to deny the People's Republic of China its rights in the international field, seeing in the great Chinese people a serious obstacle to the realization of their plans for war and the enslavement of the peoples. For the past ten years the imperialists have followed, and are still following, such a course with regard to our people, too, in the international field. But this course leads to an impasse, and is doomed to failure. Today the People's Republic of China has become a first rate power in the world arena. Without its participation, not a single serious issue can be resolved, therefore, it must soon take its merited place among the great powers, and it will certainly do so.

The heroic Chinese people are a peaceful people. They are working calmly for the construction and prosperity of their large country, but at the same time they are vigilantly guarding their mighty achievements from the threats of the imperialists. Not very far off the South-east coast of China there is Chinese territory still unliberated, under the cruel domination of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, aided and abetted with all possible means by the American imperialists. This band of gangsters and murderers of the Chinese people is carrying out continued provocations against the mother territory of the People's Republic of China. The island of Taiwan is kept cut off from the immense body of China by the guns of American imperialists. Therefore, the burning desire of the Chinese people for the complete liberation of their great homeland, for the liberation of Taiwan and the surrounding islands, is completely just and legitimate. At one time, our small island of Sazan had a similar fate when it was held under occupation for a long time by the Italian imperialists with the aim of using it as a pistol pointed at the heart of our

homeland. But, just as they liberated the whole of Albania from the claws of the occupiers with their liberation war, our people also liberated our Sazan and united it with the motherland. Our people warmly appreciate the ardent and just desire of the fraternal Chinese people for the complete liberation of their homeland, therefore they express their full solidarity, and wish the Chinese people success in the liberation of Taiwan!

Comrade Ambassador,

On this day of great joy for the Chinese people, the Albanian people, like all the other progressive peoples of the world, wish them further successes in the building of their new life. Today the Albanian people, together with the fraternal people of the great China, joyfully celebrate the 5th anniversary of liberation, as well as the great historic date of the proclamation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, and we feel ourselves even more closely linked with you. The diplomatic relations established between our two countries constitute a great victory for the Albanian people and one of the marked events in the history of our country. Comrade Ambassador, your coming among us was received with indescribable joy by our people. This is an expression of the love of our people for the great Chinese people. Our Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania assure you that they will work tirelessly so that the ties of friendship and the bonds between our two fraternal peoples become ever stronger and closer in the future.

Long live the People's Republic of China! May it become stronger with each passing day!

Long live the glorious and heroic Communist Party of China!

Long live the Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the dear friend of the Albanian people, comrade Mao Tsetung!

Long live the unbreakable friendship of our two peoples, Chinese and Albanian, and may it become ever stronger!

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CLOSING SPEECH AT THE 14th PLENARY SESSION OF THE CC OF THE PLA "ON THE ANTI-PARTY AND HOSTILE ACTIVITY OF TUK JAKOVA AND BEDRI SPAHIU"

June 17, 1955

Comrades, allow me, too, to say a few words on the problems which were taken up for discussion in connection with the anti-party and hostile activity of Tuk Jakova[1] and Bedri Spahiu[2].

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[1] In April 1955, when the 13th Plenum of the CC of the PLA took up for consideration the strengthening of the ideo-political and cultural work, Tuk Jakova, Member of the CC, tried to exploit this occasion to attack the general line of the Party, expressing his revisionist views. It came out that the self-criticism he had made at the 9th Plenum of February 1951, and at the 2nd Congress for his grave opportunist mistakes and capitulation to bourgeois pressure, for his parochialism and careerism, loss of vigilance and neglect in fulfilling his tasks, on account of which the Plenum had discharged him from his duties as Secretary of the CC and expelled him from the Political Bureau, proved to be false. He continued his stand in opposition to the line of the Party, to be dissatisfied and to nurture a deep hatred for the leadership of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line. He considered the struggle of the Party against opportunism and its measures against the class enemies as unjust, and defended the thesis of the dying away of the class struggle. He openly demanded changes in the composition of the CC of the PLA and rehabilitation of all anti-party elements, the substitution of the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA with a revisionist new course through which he would come out as the "saviour", and the review of the entire political and organizational line of the Party.

It is obvious enough that the analysis which the Political Bureau and the Central Committee made of this problem of such great importance is absolutely correct and it can be described as salutary for it. This was achieved because the leadership of our Party is a Marxist-Leninist one, tempered, tested, and militant in defence of Marxism-Leninism, of the interests of our people, of the glorious leadership of our people, the Party of Labour of Albania, of the interests of socialism and communism.

First, in my opinion the Plenum of the Central Committee showed great maturity in solving this problem correctly. Through the discussions it conducted, it rose to the necessary height, and with the greatest acuteness and the soundest revolutionary vigilance it made a profound, detailed analysis, based on facts, of the anti-party and hostile activity of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu. This

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[1] The revisionist theses of T. Jakova were supported by Bedri Spahiu, who, on account of his grave mistakes, had not been re-elected by the 3rd Congress of the PLA to membership of the Political Bureau. In his party life he had been criticized many times for pronounced opportunism and grave mistakes in his activity. But, whenever he had seen the danger of being exposed, he had sought to retire "voluntarily" from the leadership in order to cover up the faults weighing heavy on him. He had always supported bourgeois nationalism, and had lent tacit support to the opportunist and liquidatory zeal of Sejfulla Maleshova and others. Capitulating to the pressure of the bourgeoisie, Bedri Spahiu, too, was opposed to the policy of the Party towards classes and class struggle, and sought to extinguish it. Like T. Jakova, he, too, was for the revision of the general line of the Party, for the replacement of the leadership of the Party with an anti-Marxist leadership composed of anti-party elements.

The activity of T. Jakova and B. Spahiu was not accidental. It had its roots in the all-round diversionist activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against the Marxist-Leninist parties and the unity of the socialist camp. It was closely connected with the preparation for the general assault by the modern revisionists on Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement.

is a very great guarantee, an extremely great guarantee, for our Party. This fact is a further proof that the Central Committee of our Party is a steel-like champion of the principles of Leninism, that opportunists and enemies cannot find room for long in the Central Committee of our Party, no matter what means, forms, methods and disguises they may use. Before the steel-like unity of our Party, elements like Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu cannot last long in our Party.

Second, Tuk, Bedri, and others like them, must understand that the unity of the Central Committee is not merely a formula but a mighty reality. The leadership of our Party is a sound collective Leninist-Stalinist leadership. It is not just the opinion of one or seven persons that prevails in the Central Committee, as Tuk claimed when the decision was taken against him, but it is the will, opinion and collective decision of the Central Committee as a whole. Life, the facts, prove this. This is demonstrated very clearly by the proceedings of this Plenum, in which we practiced a different form, particularly for Tuk and Bedri to see that the unity of the Central Committee, the unity of thought and action in the Central Committee of our Party, is not what they think. The form used in this meeting of the Plenum is that the members of the Political Bureau spoke last, while the first to speak were the members of the Central Committee, who expressed their opinions freely as they have continually done when they have taken the floor in the leadership of our Party. The view held by Tuk and Bedri that there is no unity of opinion and collective spirit in the leadership is entirely wrong and without foundation.

The conclusions which were arrived at by the Political Bureau and the Plenum in the case of Tuk and Bedri after an extensive and fair discussion are indisputable. These conclusions did not arise spontaneously, but are the logical

consequence of facts and they are very well founded. The life and struggle of the Party show that, if there is some matter which is not as it should be, the struggle of the Party very quickly brings to light the whole truth. These are the conclusions which the Plenum of the Central Committee of our Party has arrived at:

Tuk and Bedri cannot be taken separately because they have the same objectives. The conclusion, which is based on the Political Bureau's analysis, is that, through their activity these two wanted to liquidate our Party of Labour, our Marxist-Leninist Party, and replace it with an anti-Marxist social-democratic party with fascist tendencies. Hence, those two had a single aim: to do away with our Marxist-Leninist Party and to replace it with another party, a bourgeois one, just as Tito and his leadership did in Yugoslavia earlier.

Naturally, in order to liquidate the Party, first the existing Marxist-Leninist leadership had to be eliminated, and the leadership had to be in their own hands. These are the savage actions of enemies, and when we say this, we have in mind the Trotskyites and all other enemies of the Party. Here it is not a matter of eliminating one, two or four comrades of the leadership, but of liquidating the entire Marxist-Leninist leadership of our Party, that is, of liquidating all this leadership which defends Marxism-Leninism, and the principles of our Party, hence, to do away with the very thing that defends the interests of the Albanian people, of socialism and communism in our country. This was their objective.

Of course, in order to attain their objective the enemies direct their blows at individuals: one here, another there, with a view to eliminating them one by one, and then to replacing them with others alien to Marxism-Leninism, who would hand our Party and our people over to the tender mercies of imperialism. We must carefully dot all

the i's also, because in all their activity, Tuk and Bedri have been opposed to the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, as I shall explain in a moment. They could not reconcile themselves with this line. It is not necessary to dwell in detail on what they have said and what they have not said, because everything is clear. I think we should concentrate now on certain general conclusions in order to see why these persons have come to such a point.

They have reached this position because they are not Marxist-Leninists, and Bedri is not only opposed to Marxism-Leninism, but he is also an enemy of the Party and of the people. His faults are much graver than Tuk's. Tuk and Bedri have never been Marxist-Leninists. Who are the people who are not Marxists but pose as such, and how do they act? From the experience of our own Party, and from the wide experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement of the proletariat, we know the methods, forms, formulae, and activities of all the pseudo-Marxists of the 2nd International and of the Trotskyites, who came in as the tail-end and collaborators of the 2nd International.

The question Tuk raised about the old communist groups[3] is not something simple. Tuk's intention was not merely to build himself up, but also to re-emphasize the weak aspects of these groups which, as we know, were their totally and actively anti-Marxist views, that is, views attacking everything that would lead to the formation of the Party, to the defence of communism, to the liberation of the homeland. Many members of these groups, one of them being Bedri, who turns out to be more violent

[3] Tuk Jakova demanded the re-appraisal of the activity of the communist groups against the assessment made by the Party as early as its founding, especially insisting that the evil aspects of the activity of the Shkodra group, in which, for some time, he had been in the leadership, should be toned down.

(I shall explain why later), as well as Tuk, have not purged themselves of the anti-Marxist views of these groups. The life of the Party, its struggle, has utterly defeated the anti-Marxist views of these groups, but they continued to exist and have been preserved by Tuk and Bedri.

What anti-Marxist views of these groups should we mention on this occasion? The groups had no faith in the proletariat, hence they were opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Recall the theory of Anastas Lulo in whose group comrade Bedri took part even after the formation of the Party. This group, of which Bedri was a member, was in favour of the Italian occupation of Albania. The chiefs of this group claimed that the occupation would be very good for Albania because factories would be set up which would create the proletariat, and then we would see what could be done. That is, let us first have the proletariat, then see about others. These are anti-Marxist, Trotskyite views. We can see these views in Bedri in the fact that he agrees to become a member of the Fascist Party, and with this he accepted the occupation of Albania. No one can deny this fact. Bedri was of the opinion that it was necessary to join the Fascist Party, and he did so on the pretext that people would be gathered there and that work would be done with them. Bedri put these anti-Marxist views into practice. It is apparent that Bedri did not join the Fascist Party to diguise himself. Now it is emerging clearly that he found ideological points in common with that party.

What other anti-Marxist views and actions existed in the group? The question of banditry was raised to a theory in the group. We have no facts to show that Bedri took part in robbery or acts of immorality, and so on. We do not say this, but as far as I am concerned, Bedri's act today, maintaining an extremely arrogant attitude towards

the Plenum, is a fascist act. There is no other way to explain it. That is to say, ideologically Bedri is on a fascist course, and what he did here today is an act of banditry. No patriot, even if not a Marxist, and there are hundreds of thousands like this in our country, could behave the way Bedri behaved today towards the Central Committee, and this is a man whom the Party promoted to the highest level of its leadership. Hence, he has no respect for the Party. He maintained such an attitude because his views are fascist ones. The problems Bedri seeks to raise here cannot fool the Central Committee, nor can he touch the comrades' hearts by saying, "I have been poor, I was brought up in misery," etc. What does the truth show? In life it has happened that you might be poor, and still betray the people and the Party. It is the facts that prove how you have fought and how you have defended the Party and the people.

The Political Bureau does not speak of Bedri Spahiu's bourgeois-nationalist views for nothing. This description is wellbased. Besides what has already been said, the question is that all these activities of Bedri conform with the ideology of the Bektashi sect. After all these anti-Marxist views and acts, his repeated cry that he joined the Bektashi sect "for tactical purposes" can no longer be swallowed. This is not a question of Bedri's tactics but a question of ideology. He has idealistic views in his head which fully conform with the reactionary views of the clergy. Stored away in his head, Bedri has idealistic views which have nothing in common with Marxism. Let us take the question which he again describes as a tactical approach. He has requested for study books of the American and English socalled religious societies, which, in fact are nothing but espionage agencies. What sort of a man is this who poses as a Marxist and who tries to study books like these at such critical times for the people

and the communists? This is because these religious idealist views attract Bedri. But did Bedri fight? Yes, he fought, in one way or another. But why did he fight when he had all these things in his head? The whole people took part in the National Liberation War, because the moment demanded the liberation of the country. Hence, prompted by this moment, Bedri joined in the fight. Tuk also took up arms and fought, but in spite of this participation, these views remained unchanged in these people. In fact, even though he took part in the war, Bedri was always opposed to the line of the Party, to its elected leadership, right from the start. We know these things from the analyses which have been made and which comrade Haki Toska was quite right to point out so clearly. These things show that during the whole period of the war Bedri was not in agreement with the Central Committee and with the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

If we analyse Bedri's stand during the war towards the peasantry, what theoretical conclusions can we draw? We can arrive at the conclusion that he was not for the poor peasants but for the wealthy, the agas. The Central Committee has criticized Bedri for his activities in Gjirokastra in connection with the peasantry. This illustrates the fact that Bedri has never been a Marxist. As we have pointed out, he has never been with the proletariat, having no confidence in it, nor in favour of the alliance of the proletariat with the peasantry. This seems unimaginable, but it turns out to be so if we analyse the facts, and the time has come to make such an analysis.

Bedri also manifests his anti-Marxist-Leninist views later, during the post-liberation period. They maintain their continuity in all his activity. Why do we say these things are not accidental? The facts show that Bedri's views run parallel with those of Sejfulla Malëshova. But why did Bedri adopt them; what influence did Sejfulla

exert on Bedri? The question is that these two are on the one course, on the course opposed to the Party. Sejfulla takes the first step against the Party, but this does not mean that Bedri is not on the same course. He had been on that course for some time, therefore he came out in support of Sejfulla and Ymer Dishnica. When Sejfulla was denounced, Bedri and Tuk said they would withdraw from the Political Bureau because, being opposed to the line of the Party, they feared the Party, they could not get along with such a leadership which defended Marxism-Leninism, therefore they sought to withdraw. There is no precedent for a Marxist to give up a job the Party has assigned to him. Bedri gives himself airs and boasts that he was not fired from the Political Bureau, but that he quit of his own free will because he had been a member of the Fascist Party, as if the Party did not know about this. The Party was well aware of this but had considered it accidental, imposed on him, but Bedri's life and activities showed that he was not fit for the Central Committee, therefore he sought to withdraw from membership in it. This was out of the question at the time when Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunism was liquidated, and Bedri was very unhappy. At the time when the 2nd Congress of the Party was to meet, Bedri thought it the opportune moment to seek to withdraw from the Political Bureau. Only an anti-Marxist could do such a thing. Tuk, too, has committed grave mistakes, but at least he says he will make every effort to correct himself wherever the Party may send him. Bedri's defiant attitude at the Plenum of the Central Committee is another fascist demonstration with which he proves that he must be expelled from the leadership. And I have no doubt that he should be expelled, not only from the leadership, but also from the Party. He himself has thought of this, too, with the aim of escaping, once and for all, from the suffering

he has been through all these years! As a matter of fact, Bedri is suffering because he finds himself, an anti-Marxist and opposed to Marxism-Leninism, unwillingly in a Marxist-Leninist Party. If you take his activities one by one, they, too, lead to this conclusion. They are all in opposition to the Party, activities to create obstacles so that the party line will not be carried out properly, that socialist construction in our country will not advance rapidly.

Of course, Bedri would not follow this course with a flourish of trumpets and openly declare his stand. We have not passed over any of these activities of Bedri's without pointing out and criticizing his mistakes, but now the time has come to make a thorough analysis, because these are not random mistakes but systematic activities against the Party, against its correct line. Bedri tries to cover his tracks, he strives to say nothing about his bourgeois nationalist views. He is no fool, because if he acknowledged these views, all his activities would come out. Just think about this: he preferred to be called anti-Marxist rather than admit anything about his bourgeois nationalism! With such views, how could he fail to be aligned with Tuk? Of course, he would join any current there was, be it Trotskyism of the Yugoslav, Italian, or any other variety, under whatever anti-Marxist guise it might appear, provided it would enable him to deal a heavy blow at the leadership of the Party. And it is a fact that Bedri worked to weaken the leadership, regardless of the fact that he sat in judgement on Koçi Xoxe and others. But imperialism, Tito, and others, would forgive him for his mistakes with regard to them because he worked against the Party and the people by attacking their Marxist-Leninist leadership. What Tito and the imperialist agents would do with Bedri later is quite another thing. We know that there are contradictions within the ranks of the bourgeoisie, but right now they are not

looking at anything except their principal line, their strategic objective, which is to do away with communism and the communist parties. Later they will settle accounts among themselves.

Let us come back to the Shkodra group again. Tuk has not yet rid himself of the erroneous views of this group. We should explain Tuk's great interest in artisan work also from the theoretical point of view. Why has Tuk shown greater interest in the individual tradesmen rather than in the working class and the development of agriculture? Because in principle Tuk still has Trotskyite, deviationist and opportunist views, all of which are anti-Marxist. He relies mainly on the individual tradesmen, on the petty-bourgeoisie, and not on the working class and its alliance with the peasantry. Bring up all the facts you like but this is now clear. Tuk has not freed himself from the influence of the Catholic clergy, either. He must struggle a great deal harder against these manifestations. This is not a question of the letter of a priest, but of all the venom the church, the monasteries and the mosques pour out among the people. Why do they do this? Their main aim is the struggle against communism, and in our case, concretely, against our Marxist-Leninist Party. If you analyse all this, many things become very clear. In this direction, too, Tuk is an extraordinarily weak Marxist. Tuk has fought. We do not deny that. But the fighting he has done has not helped him rid himself of this hostile bourgeois ideology. Tuk could not be wholeheartedly in favour of the leadership of the Party and its line of action because his petty-bourgeois, opportunist views had him in their grip and would not let him loose. Whether Tuk has acted in an organized way or not is not of great importance to the problem under discussion. The Party should have a very good, deep look at this problem, because if this has been an organized affair, Tuk's work is even more

dangerous. But in order to explain the problem, Tuk must have thought these things over because his views are such as not to allow him think otherwise. These are ideological matters, and they are opposed to our Party. Hence it turns out that Tuk's anti-Marxist and anti-party views have led him on to this course which harms the Party, while Bedri has gone even further. He is no longer simply in an antagonistic position, but is an enemy of the Party. If we view this question from this angle, it is natural, and we should not be surprised, why these comrades have taken this road. At these moments, and especially because of these views, Tuk wants to come out on the road of Titoism.

The Titoites, Tito and Co., have deviated from the line of Marxism-Leninism, they have betrayed Marxism-Leninism. This is a stubborn fact. There is no way it can be wiped off. It will be wiped off only if these people give proof, if they struggle and give concrete proof to the Yugoslav people and to the international workers' and communist movement that they have corrected their mistakes towards Marxism-Leninism. But so far they have done nothing of the sort. For our Party these proofs are the main thing. They will show whether Tuk and Bedri are going to correct themselves or not. Much as they would like it, we cannot allow Tuk and Bedri to remain in the Party while they maintain their views in opposition to the Party, that is, that the two sides should co-exist. We cannot live together in this way. All that we have said about the attitude of the Titoites towards our country still stands, because their work and activities are anti-Marxist. A clique which has gone over to bourgeois nationalism, which strives to destroy its own party, Marxism-Leninism, a clique which opposes Lenin and Stalin, a clique which strives to gobble its neighbours, such a clique is in an anti-Marxist position. But this does not prevent

us from having good, friendly, neighbourly relations with the peoples of Yugoslavia, from having trade and state relations.

I think Tuk should go more deeply into things. I also agree, as all the Plenum does, that Tuk should be removed from the Central Committee but keep his membership in the Party. Except that I propose a further measure, namely, that for an indefinite period he should not hold any leading post in the Party. Tuk should not think that we are allowing him to stay in the Party as a matter of exigency. We are keeping him in the Party because the Central Committee wants to extend its hand to Tuk Jakova once again, in spite of the grave mistakes he has committed, because it has a shred of hope that he can improve himself. But he should not think that now we are completely confident that he will correct his mistakes, because this is the second time he has made such mistakes, and this time even more serious than the first time. The Party will help him, but he should first help himself in order to merit the hand the Party is offering him. Tuk, and Bedri even more so, should understand clearly that the Party in no way persecutes people. On the contrary, the Central Committee accepts that the basic organizations may criticize it, saying: "How is it that Tuk Jakova is being kept in the Party after all these grave mistakes he has committed?" And the Central Committee will reply: "Let us extend a hand to Tuk once again, give him a little help", but Tuk should give proof. The Central Committee is fully aware of the step it is taking in allowing Tuk to stay in the Party, for it is the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. Bedri, first of all, and then Tuk, should not imagine that the Party is doing this to prevent the wanning of its influence in Gjirokastra or in Shkodra[4]. If

[4] The former was from Gjirokastra and the latter from Shkodra.

there are people who think that the communists and the people of Gjirokastra or Shkodra love the Party for the sake of Bedri, Tuk, or any other individual, they are mistaken. The people love the Party because it saved them from the occupiers, gave them freedom and put state power in their hands, and is now leading them to socialism. The people love those who love the Party, and on the other hand, hate those who are opposed to the Party which is the dearest thing for the people. Let them rest assured that the people and the Party will applaud this decision because it is completely correct. The people and the Party will say: "Drive the snakes out of the Party!" In the Party and among the people one should be frank and not play underhand tricks as Bedri does. Therefore, Tuk and Bedri should bear this well in mind, for the Party is not afraid of unhealthy elements, whether inside or outside its ranks. The Party is convinced that neither one nor five persons can shake or infringe the great prestige it enjoys among the people.

As regards Bedri, I am a hundred per cent determined in what I said, and the Plenum should take up my opinion for discussion, that is, that Bedri be expelled not only from the Central Committee but also from the Party, and that he be advised to think again, because his course might lead him very far astray. Now, as we have said, these persons must work conscientiously at whatever job the Party assigns them to, and start their schooling anew. They should wage a stern struggle against their megalomania and other vices, for this is the only hope for their rehabilitation. In this way they may put themselves back on the rails of the Party and Marxism-Leninism because, at the moment, they are off the track, and Bedri, in particular, is a very long way from it.

Now there is no need to dwell on this any longer. Let us put the things we have said to the vote, one by one.

Who is in favour of expelling Tuk from the Central Committee and from his present state functions, but of keeping him a party member holding no leading post in the Party for an indefinite period?

Who is in favour of expelling Bedri from the Central Committee, from the Party, and from his present state functions[5]?

Works, vol. 12.

[5] All the members of the Plenum were unanimously for the expulsion of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu from the CC, for their discharge from all state functions, the explusion of the latter from the Party. Later, Tuk Jakova, too, was expelled from the Party.

GREETING TO THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE WOMEN'S UNION OF ALBANIA

October 13, 1955

Dear comrades,

I am very glad to convey to your Congress and to all the working women of Albania the most ardent greetings of the Central Committee, of the Party of Labour of Albania, and wholeheartedly wish you success in your very fruitful work.

All your previous congresses, and this one, too, which is being held today, have played and will play a great role in the progress of our society, in the construction of socialism in our country, and have helped in the defence of peace in the world. Your congresses are magnificent manifestations of the revolutionary drive of the Albanian woman; they are the expression of your active participation in the political life of the country, of the great force represented by women of our country, such a force that if it is not set in motion, if it does not take part in running things, in production, and in all social and cultural activities, then there can be no talk of the construction of socialism, of the people's power, or of genuine democracy. Your matters are not "women's affairs", as the bourgeoisie seeks to label them, or as some ignoramuses and those eaten up by petty-bourgeois prejudices want to write them off. Your affairs and decisions are serious affairs and decisions concerned with the activity of our People's Re-

public, and your word carries very great weight, for you constitute half the population of the Republic, and the Republic cannot be consolidated and make progress without you.

This is how the question of woman is put in our People's Republic, and the putting of the question in this manner is the result of the National Liberation War which was led by our glorious Party, loyal to the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; it is the result of the people's revolution which overthrew feudalism and the bourgeoisie, liberated the country from the occupiers, brought the people to power and liberated woman for ever from slavery. In the past, all our people suffered under bondage, but the Albanian woman suffered even more. The feudal-bourgeois laws weighed heavy on the woman and made a real slave of her. The canons of the Sheriat and of the Church, closely linked with the laws of the bourgeoisie, treated woman as a commodity, a thing to be bought and sold by the male, who was mercilessly exploited, and did not dare open her mouth to express a thought or say a word, but had only one right: to bear children and to slave day and night. Just as the bourgeoisie had made the worker into its proletarian, so had the savage ancient canons of the Sheriat, the Church, feudalism and bourgeoisie, reduced woman to the proletarian of man. Our heroic Party emancipated woman from the grip of enslaving laws, of savage backward customs, just as it liberated the proletarian from the claws of the bourgeoisie and the peasant from the claws of feudalism. The laws of our democratic people's power wiped out everything that hindered the woman in fully exercising her rights, gave her equal rights with man in everything, made her a free and honoured citizen of the Republic. The laws of our state power wiped out everything which engendered the inferiority of woman.

In the past the Albanian woman was economically and socially dependent and exploited. Leninism teaches us that "the origin of social dependence should be sought in economic dependence". Let us consider the question of the woman. In the past, she was economically dependent on her husband during her entire life, even when her tiring work, whether household or field work, was more burdensome than that of her husband, as it was in the majority of cases. As the girl grew up, her father would constantly tell her, "I feed you, I keep your body and soul together". When the girl became a bride and went to her husband, he harped on the same old refrain, "I feed you, I keep your body and soul together". When she grew old, her son had the same words for her. Is there any woman who did not feel her inferiority to the male in the family? The girl was held at little value in the family. A mother felt the same love for both her daughter and her son, but she set much store by her son because he was considered "the pillar of the household" whereas of the daughter it was said "she would belong to some other house".

The economic dependence and the social dependence of woman on man over a period going back to antiquity, became a custom, a law of the society, something natural. This is so true that even in our new society, these weighty remnants of the past are still alive in both male and female, even in many immature communists. Nevertheless, even now that the woman of new Albania knows quite well that our laws and the development of the socialist life guarantee her full rights, ensure her equality with man in everything, there are women who, deep in their minds, accept their inequality as something natural, and often enough they think this is proper. There are lots of people who continue to think of woman as she was thought of at the time of feudalism, and unfortunately, there are

also some who pose as progressive-minded, who speak in highflown language about the rights and freedom of the woman, but who in their consciousness, in their inner life, behave like almighty masters towards the woman. What is it that still impels some women and girls in Shkodra and Kavaja to wear the yashmak out of doors? Is it really that they wish to obscure their faces with a piece of black cloth, and see the whole world gloomy? No, this is not their wish, because if you watch them attentively, you will see that these women go to work, to sports events, to the cinema, to the theatre, and uncover their faces, but only after casting a look around lest there is someone there who knows them. Some attribute it to the force of habit and to religious survivals. This is true. But besides this, it should not be forgotten that it is due to the fear of the husband, the father or the brother. The man of such families finds it quite all right to go out freely, to go to work freely, to work together with other unveiled women, to go to the cinema, to the theatre, to the club, to the café, but he is unwilling to grant this right to his wife, sister, or daughter. There is not a single woman who would wear the yashmak if her father, husband or son were to tell her, "take off that yashmak, because it is a terrible thing for you, for your life, for your health, because the yashmak does not make you any more honest than the unveiled women. It is not the yashmak that guards your reputation, therefore throw it to the face of the Ottomans who invented it". If those few women who still wear the yashmak are given such advice by their parents, husbands or brothers, and it must be given, the yashmak will disappear from Albania without a trace. Because of her economic dependence on man, the woman was confined within the four walls of the house, and her only recognized functions were those of a mother to bear and rear the children, to attend to the

household chores, to wash and massage the feet of her husband, father-in-law, and mother-in-law, and when her husband, father-in-law or mother-in-law no longer wanted her, the husband bundled her off back to her father "with a bad discharge", as the saying goes in the South, that is, divorcing her. A man would divorce his wife simply because she did not bear him sons, but only daughters. Very often he did not even divorce her, but married two or three other women, or even more, and thus turned his house into a harem of slaves. In order to keep the woman in this dreadful condition of slavery, besides the despotism of the male, there was the ever active influence of religion, which reinforced this despotism by means of its savage laws that crushed the woman spiritually, kept her in deepest ignorance, terrified her with the imaginary fear of God, sin, etc. This was, in brief, the sort of life the Albanian woman led in the past. What grief and sorrow the girl, the woman, the mother must have had in her heart! It is easily understood how weakly bound and badly harmonized was the family in the past. It is easily understood what a breeding place for ignorance and evil it was, what suffering and economic misery was hidden in the bosom of the old family, which feudalism and the bourgeoisie sought to keep alive and idealize. It is this enslavement of the homeland, of the family, of the woman, that the bourgeoisie and its remnants tried to keep going and which they want to restore.

Because our Party crushed this bitter past of our people, and in particular of the woman, the people love it, the Albanian woman love it wholeheartedly. And this is also why the bourgeosie and the traitors hate our Party and fight it.

The bourgeois and feudal lords said, "The wife should not go out of the house, her husband provides for her". Our Party says no! The woman should get out from the

four walls of the house, she should provide for herself, become economically independent, because this is the only way she will be free in society and will courageously do away with all the evil prejudices of the past which stem from her economic dependence, from poverty, and ignorance. She should earn her living herself, otherwise she remains a slave of the male. According to the bourgeoisie and the feudal lords "harmony and love in the family" are based on the enslavement of one part of the family to the other part. The Party says no! Only in those families where there is equality between husband and wife, where there is freedom and full rights both for the husband and for the wife, is there real love, harmony, understanding, and happiness in life. In such a family children grow up physically and spiritually healthy.

The bourgeois and the feudal lords used to say that "the duty of the woman is only to bear and rear children". The Party says no! it is not quite so, for if it were then the male, too, would have only the function of husband and father. But their function as husbands and fathers does not stop the males from being workers, farmers, doctors, veterinarians, administrators, tractor drivers, and so on. Therefore, we say that women also, who have the lofty mission of bearing life, must not be impeded from becoming workers, farmers, tractor drivers, administrators, judges, councillors, scientists, artists, deputies, and so on.

The bourgeoisie and the feudal lords used to say that "women are long-haired and short-witted". It needs no explanation to prove how base, insulting, and slanderous is this saying of theirs. The communists are realists and recognize the truth that generally men are stronger physically than women, but this is never true regarding intellect, wit, capability, will power, and so on. It is true to say that in our country the woman is still lagging behind the man in knowledge and culture, and this is not her

fault, but because of the dark past which kept woman in a state of ignorance. There are certain people in the state power and in our economic enterprises who pose as though they have a thorough understanding of the questions of the woman, as though they have shaken off the vestiges of the past, but when it comes to practice their feet are stuck fast and hopelessly entangled in these hangovers. Very often they are reluctant to employ women using as an excuse that women are physically unable to do the job. More often than not, the obstacle is not the problem of physique, but the ideological remnants in the consciousness of these people. There are others who hesitate to employ women, saying "she is often absent from work because she bears children, and thus my plan for shoes or construction is not fulfilled". In other words, these people are telling women: "Go back inside the four walls of house. Just bear and rear children". These people are quite distorted in their thinking. Our Party and our new society consider the birth of children as the most sacred, the most precious thing in the world, whereas they put the creation of life and the plan for shoes or for construction on an equal footing. It does not cross their minds that our state has created so many facilities for the mother from the time the child is born till it is grown up precisely to assist her, to lighten her burden and encourage her, to honour this lofty life-giving mission. Therefore, these harmful and backward views, whatever the form under which they appear, should be fought ruthlessly, and the bearers of these hangovers must be educated. It would be contrary to the logic to pick an illiterate woman and to appoint her immediately to manage oil production; this would even be harmful. But what does the struggle of the Party and of our people's power show us? It shows us that hundreds of thousands of women are taking an active part in production and are displaying their marvel-

lous qualities there. Like the rushing waters that pour down from their source and make the fields fertile, the Albanian woman has flooded all the channels of activity in the life of the country and has infused the work with healthy new blood. Her mental, physical, productive strength is so great as to beggar description. By mere force of long-established habit people still speak only of the man in the fields, of the "pater familias", to whom, in the majority of cases, the honours and decorations are awarded, whereas women are passed over in silence, at a time when they have thrown themselves in field work and are working heroically. Down in the South people have a saying, "The sheep and goats are Zere's, the credit goes to Hasan Qere". These things should cease. To some these truths may have a bitter taste, but we can't be too concerned about that, because we defend the truth and the rights of women, and we will continue to defend them with all our might, in principle and in practical life. We shall never fight evil customs, injustice, and distortions by sprinkling them with rose water.

Look, dear comrades, how mighty is the persuasive power of the Party, how right its road! Thousands of girls attend primary and secondary schools, universities, thousands of them are working in the most modern factories. Those who until yesterday did not know A from B, today are producing with such modern equipment that took the women of other countries generations on end to learn. Hundreds of thousands of women working in the fields of our country have become distinguished farmers. Today we boast many women doctors, teachers, professors, engineers, directors of factories and mills administrators, talented artists, deputies of the people. These are the women of new Albania, educated by the Party, precisely those whom the reactionaries called "long-haired and short-witted". Remember what the enemies of the people

used to say when our workers and peasants took the running of the country into their hands: "This ragged lot is good for nothing, they are stupid and ignorant, they have no schooling at all and will never be able to learn, they don't know how to run things", and other such nonsense, whereas "the bourgeois gentlemen were the only ones for such things, the Lord created them precisely to guide the destinies of the people".

What has happened in the short span of time from liberation to now? See for yourselves and take note how the face of Albania has changed, how it has been beautified and how it is advancing, and those who beautified, built, and manage this Albania you see, are those men and women who up till yesterday were oppressed and exploited. But how have these people managed to run Albania? Naturally they have the great experience of the people, they have learned and continue to learn incessantly, they have been and are being constantly educated by the Party, and thus they have risen to the occasion in everything and in every job. Compared with the capacity of the sons and daughters of the Albanian people, the alleged ability of the bourgeois gentlemen and our feudal lords is like the pale light of the moon against the fiery and brilliant light of the sun.

The all-round education of the Albanian woman is one of the most important issues for the Party and our people's power. This is of extraordinary importance to our society and to the fate of our country. The woman, especially the country woman, must get right out of the state of backwardness and ignorance. With this I do not mean that the town woman can fold her arms thinking that she has achieved everything. No. But in fact she is somewhat ahead of her counterpart in the countryside, and she must seize every opportunity, every means, every way, to utilize this difference to help her comrades of the country-

side who need both assistance and example. There is no end to knowledge; continued learning and education is like our daily food which, if we fail to take it in time, causes physical and mental upsets. This is what happens with those who have learned to read and write but do not advance and are content with what they have achieved. Soon these people will become illiterate again. Similarly, those who graduate from a school and do not go on studying, studying, continually studying, quickly fall behind, and we can consider them ignorant in comparison with those who go ahead. The building of socialism calls for people with knowledge, and the happy life cannot be built with only a few people with learning, or with only the men learning and the women marking time. The beautiful life is being built for everyone, we all enjoy the fruits of the toil and sweat. When all of us have mastered the knowledge and technique necessary to increase production, then we have more products, we shall live better and life will be happier. If the work for the cultural and political education of women is not carried on at the rapid and constant rate which the development of life itself demands, then women will become a heavy burden which will impede our march forward, since progress cannot be made without the participation of women. Just think a moment how sad family life could become if women remain in darkness at a time when men are developing their intellectual qualities. There are many men and women who do not attach any importance to this matter. The men are to blame for this in the first place, but the women also must take some of the blame. The National Liberation War and our people's revolution created new relations among classes and in the family itself. Thousands of men and women from the common people distinguished themselves, educated themselves, and made headway. They are devoted to the cause of the

people, heroic in the war and in the building of socialism. Some have married honest patriotic working girls, from town or village, but the cultural and political level of these women is low, and the bad thing about it is that they remain in that situation, thus creating a difference between the cultural and political levels of husband and wife. On the other hand, in many cases the husband works while the wife stays at home jobless. Naturally, sooner or later, in this family, in such a situation, disagreements are bound to arise, beginning over trifles, but which become more serious with the lapse of time. Our people say: "Poverty breeds quarrels", not only poverty from the economic aspect, but also from the intellectual and political aspect. Those whom I mentioned above do not give careful thought to these matters. In the first place, there is lack of care from the husbands, who keep their wives indoors, without schooling, without a job, and justify this with the excuse that "there are the children", and "the old mother", and so forth. And the women, on their part, are totally lacking in initiative, thinking, as in the times of old, that this is the only way to keep their hold on their husbands. However one fine morning things may take a sudden, unexpected turn in such a family. The burden of the household begins to get the husband down; he demands more from his wife whom he has never taken the trouble to educate and to raise out of the darkness; he sees that he is a whole world apart from his wife, that he does not find in his home the things that the cultured life developing before his very eyes calls for. And this is how disagreements begin which sometimes end up in divorce. Full of happiness and joy are the families in which both husband and wife learn and work, because being culturally uplifted and economically independent of each other, they both contribute jointly to the embellishment of their own individual lives and their

family life. It is not enough to publicize the emancipation of woman in words alone, but it must be worked for with the greatest patience in practical life. Knowledge is not acquired in a single day. People must struggle to grasp it. The religious prejudices, which are more pronounced among women, cannot be wiped out rapidly, and neither are they wiped out by shouting about them, or through decrees. They have their source in ignorance and have to be combated with scientific propaganda, with enlightenment . . .

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THE LESSONS WE SHOULD DRAW FROM THE PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE CITY OF TIRANA

Letter to all party organizations

April 21, 1956

TO ALL PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

At the 3rd Conference of the PLA for the city of Tirana, which was held from the 14th to the 19th of April 1956, it was discovered that certain unhealthy elements with an accentuated anti-party attitude[1], like Vehip Demi, Nesti Zoto, Iljaz Ahmeti, Ihsan Budo, and certain others, were striving to mislead the Conference and attack the

[1] At the 20th Congress of the CPSU held in February 1956, the Khrushchev group launched a fierce attack against the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and put forward a series of revisionist theses which caused deep ideological confusion in the international communist and workers' movement. This Congress encouraged and set moving the anti-party and hostile elements in Albania, too. It aroused in them great hopes that "the time had come" for the Marxist-Leninist course of the PLA to be changed, and for them to regain their lost positions, that is, to start the same process that was developing in the Soviet Union and in some other countries of people's democracy. Direct aid was given these elements by the Yugoslav legation in Tirana, under whose direction a secret counter-revolutionary movement was organized to change the situation and seize the reins of the Party and of the people's power. Participating in this movement were a number of party members criticized for grave faults, or

unity of the Party, its general line and its leadership. They tried to make the Conference totally neglect the most important tasks of the fulfilment of the state plan.

As was fully confirmed at the Conference, and as some of these elements admitted, this hostile work was prepared behind the back of the Party and was inspired by anti-party elements who have always opposed the line of the Party and have adopted markedly hostile attitudes, like Pëllumb Dishnica, Hulusi Spahiu, Pajo Islami, Peço Fidhi.

Misusing the inner party democracy for hostile, career-seeking aims, these anti-party elements strove to denigrate the policy of the Party, to negate the successes achieved by the Party and our people under the leadership of the Central Committee, to revise the correct decisions adopted by the Party against the various hostile and anti-party elements and groups, to revise the economic policy of our Party, to attack the party cadres, to weaken the party discipline and vigilance, and to sow confusion among its ranks.

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disguised agents of the imperialists and revisionists. More than anybody else, these hostile elements publicized the 20th Congress and tried to create in the Party a favourable atmosphere for the revision of its Marxist-Leninist line and the rehabilitation of the enemies of the Party and the people. The revisionists made use of the Party Conference of the city of Tirana to start their onslaught against the Marxist-Leninist line and the leadership of the Party. There, through the representatives they had managed to have elected as delegates to the Conference, they put forward their anti-Marxist platform. The CC of the PLA considered the situation to be serious and sent to the Conference comrade Enver Hoxha who exposed the aims of the revisionists and defined the resolute stand of the PLA to defend the purity of the Party and of its revolutionary policy. The delegates fully supported this stand and condemned the endeavours of the enemy. The revisionist plot was foiled.

As it turned out from the proceedings of the Conference, the preparation of this hostile activity was begun by anti-party elements, unhealthy intellectuals of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois extraction, who, violating the most elementary rules of the Party, spread rumours high and low against the line of the Party, against its leadership and decisions. On the eve of the Conference, they urged the unhealthy elements to put forward their anti-party views at the Conference allegedly as instructions from the basic organizations of which they were members.

The Provisional Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana was fast asleep, totally oblivious to all this hostile activity going on behind its back. This happened because its work had been characterized by pronounced bureaucratism, by the feeling of self-satisfaction, by the spirit of justification, cronyism, and the lack of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

This situation in the activity of the Provisional Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana undoubtedly created favourable conditions for the hostile activity that was being prepared by these anti-party elements. The Provisional Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana showed that it was not up to its task. Some other party organizations such as that of the Ministry of Industry, that of Radio Tirana, of the Film Studio, which did not hit hard at the anti-party hostile views expressed by the above mentioned elements, did not evaluate them properly, nor take the proper measures, also failed to carry out their task.

This hostile activity was possible because certain basic organizations, and especially the Provisional Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana, allowed violations of the Leninist norms of the life of the Party and the secrecy and discipline of the Party, and misuse of inner party democracy.

The 3rd Party Conference of the city of Tirana, aided by the Central Committee, resolutely condemned this profoundly hostile activity and loyally defended the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, the correctness of its decisions, and its unity. It expressed the solidarity of the party organization of the city of Tirana around the Central Committee, the Leninist leadership of our Party. The Conference decided that the basic organizations of which these elements are members, as well as the other organizations where such manifestations exist, should make a profound analysis of their mistakes and adopt the stand proper to the occasion. The Conference, having in mind the great responsibility of the Provisional Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana, and in particular of its secretaries, discharged the First Secretary of the Party Committee and elected him Second Secretary, whereas the other secretaries of the Party Committee were not elected to the new Party Committee for the city of Tirana.

The main lessons the whole Party should draw from the analysis of this question are:

1. — It should always be borne in mind that even in situations of tranquillity the class enemies and enemies of the Party will strive with every means to fight the Party in every way. Therefore, it is impermissible to let vigilance relax in the slightest; we must not allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the feeling of self-satisfaction and allow enemy activity free rein.

2. — Any violation of the Leninist norms in the life of the Party should be resolutely combated. The organizational rules of the Party must be observed and implemented with the greatest strictness. The iron discipline of the Party should be strengthened. Issues must be discussed in the party way and in a healthy party spirit. Unhealthy manifestations of discussing internal party matters in public must be sternly condemned. Inner party

democracy, criticism, self-criticism, especially criticism from below, must be further strengthened. The party organizations should be vigilant and resolutely attack any misuse of inner democracy endangering the interests of the Party.

3. — Work for the ideological education of the party members, for their communist development, should be stepped up, and unhealthy symptoms of bourgeois liberalism, petty-bourgeois hangovers, manifestations of conceit, and so on, must be combated.

4. — Active work among the people, close and frequent contact with them, and not only in official forms, should be strengthened. The party organs and their apparatuses should put an end, once and for all, to bureaucratic methods of leadership, to frequent and prolonged meetings, to red-tape methods of management. It is important to keep closer to the grassroots, to listen to the voice of the masses, and clear up their demands. More concrete work is necessary to explain the decisions of the Party and state in greater detail to the masses. In particular the comrades with responsibility in the Party and the state apparatus should be used in this work.

5. — There should be greater concern for the advancement and promotion to posts of responsibility of worker elements. The activity for the education of the workers and for the increase of the ranks of the Party with new members from the ranks of the working class should be increased. In the districts where we have more or less developed industry, the overwhelming percentage of those to be admitted to the Party must be workers.

6. — Work for the education and distribution of cadres should be improved. Cadres must be carefully looked after and given help on the spot in order to carry out the tasks assigned to them.

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Once again, on the occasion of the study of this letter, the basic organizations of the Party are instructed that they must be wide awake and vigilant to protect the Party, its general line, its unity, from anyone who might try to violate them in any way at all. Day by day we must safeguard and strengthen the ties of the Party with the people. We must always be guided in everything by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

The 3rd Congress of the Party is only a short time away. The entire party must mobilize all its forces for the successful fulfilment and overfulfilment of the important tasks which the state plan for 1956, the first year of the 2nd five-year plan, puts before us, in order to go to the 3rd Congress with splendid achievements. The successful realization of the targets in the field of the economy should be considered by all the party organizations as their principal task.

For the Central Committee of the PLA
First Secretary

Enver Hoxha

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WE SHOULD BE ALWAYS ON OUR GUARD AGAINST THE AIMS, ATTEMPTS, AND REFINED METHODS OF THE ENEMY

Discussion at the meeting of the party basic organization of the apparatus of the CC of the PLA on the occasion of the study of the Resolution of the Party Conference of the city of Tirana

April 26, 1956

As a member of the Party, I also support the letter of the Central Committee and the Resolution of the Party Conference of the city of Tirana. On this occasion, I wish to raise some matters which may be useful for us, workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party.

In the first place, we must thoroughly understand what are the intentions of the enemy against our Party. The life and struggle of the Party itself develops the communist and makes him understand the aims of the enemy. One of the main aims has been, is, and always will be, to attack the leadership of the Party, the Central Committee of the Party. When the enemy strikes at the Central Committee of the Party, it hits the line of the Party. Therefore, we should always be on our guard against the aims, attempts, and the refined methods of the enemy. If the Party fails to sharpen the vigilance of the communists day in day out, then the enemy causes us great damage.

We are all aware that the enemy seeks to place another Central Committee at the head of the Party, and thus achieve its purpose: to gradually develop opportunist work in the Party and lead our country where the enemy wants, to the abyss. Seeing that it cannot achieve this objective with the present Central Committee, because this is a Marxist-Leninist Central Committee and firmly defends the Party and its correct line, the enemy seeks and strives to bring non-Marxist elements[1] into it.

It cannot be excluded that some one of us in the Central Committee may have some mistaken ideas, but this is a matter for the collective leadership, for the Central Committee, which has vigilantly and unwaveringly upheld the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, the correct line of the Party, the interests of the people. It is precisely here that the enemy has spearheaded its blows, and taking its cue from the mistakes that have been made in the fraternal communist and workers' parties, it thinks that the opportune moment has come to launch an attack against the leadership of our Party, too, at a time when it has not committed serious mistakes such as those made in other countries. And it began the attack, not against separate individuals, but frontally, against the whole leadership. Hence, this is not a matter of an attack against one person, but against an entire monolithic leadership. According to the enemy, the whole leadership must be

[1] Despite the pressure brought to bear by the Khrushchevite revisionists to extend the campaign against the socalled cult of the individual the aim of which, as in the Soviet Union and in some other countries of people's democracy, was to isolate the sound elements and remove them from the leadership, and to secure obedient lackeys to carry out their schemes in every country, the PLA did not fall into this trap. It did not revise its political line to pave the way for a change of leadership, but it condemned the cult of the individual as "an anti-Marxist and harmful practice".

removed, and, of course, it should be replaced with other persons like Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu and Co., because these enemies, who, in these situations, think that the sea has turned to soda-pop, do not consider their own mistakes as mistakes, therefore, they want them wiped off. In these situations of calm, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu think international tension is easing, therefore the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party must be changed, because according to them, this line has been incorrect, has been sectarian, and the class struggle has been too harsh.

But, comrades, we made no mistake in waging a stern class struggle and not allowing things to proceed as Sejfulla Malëshova wanted, that is, to give the merchants free rein, and not be hard on them. Had the Central Committee followed Sejfulla Malëshova's views, the situation in our country today would have been like that in Greece. At the time when the Albanian people were still torn and bleeding, Sejfulla Malëshova demanded that even those five factories which existed in the country should not have been taken over by the state, but by the big merchants, who would take foreign trade into their hands and receive credits from the bank. In addition, he wanted the elements of the bourgeoisie to be given favourable conditions and create their own party within our Front, thus, these things were to be allowed to those who plotted against our people's power. What had to be done, then? How could this country be set on its feet through Sejfulla Malëshova's policy? Those who think like this are right off the beam, they are utterly wrong. The condemnation of Sejfulla Malëshova was just, indeed the Party was very indulgent towards him. By acting in a correct way, the Party rescued its line, defended its correctness. But the bourgeoisie cannot tolerate the revolutionary line of the Party, and it tries to seize every opportunity to advance its own counter-revolutionary aims. Therefore, the Marx-

ist-Leninists should always be wide awake and on their toes.

The whole hostile business that came out at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana was intended to wreck the Central Committee of our Party. The exposure of the hostile activity at this Conference marks a major victory for us, but at the same time, the Party learns from its own mistakes. You see how the party organization of the city of Tirana has been shaken up by this event. Hence, all of these things are lessons. But you must not imagine that the enemy gained nothing at all in this affair. It gained, regardless of the fact that it lost some people and others got their fingers burnt. The enemy created a situation which the reactionaries are exploiting to say, "Strong and severe criticism is under way against people in the leadership who couldn't get out from under fast enough", and so on. But this is nothing, comrades. We, the workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee, who go to the base, must talk to the comrades, educate them; we must be careful and take into account that the enemy will try to take advantage of the situation, to frighten some party comrades, trying to sow disdain and a certain hesitation among the people.

It just isn't possible that the economic and political problems of the Party have not been worrying every one of the members at the centre and at the base. The party members must be interested in the problems, for otherwise our Party will wither away. Ours is a militant Party and knows what it is talking about and why it is fighting. It tries to explain its correct line to the masses and convince them, and to expose the enemy who wants them to scorn this line. Therefore, our Party cannot just keep its mouth shut. It is always in the vanguard, and its members, some more some less, all talk about these matters. But, in this situation, the enemy also speaks, and

in doing so it seeks to compromise our people, too, in order to line them up on its side, therefore, caution and vigilance are called for.

Now I wish to concentrate on certain matters that have been raised in our organization.

I think that when the names of certain comrades were mentioned, a cold shiver ran all over their bodies.

When the name of E.N. was mentioned yesterday in the organization, he certainly must have spent a very uneasy night. Of course, what this comrade said, that "since these things are not being explained to the people, they will listen to the BBC," is not a good thing to say, it is even to be condemned. This reflects comrade E.N.'s uneasy frame of mind, not that he sides with the BBC. It's quite another matter with Peço Fidhi whom I know, as do many others.

I well remember that forty years ago, when I was still a youngster (and events of one's younger days are long remembered), at the time when the Greeks occupied Gjirokastra, many of the families from Fidhi and Lito shouted in the streets, "Zito i Elladas!" (Long live Greece!), "Zito o Vasileos!" (Long live the King!), "Kato i Alvania!" (Down with Albania!). If not Peço Fidhi's father, his grandfather has done these things. In Korça, too, at that time, the Greek gendarmes killed the patriot Father Kristo Negovani, and the Ballauri and Co. persecuted the patriotic families of the Gramenos, Gërmenjis, Pepollaris, Tashkollaris, and others. Hence, when Peço Fidhi speaks well of the BBC, he does so because he is in sympathy with it. The people and the Party do not forget the past. But our Party is a Marxist-Leninist one and does not lump all the Fidhis together. When the revolution breaks out, many elements of the bourgeoisie, of the ruling classes, break away from their original class and are educated by the proletariat. There are some of them who go up to the

end with the proletariat, some others fall by the wayside. Peço Fidhi is just one of those who fell by the wayside. We should bear in mind that the bourgeois elements are more liable to drop out, but there are also proletarian elements who degenerate. Therefore, it is the duty of the Party to educate all the people, to look after all the communists, especially those of bourgeois, petty-bourgeois, and intellectual origin, whom it must assist so that they do not waver but are constantly tempered with the revolutionary ideology of the Party.

In situations like this we are passing through, we should know how to distinguish the real enemies of our Party from those who have made serious mistakes but are not enemies. Some people have lacked vigilance, their ears should be tweaked. There are others who have spoken on or off the party line, but in the final analysis, it is with party comrades they have spoken, and we must make a clear distinction between them and the enemy. Comrades, the Party's heart is like that of a mother. When you are young and make a mistake, you tell your mother about it yourself, while she, depending on what you've done, may pull your ear or even spank you, but she always loves you. Therefore, we should open our hearts to the Party, we should be sincere with it, no matter how grave and extraordinary our fault may be. One who is not sincere will let the cat out of the bag sooner or later, and then the Party will put him in his place. The Party pardoned Tuk Jakova for his first offense. Later on, when he was handed his new membership card, he said to me, "Comrade Enver! Tuk Jakova will not blot this membership card again!" But there, he did it again, and the Party justly threw him out. Therefore, we must be sincere and frank with the Party in order to receive its assistance. We must not resort to damagogy, for as the people have it, "A lie will soon out".

Nothing can be hushed up and kept from the Party, for it does not live in isolation, but among the people who love and defend their beloved Party. There is no course more correct than to go to the Party and say, "I did this, I was wrong!", and the Party will tell you, "Don't do it again, go and work better!"

The Party teaches us to be very considerate towards our comrades, to be on the best possible terms with them. But this does not mean that we should close our eyes to mistakes that are made, or to speak tenderly and softly to Vandush Vinçani who needs a good shaking up and must tell the Party frankly about his grave mistakes. Our Party should always be awake, friendly, and approachable; it must pull the ear of anyone who commits a mistake and help him correct himself. At the same time, we should be broader in our judgement, we must realize that it is not only those who make mistakes who must bear the blame, but we, too. Whoever thinks, "I have not been involved in this or that affair, and therefore I have made no mistake," is not judging things correctly. It is true that you have not been involved, but the question here is for the work of the Party, because these enemy elements have seized on certain moments, certain mistakes, and have utilized them to further their hostile interests against the Party.

Can we claim that we make no mistakes in our work? No! If we were to say, "We have no faults," we would be deceiving ourselves. But we are communists and we should not only say in words, "We have faults". Of course, we, too, have our own shortcomings in our work. Without dwelling on this matter at length, I think I should say that, here in the apparatus, there are serious shortcomings against which we should wage a persistent struggle.

In the first place, things are not properly explained to the party basic organizations, either by the apparatus

of the Central Committee, the inspectors, instructors, and others, or by the party committees. It is not correct to say that the base does not raise doubts. It is a fact that they do not raise tendentious questions there, however, doubts exist. If no doubts were raised at all, then we should do some hard thinking and say: either we are "in order," or the Party is fast asleep. There are contradictions which bring development, there is struggle to overcome them, but other contradictions arise. Experience shows that there are questions at the base, that there are even opposite opinions, that there is need for explanation, but this explanation is not properly given by the Party, either through the party apparatus or through our press and our propaganda as a whole.

I read the report of the Party Committee for the Berat district, and noticed that there were only seven lines in it about the international situation. This is a clear indication that the work of enlightening the masses politically does not occupy the place it deserves, and the danger exists that, through being engaged with economic problems which in itself is something very positive, the other important aspect, the political work with the masses, may be neglected. In these circumstances when the enemy is at work, if the Party is not well-armed and fails to properly enlighten the people, thousands of questions are bound to arise, among which there will be ones which the hostile elements will link with economic questions and utilize to their own advantage. If we disregard these important guidelines of the Party, our work will be weakened and damaged. We must not be surprised that doubts are raised. Doubts are bound to exist, and we should answer them, otherwise the people will be in the dark, and will seek explanations from others. The weaker our work to explain things to the masses, the easier will it be for the enemy to act. Let no one think that the

whole job can be done by reading the papers or attending a lecture. No, intensive political activity is called for. It should not happen that whoever raises a doubt is considered an enemy. This is not right. One should be judged in work, in life. Suspicion should not be created immediately someone asks this or that question. The political enlightenment of people is indispensable. This task must never be neglected.

But why isn't the political enlightenment of our rank-and-file members done properly? It is not done well because briefing is loosely organized, at the base the problems are not gone into deeply, only some general things reach the centre, and the problems which are worrying the Party are not properly taken up. Often things reach us which need not be sent to us at all, for they are not settled up here. Minor matters are solved at the base. But there are also "minor matters" which must be looked into and analysed, for very often they are indicative of big problems. It is precisely these conclusions which are the result of analysis that should be brought from the base to the leadership, which should take the necessary measures to explain or resolve a given situation. This is not done to the proper extent in the apparatus of the Central Committee, and at the same time, information is not utilized properly. Things are slow-moving, and we bear great responsibility for this. We must shake off these wrong methods as soon as possible. Enemies are enemies, and should be fought; they are against us, but we should struggle to avoid leaving the enemy any way to attack us.

Of course, the work of the instructors has improved, and we cannot say that it is like it was before, because they hold more frequent consultations with the secretaries of the Central Committee and with the directors. Nevertheless, their work is still unsatisfactory. The fact is that the Political Bureau had no knowledge of what

was being prepared and came out at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana. The Party Committee of the city of Tirana was asleep, therefore it has a lot to answer for. Here, there are all these inspectors and instructors of the Central Committee, members of the Central Committee, ministers and other cadres, who can be activated. All of them live among the masses of the people, among the Party, and had they got a hint, even at the eleventh hour, of the alien views held by those who took the floor at the Party Conference, immediate actions would have been taken, matters would have been gone right into, and these events would not have taken place. Therefore, here we are at fault. The fact that certain comrades of the apparatus gave information as to what was being rumoured, is a positive aspect, but the leadership did not take immediate measures. Therefore, comrades, we should be more careful regarding such things, all of us, from the instructors and inspectors to the directors and secretaries of the Central Committee, must shake ourselves up.

Our press, too, must aid the Party more. It is very weak and does not properly reflect the problems life raises. It must be said, too, that the positive experience which is dealt with in the press is not properly studied at the base, especially by the party members. The party committees are to blame for this, but we, too, must share the blame together with the comrades who are more in contact with the base, who, everywhere they go, should link these things better with the situation, life, work, and the events that are taking place.

We must realize that failure to enlighten people politically causes some to waver and gossip, for instance, to describe as unjust the stand adopted towards Tuk and Bedri. But if the Central Committee had made any mistake in this matter, it would certainly have made self-criticism. Since the Central Committee has not said any-

thing, then everyone knows the line of the Party and has no reason to think differently. Furthermore, the Central Committee has spoken bluntly about these matters at the time when the Yugoslav issue came out. Nevertheless, if someone has an idea, and ideas do cross people's minds, it is not a crime if he expresses it, but not in an anti-party way, because such a thing is grist to the mill of the enemy. Whoever fails to express his opinions in a party way, is not acting correctly. The enemy raises difficulties, therefore, in every situation, the communist comrades should be of strong nerves and have faith in the line of the Party. If we look back over the road we have travelled, we shall be able to see who are the ones who have wanted and still want to lead the Party to the abyss. They have been and are its enemies. But in the twists and turns of such situations there are also unclear elements who vacillate. Hence, it is precisely in these situations that the Party should be right on the job to explain things to the masses, to help everyone grasp the developments correctly.

I have the impression that all of us are not really clear on the economic questions, which are among the most important. It appears as though we know about them, but it is not so. We need to be more profoundly acquainted with them, to understand and explain them, and never waver in any situation. We have difficulties, and the enemy takes advantage of them. However, if tomorrow we can fill the market with butter, cheese, and so on, all the enemy propaganda collapses. But the economic questions should be clear, first of all, to the Party. We must say that the Directorate of Agitation and Propaganda at the Central Committee carries on propaganda divorced from the economic question. To some extent, this weakness is also observed in the Directorate of Organization, but especially in the Directorate of Agitation and

Propaganda. Comrade Vandush Vinçani and some others may pass themselves off as knowledgeable, but I can say that they know only the formulae of Marxism-Leninism, which will not take them far, because they are unable to link them properly with practice, with life, with the conditions, with our situation. In the apparatus of the Central Committee, however, there are other comrades who have a better understanding of the economic questions and of the decisions adopted by the Central Committee, therefore these two groups should stick close to each other, should collaborate, they should help to achieve a better understanding in the Party of the problems of its economic policy. Why is it that there are people who say that the situation in our country is grave, or that the Central Committee didn't do well to take this or that measure? Let us analyse these matters a little.

It must be realized that the partial abolition of the rationing system is a major victory. The rationing system is parasitical, because there were people who ate at the expense of our economy. When the Central Committee abolished ration cards, it was concerned not about the needs of this or that individual, but about the needs of the entire people. Who benefited from the steps taken to abolish the rationing system? Those who gained from these measures were over a million people whose living conditions were improved. And these are the main producers of the countryside. Now they are able to buy on the free market better than they used to do.

All those employed by the state were given compensation. This is a correct socialist principle, which we should not only mention as a formula, but we should understand it and carry it out in practice, because we have to do with the family, with the children, who must be fed without fail. But amongst the families which were entitled to ration cards there were persons who were

idlers, and they should not be compensated. The Party compensated the families of the workers and employees so that their economic situation would not be worsened. Thus, those on lower wages, who are more in need, are granted larger compensation. Although this compensation was granted, the situation is still difficult, therefore, soon we shall proceed to the reduction of prices. No compensation has been provided either in the people's democracies or in the USSR; even when the rationing system was completely abolished in the USSR no compensation at all was allowed, but we must not lose sight of the fact that price differentials in the different markets there were smaller, of course, because they are better off than us, having more advanced industry and agriculture, while in our country the price differentials were more marked.

But has the Central Committee been overhasty in taking these measures? No, comrades. The Central Committee has spent whole days and nights pondering over these measures. It is twelve years now since liberation, and still we are beset by difficulties. Are we going to go on like this? Shall we continue with those low norms? This is not socialist. Had we not taken these steps, our economy would have been overburdened. For instance, the old division into work categories was no longer suitable to the new situation. It applied to a given situation when a young man came from the countryside and was often given the fifth category. This was not fair, but it was done because of our need for specialists. Were we to continue along that road in the new conditions when the situation had undergone changes? Of course, not. During the 2nd five-year plan the state could not afford to feed parasites who cost our economy millions of leks. Of course, today this is not to the liking of someone who received a larger income. It should not be forgotten, however, that for years on end he has been paid accord-

ing to the sixth category when he deserved only the third category. An honest man understands that this is not right, and should be corrected. Therefore, the Central Committee did not make a mistake in taking these steps, irrespective of whether they ought to have been taken one month earlier or later.

After the partial abolition of rationing, the people increased their deposits in the Savings Bank, and they did this because they trusted the Party, its correct policy; they realized correctly that the compensation is for clothing and footwear, therefore they put their money in the Savings Bank. We don't say much about this, but the figures prove it.

But who complains about the abolition of the ration cards? As comrade Salë Sheshi also said, those who complain are the ones who had plenty to eat in the past (and still have plenty today), at a time when the people suffered and went to buy sugar not in kilograms but in lumps, when the worker and the peasant made a pot of soup with a couple of beans. At the time when the bourgeois could buy whatever they pleased and the deputy to parliament stuffed his pockets with 25 pieces of gold each month, a worker was paid one lek and a quarter or two leks a day, and had nothing left over for his children. And what about housing, light, firewood, and other necessities for the worker? But, comrades, what's the need to go any further into all this!

All of us communists should attach major importance to the economic questions. But it seems to me that, when the comrade secretaries of the Central Committee get together with the workers of the apparatus, they do not explain these matters in depth. It is essential to do this work well. It is not enough for the communist comrades of the apparatus to work together or separately just on the basis of the directives of the Central Committee. In

the Political Bureau there are discussions, observations, proposals, and when a decision is reached, it is essential that it be analysed and thoroughly understood so that during the work for its implementation there will be no waverings, regardless of the difficulties and obstacles that might be encountered at the base.

The enemy seeks to exploit certain obstacles and economic difficulties which our country has at the present stage, and to utilize them in its favour. Thus, the enemy says that the shops and stores in the western countries are full of merchandise. But who buys from these shops? The enemy says nothing about this because it is not interested. But we must speak up. It is only the bourgeois elements who buy from these shops, while the people, the proletariat, suffer, live in want and poverty. I believe that you, comrades, see this, too, in the Italian films, which, although they pass the censorship of the bourgeoisie, clearly show the hard life of the people and the workers in the capitalist world. In fact the reality is even worse, but the censors do not allow things to be described as they really are, whereas in our countries the life of the people keeps improving. It is easy to feed five mouths in a family, but to raise the standard of living of over one million three hundred thousand people is not a job that can be done through the holy spirit, but through sweat, heroism, and by carrying out a correct line like that of our Party, which has been and will always be correct.

In practice there are certain mistakes, and there will be in the future, too, but our Party will fight with all its strength to eliminate them. Let us take, for instance, the cult of the individual. It seems to me that my name has been exalted, slogans and busts are set up all over the place. This is not good. But serious mistakes have not been committed because in the Central Committee of

our Party there has been collectivity. However, this is a problem to be tackled not only at the top, but also at the base because there are people there who become swell-headed and arrogant. One says, "I am party secretary," another "I am chief of the state power," a third, "I am head of the Security Branch," and so on. These things do occur, and the enemy seeks to turn them to its own account, saying, "Attack the leadership, for there is the cult of the individual in it!" Or enemies shout, "Is this your opinion or that of the Political Bureau?" The fact is that the enemy will continue to try to act against the party leadership in order to damage it, to diminish its authority.

We see for ourselves where our mistakes and weaknesses lie, and wage daily struggle along correct lines against them. We shall fight in the same way against them in the future, too, for these are problems which must be looked into continually in the whole life of the Party. And we draw lessons from our mistakes, reflect on them, and strive to defend the unity of the Party and the Central Committee without being lenient towards our mistakes. The worker Boris Ilo of the "21 Dhjetori" Building Enterprise acted correctly at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana when he made his criticism in a Bolshevik spirit and was applauded by all. He criticized ministers by name and also comrades of the Political Bureau, and did it in the correct party way. Whereas the anti-party elements at the Conference had other aims; they were opposed to the leadership, and wanted to denigrate and discredit it.

It is essential for us, in our capacity as party members and workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee, to have a thorough grasp of these questions. Of course, we should have given better explanations of some problems earlier, but we did not do it so as not to arouse

curiosity. For instance, in connection with the Stalin affair[2] we have told and we shall tell the Party and the people the things they should learn. Whereas, as regards how events have developed in the USSR and what consequences they have had, these are matters which concern the Communist Party of the SU and the Soviet people, and not us. In the same way, Koçi Xoxe's crimes and faults are matters which concern us, and there is no reason for other countries to know them in detail. Let the other parties be content with what they know, the details are known to our people and Party because they are things which concern us.

As I have already said, the hostile element profited from these situations, from the lack of full explanation, and the lack of necessary criticism and self-criticism. Of course, whoever has faults, whether big or small, should be criticized, but always abiding by the norms of the Party. It has been said that there is favouritism in the Central Committee. And who says this? This is said by certain individuals who cannot control their tongues, who make their business the subject of street gossip and talk

2 In Khrushchev's "secret" report "On the cult of the individual and its consequences" delivered at the 20th Congress, J.V. Stalin and his great revolutionary activity were attacked. The aim of this attack was to justify the elimination of the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik Party, to replace it with a new, revisionist political line and to revise Marxism-Leninism. J.V. Stalin was and remains a great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and a distinguished leader of the international communist and workers' movement. For 30 years on end Stalin led the Party and the Soviet state with wisdom and mastery through stern battles against all the enemies of the Soviet Union and socialism, made a valuable contribution to the formation and consolidation of the socialist camp and the strengthening of the international communist movement, and waged a bitter struggle against imperialism and international reaction.

about it even in their families with their wives, mothers, and aunts, thus violating all the norms and rules of the Party. These are the persons who raise the question about whether there might be favouritism in the Central Committee of the Party!

It is indispensable that the comrades should thoroughly analyse faults and mistakes, arm themselves with all the decisions of the Central Committee, the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat, and go to the base well prepared so that they may not be caught unawares. If things are not made clear to the comrades of the apparatus of the Central Committee in the first place, then people will ask to see Enver about everything instead of seeing some other comrade.

Comrade T.M. took the floor here and I listened attentively to what he said about what he had done. But I did not see the point of his self-criticism, about having met Vehip Demi before the Party Conference of the city of Tirana was held. At that time Vehip Demi was a party member, regardless of the fact that he turned out to be an enemy. T.M. spoke well to him, told him that in order to raise the living standard of the people it is necessary to work, to raise productivity, and so on. I did not see anything wrong in this action of his.

I can say the same thing also about comrade M.R.'s contribution. He spoke for half an hour in order to assert that he had said to comrade M. "Kak dyela?"* in Russian and poor M.R., faced with this situation, thought: "I'm afraid this'll be taken amiss," and took pains to tell us about the matter. Not only was M.R. entitled to ask this comrade how things were getting on at the Conference, but he could even have asked for details, because they

* "Kak dyela?" (Rus.) — How are things going?

are comrades of the apparatus of the Central Committee. Had he fallen into the position of the comrade who acted wrongly at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, then that would have been another thing, and self-criticism would have been called for.

The question of secrecy should be well understood. There is secrecy in our Party, but this does not mean that we should not speak. We shall speak, because the workers of the apparatus of the Central Committee are propagandists and will speak about the business of the state and the people, of course not about secrets, but about the things people ought to know. We shall explain the situation to the people and mobilize ourselves together with them to carry out our tasks wherever we are working. But people are people. They will ask questions, and it is precisely here that each of us can show his ability in explaining things to them, and if there is some bad egg among the people, we should be able to shut him up, not by refusing to allow him to speak, because if we do this he will go somewhere else to speak or ask his question. Hence, it is better that he should speak at a meeting before everyone and be enlightened, or exposed, as the case may be. These things must be well understood. For instance, if a comrade is speaking somewhere about the economic problems, someone may ask him, "Comrade, this question is not clear to me". In this case our comrade is in duty bound to give explanations. These are essential rules which must be observed. One of the inspectors of the Central Committee said here with some hesitation that he had spoken about the proceedings of the Party Conference of the city of Tirana to comrade Sadik Bocaj, the First Secretary of the Party of the Shkodra district. Most certainly he should have told him about them and not only the First Secretary, but also the Second Secretary, and he

should have stressed that it is the work of the enemy, and so on. This is the way things should be done. If we fail to have a good grasp of these matters, then those at the grassroots also will fail to grasp them properly, and it may come about that when someone raises a problem, he may be told, "Stop, comrade! Raise this problem in the basic organization!" But we are comrades and will be discussing one problem or another, for instance, we will jointly criticize the sector of agriculture which is not going well. And we are not doing it with some stranger, but among ourselves. If we do not discuss, what shall we say to one another when we meet, only, "What fine weather it is"? We discuss and criticize so that the comrades in agriculture may bestir themselves, so that the land is tilled in time, productivity increased, and so on. We must do this as well as we can, for we are like a big family of many members, and because the base expects a lot from us. Of course, the discussions must be sound and along party lines. If we grasp these problems correctly, let us not be afraid to discuss things with one another. If a comrade says something wrong, I oppose him and set him right, and when I see that he persists, then I inform also his superiors.

Now regarding the self-criticism of the comrades who acted wrongly, I have nothing to say. Except that it should be kept in mind that their self-criticism is the first step. The question is that each of them should show in practice that he has really understood his mistake, and that he will not make such mistakes again. The Party considers these persons as sick, and that they should pass through a period of convalescence. Therefore, we should give them continual aid until they get strong, and since they have realized the gravity of their mistakes and have brought out the reasons that they fell into them, I think, serious criticism should be noted on their registration cards. The

basic organization may have its own opinion. You should not be influenced by me because, I, too, am a member of the organization, therefore, vote on my proposal and let us take a joint decision.

Works, vol. 13

REPORT AT THE 3rd CONGRESS OF THE PLA[1] "ON THE ACTIVITY OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA"

May 25, 1956

(*Extracts*)

Comrades,

The 3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania is being held in very favourable external and internal conditions. Four years have elapsed since the 2nd Congress of the Party. You will remember that, at that time, the international situation was very tense; from the preparation of aggression, the imperialists had gone over to open aggression in Korea, and the bloodshed was continuing in Indochina. The 3rd Congress of our Party is meeting at

[1] The 3rd Congress of the PLA was held from the 25th of May to the 3rd of June 1956. During the preparation for its 3rd Congress, the PLA was faced with the acute problems arising from the 20th Congress of the CPSU for the international communist movement, as well as under the pressure brought to bear by the Soviet leadership to impose its revisionist course on our Party.

Though the PLA did not come out at its 3rd Congress with an open denunciation of the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress, all the conclusions and decisions of the Congress were pervaded by a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary spirit.

In all respects the Congress decided unanimously and unhesitatingly to follow the Marxist-Leninist course pursued by

a time when, thanks to the peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, thanks to the powerful movement of the peoples against war, for the defence of peace, the wars in these countries have ceased, and international tension is being eased.

Since the 2nd Congress of the Party the external and internal position of the People's Republic of Albania has been strengthened. All the efforts of the imperialist states to detach Albania from the camp of socialism and to negate its legitimate rights as a sovereign and independent state in the international arena have failed.

During this period, in accord with the main tasks laid down by the 1st five-year plan, Albania has been turned from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial country. Basing itself on the achievements of the 1st five-year plan, the 3rd Congress of our Party will set the course for the further development of our people's economy and culture for the period of the 2nd five-year plan.

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the Party from its founding. At that time our Party could not come out openly against the theses of the 20th Congress, because this would have served only the enemies of communism who had launched a furious attack on Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp, and also because the Party of Labour of Albania was not yet fully convinced that Khrushchev and his group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism, and still hoped that the Soviet leadership would realize its mistakes and correct them. At the same time, through party channels, the Central Committee of our Party had informed the Central Committee of the CPSU of all its reservations and objections regarding the theses of the 20th Congress and the revisionist activity of the Soviet leadership.

When the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists became quite clear, the Party of Labour of Albania rose against it publicly. At the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November 1960, the delegation of our Party headed by comrade Enver Hoxha directly criticized the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress, the Khrushchevite revisionist leadership, its anti-Marxist, anti-socialist, and anti-communist views and activity.

All these successes have been achieved thanks to the lofty patriotism of our courageous and hard-working people, to the leadership of our heroic Party, thanks to the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and the aid of the Soviet Union and the other friendly countries. . .

Unlike what happened with many other communist and workers' parties, the PLA did not make any concessions on matters of principle, in spite of the pressure by the Soviet revisionist leadership, and preserved its Marxist-Leninist general line intact.

Dealing with the question of class struggle, the Congress described it as a mistake to think that the class struggle was dying out, and that the overthrown classes would voluntarily give up the struggle. It instructed the communists never to lose vigilance, even for a single moment, and to ruthlessly continue their struggle against opportunist manifestations, against the danger of Rightism, and to guard the unity of the ranks of the Party as the most precious thing.

The Congress approved the directives of the 2nd five-year plan for the 1956-1960 period, and laid down as the main task the development of industry, especially the mineral industry, the rapid development of agriculture, bringing to the fore the task of completing the collectivization in the countryside, and the improvement of the material situation and the uplift of the cultural level of the people.

I

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

. . .

Comrades,

As early as the days immediately following the Second World War there appeared in international relations two political lines opposed to each other: the policy of the camp of peace and socialism headed by the Soviet Union, a policy of peace and collaboration among states and of the development of normal trade, cultural, and other relations, and the policy of the imperialist camp headed by the United States of America, an aggressive policy, a policy of military blocs directed against the Soviet Union and the countries of the people's democracy, a policy of political and economic enslavement of the peoples, a policy of blackmail, intimidation, provocations, and open warfare. Without doubt, such an aggressive policy, a policy of colossal war budgets, a policy of "cold war" and "hot war" at the same time, maintained by the aggressive imperialist circles of the United States of America and of its other partners, has brought about an aggravation of the international situation and increased international tension. The development of the international situation on such a dangerous road, along which the imperialist monopolies of the USA wanted to lead mankind, created great uneasiness among the people who saw the approach of another world catastrophe. Faced with such a critical situation, the peoples did not fold their arms but rose,

gathered together, and organized themselves into a powerful world movement for peace never seen before in the history of the peoples of the world. The peaceful policy of the Soviet Union was supported with might and main by all peace-lovers and people of good will throughout the world. This was not fortuitous. The reason was that the policy of the Soviet Union expressed the sentiments and wishes of hundreds of millions of common people throughout the world, with different political and social views and religious beliefs. This powerful movement in defence of peace became a major obstacle to the realization of the imperialists' plans for war. Their cry that this world movement in defence of peace was purely a communist one did not succeed. It became clear to every one that the preparations for "cold war" and "hot war" and the policy from positions of strength were the offspring of the imperialist monopolies thirsting after colossal profits at the peoples' expense, of their imperialist policy of trying to turn back the wheel of history, dreaming of the destruction of the Soviet Union and the states of people's democracy. Of course, war is the only means they see to achieve this end. The stern opposition of the people to these schemes is both legitimate and inevitable. This determined resistance of the peoples against the imperialists' preparations for a new war enhanced the prestige of the Soviet Union in the world, strengthened the great love of the peoples for the homeland of socialism and communism, in which they found, as always, the greatest moral and material support for the realization of the finest cause of mankind, socialism and peace in the world. This resistance of the peoples against the imperialists' preparations for war brought about the exposure of the diabolical aims of the imperialist war-mongers, isolating them politically from the masses of the people, causing ever growing waverings and splits among the various participants of the

aggressive military pacts set up with the aim of war by the imperialist war-mongers of the United States of America.

The causes of war, which is the greatest misfortune of mankind, lie in the aims of the monopolies running the capitalist economy, which is directed to the ever greater enrichment of a group of millionaires and multi-millionaires at the expense of the working masses, to the pitiless exploitation of the working class and all working people, to the quest for new markets, to the unbridled competition between capitalist groups and states, to the militarization of the economy, and, ultimately, to a redivision of the world and its material resources through bloody conflicts and wars. The capitalist economy cannot find stability and develop in a steady and harmonious way like the socialist economy. The continual crises, crises in industrial production and financial crises, crises in the field of agricultural production, constitute a single feature, inseparable from the capitalist economy. Such development leads to the constant deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The struggle to dominate the markets of the capitalist, colonial, and dependent countries is being waged with the greatest severity by the monopolists of the United States of America, of Britain, France, West Germany, Japan, and others. Of course, this has given rise to fierce rivalry which is growing from day to day. Through their Marshall Plan, the US monopolists and the leading circles of the United States of America succeeded in creating a favourable situation for themselves after the Second World War, taking advantage of the weakness of Britain and France, as well as of the temporary exclusion of the German and Japanese monopolists from the world market. But such a situation favourable to the American capitalists could not last long because industrial production both in Britain and in France has surpassed the prewar level, although only

by a small percentage, and West Germany as well as Japan have now become dangerous competitors of the US, British, and French monopolists in the world capitalist markets, as well as in the markets of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Therefore, the economic rivalry among the various capitalist states is becoming more intense day by day. Ever growing contradictions and differences are appearing among the participants in the ill-famed Atlantic Pact. The United States of America, the most favoured state among those which took part in the anti-Hitlerite war, not only succeeded in exploiting to the limit the economic difficulties of the western countries and subjecting whole branches of economy of these countries to the dictate of the US monopolies, but also succeeded in setting up aggressive pacts against the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, in taking large territorial concessions from its weaker partners and, violating the sovereignty of these countries, in building military bases all around the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. At the same time, as an integral part of the aggressive pacts they had set up, the capitalist countries, headed by the United States of America, began a large-scale militarization of their economies, neglecting the development of industrial and agricultural production. They began the arms race. War budgets increased fantastically, and naturally, far from bringing any benefit to mankind, especially in the western countries, this brought about great impoverishment, suffering, hunger, and unemployment for the broad working masses. The working class and the other working people of the western countries saw clearly that the policy of armaments, which was being carried out at their expense, was aimed only at enriching the monopolists, and not at all at establishing "stability of forces among the various states". Despite all the hysterical propaganda, they clearly realized that

the threat of a "communist attack" had never existed at all. The peoples of the world have proven to their cost that, when the capitalists arm themselves and dress this up under the wellknown formulae of "defence of the Motherland", "defence against the communist attack", they are heading for war, preparing to plunge the people into a bloody shambles in the interests of the capitalist ruling cliques. The people have paid for this with their own blood. Wars and preparations for war bring in their wake poverty and misery. Within these last five years, state expenditure for military equipment in the United States has increased four-fold, in Britain also four-fold, and in France three-fold. Far from bringing any benefit to the economy and improving the standard of living of these countries, these colossal sums have been taken from the mouths of the people, to be spent on armaments and other means of mass extermination.

It is understandable that with the major contradictions existing within the capitalist system, with the present trend of preparing for a new war, with the endless creation of aggressive alliances and war pacts, and especially with the present international situation of easing international tension, the crisis of capitalism is becoming deeper and deeper, despite the increase in industrial production since before the war due to factors which are artificial and with no prospects of continuity. The colossal burden of armaments, which has been forced on the peoples of the western countries by the United States of America, has now become extraordinarily heavy. Therefore, they are raising their voices ever more loudly against the arms race. The draconian restrictions the US monopolists have imposed on their western partners regarding international trade with the Soviet Union, China, and the other countries of people's democracy are seriously falling apart. American dumping and the unilateral customs limitations have been

imposed on the industrial products of the other partners; the grabbing of capitalist markets by the US monopolies has come up against the open opposition of Britain and France which are seeking to get rid of the US noose which is strangling them. Thus, it can be seen that already the USA is gradually losing its monopoly of the early postwar years, because its western partners are back on their feet and cannot allow the Americans to trample them underfoot. Thus, the Americans, wanting to sow the wind, are reaping the whirlwind. The ruling circles of the United States of America, in the first place, and those of Britain and France, are finding it very hard to sell their armaments; their former markets in the colonial and dependent countries are shrinking because the peoples of these countries have awakened and are waging a determined struggle against colonialism, setting up their national industry, and developing their agricultural production. . . They are offering firm resistance to the aggressive pacts concocted by the United States of America and its partners, Britain and France. The countries of Asia and Africa are persistently carrying out the historic decisions of the Bandung Conference and the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence among peoples. The countries freed from colonial bondage and those which are trying to throw off this odious yoke, this disgrace to mankind, see in the socialist camp their friends who love them and help them strengthen their independence, freedom, and sovereignty, help them build their economy and improve the living standards of their people. Through the Bagdad Pact, the imperialists are trying in vain to create hostilities between the many-millioned Indian people and those of Pakistan, to bring the free and sovereign Arab states, like Egypt, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Lebanon, and others, under their yoke again. The French imperialists and colonialists are trying in vain to keep the peoples of North Africa under their

domination. The signal for the abolition of colonial domination and for the triumph of the freedom of the people rang out in the historic days of the Great October Revolution which opened a brilliant epoch for mankind. The aggressive policy of the imperialists is suffering increasing failure day by day. Our duty, like that of all the peoples of the world, is to strive with might and main so that the aggressive policy of the imperialists will be completely defeated and the world will enjoy peace and prosperity.

Comrades,

The People's Republic of Albania is a peace-loving state. Throughout their existence, the Albanian people have longed for peace and freedom, and have fought for their national independence and sovereignty. It has always been their wish to live in close and sincere friendship with the neighbouring states and all the other states of the world. But many states have not had such intentions towards our country. On the contrary many imperialist states have aimed to carve up, and have actually carved up, Albania in order to enslave the Albanian people. Our people have resisted these attacks and finally have smashed the aggressive schemes of the imperialist states. It is easy to understand that the aggressive western imperialist circles were not at all happy to see a small country like Albania gain independence and sovereignty, proclaim the Republic, and establish the regime of people's democracy. Under these circumstances, it is natural for the imperialist propaganda machine to concoct many trumped-up charges, blackmail and threats against our country, which, it must be said, had no success whatsoever. It is true that the Albanian people were long denied their legitimate rights in the international arena by many imperialist states, but this unjust attitude on their part had the opposite effect on world public opinion from what they expected. These

attitudes brought out the injustice and arbitrary policy of these states towards the legitimate sovereign rights of the peoples more clearly, while they enhanced the international prestige of the Albanian people and won them friends throughout the world.

The enemies of the Albanian people based their calculations on wishful thinking, without taking proper account of the possibilities they had for the realization of these wishes. Of course, they had to fail, as they actually did, thanks to the heroism of our people, to the leadership of our Party, to the vigilance and heroism of our army and the State Security Force.

Disregarding the ear-splitting noise, calumnies, and threats of the imperialists, and always standing ready and vigilant, the Albanian people strengthened their people's state power and began building the foundations of socialism.

The alliance and friendship of the Albanian people with the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union are important factors for the construction of socialism in Albania. The political and economic aid of the Soviet Union has enabled our backward country to advance with great strides, and the economy of our People's Republic has been strengthened. The age-long dream of the Albanian people is being realized in the time of our generation, which had the great good fortune to be living and fighting during the period of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism. Today, at this Congress, we proudly reflect on the heroism of our people, headed by the working class, of our beloved Party, of the Soviet peoples and the glorious Bolshevik Party, when we see the great projects of the 1st five-year plan successfully completed. Recall the day when we laid the foundation stone of the "Stalin" Textile Combine. The enthusiasm of the workers was indescribable, and their confidence in the Party that led them to victory and in

the aid and support of the Soviet Union was unshakable. We built the combine. The machinery came from the Soviet Union. We lacked specialized cadres and workers, therefore Soviet cadres came in hundreds and trained our cadres with patience and devotion. Today, the "Stalin" Textile Combine employs as many engineers as all Albania had before liberation. It was the same with the Sugar Refinery, the Woodworking Combine and the Cement Factory. It is the same at the oil wells, at the coal and chromium mines, and throughout our industry. Thousands of engineers, tractor-drivers, agronomists, veterinarians, zootechnicians and various technicians are employed in agriculture. Doctors, professors, scientists, men of art and culture have been through the schools and universities in our country, in the Soviet Union, and in the countries of people's democracy and are now contributing with their knowledge to the construction of socialism. The great material aid given to us by the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Democratic Germany, the aid given to us by the great China and others, is one of the main factors of the great successes we achieved in accomplishing the tasks of the 1st five-year plan, in setting up our industry, in developing agriculture, and in creating a powerful basis for the 2nd five-year plan, the directives for which we are defining today. The Albanian people and their Party are grateful to the Soviet Union, to the People's Republic of China and the countries of people's democracy for this aid and support, and will know how to utilize it properly for their own benefit and in the common interests of strengthening the socialist camp and peace. As a member of this camp, our country is steadily and speedily developing its economy and its forces of production, in harmony and in co-ordination with all its friendly and allied countries. The co-ordination of economic plans of our countries within the framework of

the Council for Mutual Economic Aid[2] is to the advantage of our country, because all the branches of our economy will be developed and make progress. Our country will assist this correct co-ordinated policy of our socialist camp with all its power.

In the international arena our People's Republic and its rights have always been strongly and successfully upheld by the Soviet Union, by the countries of people's democracy and by the other states which are sympathetic to us and strive to defend peace. The truth is that, despite obstacles from the imperialist reactionary circles, today our country maintains friendly and diplomatic relations with 18 states of Europe, the Near East, and Asia. Friendly relations of this sort will be established in the future with many other states.

For a very long time, the doors of the United Nations Organization had been unjustly and arbitrarily closed to our country. This was an impermissible attitude. Naturally, justice triumphed, and our country was admitted to

[2] It was created in January 1949. At the end of February of that year, Albania became a member. The chief tasks of the Comecon were: exchange of economic experience, mutual technical aid, co-ordination of joint plans, development of the main branches of the economy of member countries on the basis of a rational division of work among them. Comecon was created on the basis of the principle of complete equality, and took decisions only after agreement had been reached by the parties concerned. The activity of Comecon was a clear example of international economic relations of the new type, established among the countries of the socialist camp. These relations were based on the principles of friendship, respect for national independence, and mutual advantage. However, with the rise of the revisionist clique to power in the Soviet Union this organization, too, degenerated gradually; it was transformed into an instrument for the realization of their social-imperialist aims at the expense of its members.

membership in the United Nations Organization[3]. This is an event of major significance because our country has fought and shed blood for its freedom, independence and sovereignty; it has upheld the principles and Charter of the United Nations Organization with all its strength even before becoming a member. . . The admission of Albania to membership in the United Nations Organization defeated yet another trick used by the enemies of our people in their underhand and slanderous claims.

The Albanian people and the Albanian government are just as much concerned over the major international issues and their correct solution as the other peoples and states of the world. The foreign policy of our government is a policy of peace, and expresses the wishes and aspirations of the Albanian people. This policy is guided by the Leninist principles of peaceful co-existence between the two systems, of friendly collaboration among states, of respect for the rights, freedom, and sovereignty of every nation, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. The Albanian people and the Albanian government have fought, and will fight with might and main, in defence of peace in the world. They support the proposals of the Soviet Union for the peaceful solution of the different problems which are worrying mankind, namely, collective security in Europe and Asia, the problem of disarmament, and the absolute ban on the use of atomic energy for war purposes, the problem of uniting Germany into a single, democratic, peaceful state, and so on.

Our country, like all the other countries of the socialist camp, is struggling concretely for peace and disarmament. We have reduced our armed forces. In the present situation, this correct measure has eased the burden on our people's economy. Such an action which the socialist states

[3] The PRA was admitted to the UNO on December 14, 1955.

have taken, has not yet been taken by the western states who are for peace and disarmament in words only.

The People's Republic of Albania is a member of the Warsaw Treaty[4], which, as we all know, was concluded by our peace-loving states following the ratification of the ill-famed Paris agreement, under which the governments of the United States of America, Britain, and France decided on the revival of West German militarism, the rearming of West Germany, and its inclusion in the aggressive military blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty and the West European Union, thus creating a direct menace to the security of the Soviet Union and the European countries of people's democracy and to peace in the world. The Warsaw Treaty is a treaty of defence against aggression and a factor for peace and stability in Europe. . .

The Albanian people and the Albanian government welcomed the signing of the state treaty with Austria.

The Albanian people welcomed the Geneva Conference of the leaders of the four great powers, and we hope that the Geneva spirit of the just solution of all international issues will be carried even further.

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[4] As counter to the ratification of the Paris Agreement of October 1954, eight countries of the socialist camp, including the PRA, met in Warsaw from the 11th to the 14th of May 1955, where they signed the "Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Aid", and created the Joint Command of the armed forces of the European socialist countries to guarantee peace and security in Europe. After the betrayal by the Soviet revisionists it was transformed into an aggressive, typically fascist treaty. This was borne out by the aggression of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia (August 21, 1968) by the armed forces of five countries of the Warsaw Treaty. Therefore, on the demand of our government, in compliance with the decision of the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA (September 5, 1968), the People's Assembly of the PRA, in its 6th session of the 6th legislature of September 12, 1968, decided to denounce the Warsaw Treaty and to disengage Albania from any obligations stemming from it.

The Albanian people and their government wholeheartedly support the legitimate claims of the fraternal Chinese people to their territory, Taiwan. We have great love and admiration for the heroic Chinese people, and we are indignant at the brazen manoeuvres of the imperialists who are interfering in the most brutal way in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of China over the question of Taiwan and are denying it its rightful place in the United Nations Organization. China is one of the great powers of the world. No major international issue can be settled without it. Our government, expressing the unwavering determination of the Albanian people, will defend the membership of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organization with might and main.

The Albanian people hailed the historic Bandung Conference, and are whole-heartedly at one with all the peoples of Asia and Africa still in bondage, who are fighting to wipe out the odious yoke of colonialism once and for all. The Albanian people and their government have declared their adherence to the wellknown Five Principles of peaceful co-existence among states of different social systems, which have been proclaimed by the governments of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, and which have been endorsed by the Soviet Union and by many other peace-loving states which are struggling to consolidate peace in the world.

Our friendly relations with the fraternal peoples of Yugoslavia have been set on a normal course and are becoming stronger day by day. . . With the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia we have concluded and put into practice a number of agreements in our joint interests, and have established trade and cultural relations.

We have long had diplomatic relations with Italy and France, and it is our wish that these relations should not

remain purely diplomatic, but should be extended towards trade and cultural exchanges. The Albanian people consider the French and Italian peoples as their friends. In these countries, democratic and progressive-minded people of varying political views have been and are well disposed towards the Albanian people and the People's Republic of Albania. In France and in Italy there exist the France-Albania and Italy-Albania Friendship Associations which work tirelessly, and with great success, for a better knowledge about our country and for the consolidation of friendship. The great classical French writers and progressive French literature are familiar to the Albanian intelligentsia. Many French tourists will visit our country this year.

In certain Italian reactionary circles it is said that our government is allegedly unwilling to extend the relations between our two countries. This, of course, is quite untrue. We have great sympathy for the Italian people and we are interested in having good relations of friendship, trade, and culture with them. We wish to trade with Italy, this is to our mutual advantage. Who is hindering the normal development of the trade agreement signed long ago? It is clear that it is not us. The goods earmarked for exchange with Italy under our agreement are waiting in our warehouses. Who is hindering the conclusion of the agreement in connection with the Peace Treaty? Not us. We even went so far as to make concessions to the Italian government regarding the war reparations Italy owes the Albanian people. We came to terms, but now that the agreement is to be signed, futile and groundless pretexts are brought out which are hindering the cleaning up of this matter. We released all the Italian war criminals held in our jails, and repatriated them. Italian films are being shown in our country, progressive Italian papers are read. In our radio broadcasts and concerts Italian

music is included in order to acquaint the Albanian public with the works of distinguished Italian artists.

It appears that certain reactionary circles in Italy, who have worked against our people in the past and have drawn no lessons from recent history, would wish to hinder a positive development of the relations between our two neighbouring countries. It seems that they still nurture fiendish aims towards our country, but Albania today is a country on which nobody dare lay a finger, and the development of good neighbourly relations is as much to the advantage of Albania as of Italy. We wish, and hope, that in the future the Italian government will be more responsive to the goodwill shown by our government to the establishment of good relations and economic and cultural collaboration between our two countries.

The Albanian people have great sympathy for the heroic Greek people who have fought for their freedom and independence for centuries on end. Greece was a cradle of civilization. Our two peoples have languished under bondage to imperialist invaders; they have fought together and have helped each other to free themselves from the yoke of oppressors. The Albanian people know the Greeks as a cultured, modest, hard-working and peace-loving people, and are very sorry to see that the good neighbourly relations with them are being hampered by the Greek chauvinists, who claim that Albania and Greece are allegedly in a state of war. Such an absurd claim is hindering the normalization of the situation between our two countries. But who attacked Greece, the Albanian people or fascist Italy? It is a well established fact that the Albanian people fought shoulder to shoulder with the Greek people against the Italian fascist and German nazi aggressors. The Albanian people shed a great deal of blood fighting the Italian fascists and Albanian traitors, until they smashed them and drove them from

their land. The other reason which is hampering the normalization of relations between our two countries is the claim of the Greek chauvinists to Southern Albania. How is it possible that such fantastic, groundless, and predatory claims can be made in the 20th century against a country and people who have fought for their land, their freedom and their independence throughout their whole existence? But there, in Greece, there is a clique of reactionary chauvinists, who, for purposes entirely alien to the Greek people, lay claims to purely Albanian territory, to the homeland of the Albanians. Of course, such claims will remain only unrealizable desires, because the borders of Albania are, and always will be, inviolable. But we hope and wish that people of goodwill in Greece, that democrats and progressive-minded people and the Greek government itself will view things more realistically and correctly, because the relations of friendship and good neighbourliness between Albania and Greece are in our common interests and the interests of peace in the Balkans. It is high time that the intrigues of the imperialists, who intend no good either for the Greek or for the Albanian peoples, and the intrigues of those who aim to create and maintain a tense situation between our two countries, should be stopped. We have suffered a great deal from the yoke and intrigues of the imperialists. And the Greek people have suffered just as much, and are still suffering today at the hands of the imperialists. The Albanian people and the Albanian government think that the time has come to discard all these silly tales that are hindering good neighbourly relations between our two countries. We want normal diplomatic relations with Greece, to develop trade within our possibilities, to get to know each other better and to establish the mutual trust which is of major importance. We are hopeful that we shall succeed in achieving this.

In recent months, the People's Republic of Albania has established diplomatic relations with Austria, with the Republic of India, and with Egypt. At the same time the Albanian government extended recognition to the Republic of Sudan and its government, as well as the states of Tunisia and Morocco. With all those states we are also exchanging diplomatic representatives. Although we still have no diplomatic relations with Switzerland, we are developing trade exchanges, which we shall try to increase.

We shall develop and extend our relations with the friendly peoples of Asia and Africa, as well as with the other states of the Near East, like Syria, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and others. We would like to exchange delegations among our countries in order to become better acquainted with one another. The government of the People's Republic of Albania, which pursues a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, is willing to have good, normal relations, on the basis of reciprocity, with all states. Our government responded in a positive way to the desire of the British government about the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations. Our government has always been well ready to have normal relations exist between Great Britain and the People's Republic of Albania but this did not depend on us alone. As far back as the early post-liberation years, the British government of that time set useless and unacceptable conditions for establishing diplomatic relations between our countries, and constantly maintained a negative and unfriendly attitude towards the People's Republic of Albania, for no reason whatsoever. The Corfu incident, in which some British sailors were killed, for whom the Albanian people and Albanian authorities were very grieved, was used by the British government of that time as a weapon against our country. But everyone knows that Albania and the Albanian authorities are not to blame for this incident.

We have no relations with the United States of America, because the US government has continually maintained an unfriendly attitude towards the People's Republic of Albania. As far back as the early days after the liberation of Albania, the US mission in Tirana, in contrast to the attitude of goodwill and friendliness of the Albanian government, not only maintained an unfriendly attitude, but also interfered in the internal affairs of our country. Of course, these were condemnable and entirely impermissible acts. The US government made the recognition of the government of the Albanian people and the people's regime dependant on unacceptable conditions which violated the sovereign rights of our people. It is a fact that all these things were pretexts to fight the Albanian people, and damage their life of freedom and peace. The American ruling circles have openly taken under their patronage a handful of Albanian traitors who, all along, collaborated blatantly with the Italian fascists and German nazis, together with whom they killed and burned the Albanian people, while leaving no word unsaid and no deed undone against the United States of America itself, the ally of our people in the common fight against fascism. And the tragedy is that the US ruling circles confuse this scum with the Albanian people. This brings no honour to the United States of America and is incompatible with the democratic traditions of Presidents Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and others.

The Albanian people have sympathy for the working people of the United States of America, but are highly indignant over this unjust and hostile attitude of those responsible for the foreign policy of the US government. Mr. Eisenhower offered aid for the Albanian people, but it could not be accepted by our people when the US government denies their heroic war, the blood they have shed, and the countless sacrifices they have made, when

their legitimate rights in the international arena are being trampled underfoot, when the territorial integrity of their country is violated, when diversionists are parachuted in to cause trouble in the country, to sabotage and wreck the people's property which has been built with sweat and suffering, when streams of slanders are poured out by "The Voice of America" Radio, when the Secretary of State of the United States of America Mr. Dulles, himself, interferes in the internal affairs of our free and sovereign country, advocating and "wishing" for the Albanian people the yoke and bondage of the beys and agas against which they have shed their blood, generation after generation. The Americans know very well that there is nothing more sacred to the Albanians than their freedom and independence. The Albanian people are not suffering from hunger and disease, as Mr. President Eisenhower pretended in his message about aid. He has been badly informed. The Albanian people are living happily and joyfully under the regime they established themselves through their fight. The Albanian people want sincere friendship and friends who respect their rights, freedom, independence and sovereignty. The Americans know very well that it is not the custom of the Albanians to beg for the friendship of those who do not want it. Albania is surviving even without relations with the United States of America, but we think that this is neither the will nor the desire of the American people, nor is it the will or desire of the Albanian people and the Albanian government.

The Albanian economic emigrants living in the United States of America have been told that the Albanian government does not wish to establish friendly relations with the United States. This, of course, is a gross lie. The Albanian people and their government never reject the friendship of the American people, but it is others, and not the Al-

banians, who are hindering this friendship from developing in the right way. Occasionally, some Albanian, who lives in America and has become an American citizen, raises a hue and cry that the Albanian government does not allow the Albanians in America to return to their homeland. No law of the People's Republic of Albania prevents the Albanian citizens living abroad from returning to their homeland. On the contrary, the Albanian government wants all of them to return as soon as possible, because the country needs all its sons and daughters, wherever they may have been driven by the deplorable conditions created by the anti-popular oppressive regimes. Now our country is flourishing, it needs, and has room for, all its honest sons to work and live in happiness. Many emigrants have come back from the United States of America and other countries, and they are still coming. We welcome with open arms all those Albanians who have kept their Albanian citizenship; we will always protect them, for it is the duty of the people's power to protect its citizens; we shall help them with all the means at our disposal, both abroad as well as at home when they return. As to those with American citizenship the question is, of course, different, and our Albanian brothers themselves, who have had to take US citizenship, understand that we cannot accept a unilateral approach, that is, that we should allow American citizens to come freely to Albania when our people are not allowed to enter the United States of America. Rights should be reciprocal. The US government has often, or better to say, continually, refused to allow Albanian citizens to enter the United States of America. It has gone even further, violating the agreement concluded with the United Nations Organization by denying to our delegate to this Organization his diplomatic visa and wanting to treat him, the representative of a sovereign independent country, a member state of the United

Nations Organization, who was on his way to represent his nation at this organization, as a stateless person. This is an insult to the Albanian people and to the United Nations Organization. After such a stand on the part of the US government is it not quite clear how groundless are the criticisms that certain persons in the United States direct to the Albanian government for refusing to grant entry visas to American citizens? We understand the longing of the Albanian emigrants with US citizenship for their home country, and we are prepared to welcome them, like brothers, to come and see their homeland; we are prepared to reach agreement over this matter, too, but there must be goodwill on the part of the US government, and its unjust and unfriendly attitude towards our people and our country must be corrected. This is also the way that may lead to the normalization of relations between our two countries. . .

II

THE RESULTS ACHIEVED IN THE ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL FIELDS DURING THE 1st FIVE-YEAR PLAN, AND THE PRINCIPAL GUIDELINES OF ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR THE COMING FIVE YEARS

A. — DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORT

The Party of Labour of Albania, relying on the glorious theory of Marxism-Leninism, has consistently followed the line of increasing production in all the branches of our people's economy. The important measures which have been taken within the context of the tasks set by the 2nd Congress of the Party for further increasing production and for the development of various branches of economy, have demonstrated the correctness of the line of the Party and the necessity for these measures. In this respect we have achieved satisfactory results[5]. In general, the principal economic target of the 1st five-year plan of transforming our country from a backward agrarian country into an agrarian-industrial one has been realized. Our Party considers industry as the main basis for the further

[5] The base of the new socialist industry had been created, the socialist sector of agriculture extended, the conditions for the acceleration of the rates of the collectivization of agriculture and for the completion of the construction of the economic base of socialism in the coming five-year plan had been prepared, great successes had been achieved in the development of culture and education, the network of schools expanded, and the number of pupils and students had greatly increased, illiteracy among people up to 40 years of age had been wiped out.

development of our people's economy, for the progress of agriculture and for the constant increase of the material wellbeing and cultural level of our people.

Due to the impetuous development of industry, the share of industrial production in the total of the industrial and agricultural production has been increasing from year to year.

The accomplishment of the 1st five-year plan shows that the principal targets of industrial production have been reached. The 1st five-year plan can be considered as the plan of the creation of the new, up-to-date industry, which is the foundation of the development of our people's economy, of the defence capacity of our country, and of the constant improvement of the wellbeing of our people. The rapid and satisfactory process of the industrialization of the country was made possible thanks to the correct guidance of the Party, thanks to the drive and heroism of our working class, as well as to the aid given by the great Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. Putting into operation new industrial projects, reconstructing and making more efficient use of the existing ones, created conditions for greater production, for a continuous growth of industrial production.

1. — Successes in the socialist industrialization of the country

During the period between the two Congresses, our Party has ensured a further development of all the branches of industrial production. In 1955, the total volume of industrial production (on the basis of comparable prices of 1956) reached 16,152 million leks, or 179 per cent above that of 1950, and about 10.5 times that of 1938, with an average annual increase of 22.8 per cent.

Major successes have been achieved in certain branches of industrial production, such as in the coal industry,

where the volume of production in 1955 has increased to approximately 54 times that of 1938, and nearly 5 times that of 1950. The production of chrome ore realized in 1955 was about 17 times that of 1938, and 234 per cent as against 1950; the production of the engineering industry in 1955 was approximately 5 times that of 1950. The electric power industry in 1955 produced nearly 10 times as much as in 1938, and nearly 5 times as much as in 1950. In 1955, the production of the timber industry increased 3.5 times compared with that of 1950, and so on.

Production of consumer goods has increased, parallel with the increase of the production of means of production. In 1955, the volume of production in light industry was more than 26 times that of 1938, and nearly 7 times that of 1950. In local industry, production in 1955 was more than twice that of 1950, and in the artisan cooperatives more than 8 times greater.

Many branches of our industry, like the chromium, engineering, timber, and local industries, the artisan sector, and others successfully fulfilled and overfulfilled the tasks of the 1st five-year plan.

Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that not all the branches of industrial production have proceeded at the pace envisaged under the plan. The oil, copper, building materials and the food-processing industries have shown poorer results.

The main reasons for the failure to accomplish certain tasks set by the 2nd Congress of the Party in connection with the 1st five-year plan can be summed up as follows:

First, for certain branches of the economy and production the 1st five-year plan was not fully based on adequate studies, and consequently, mistakes were made in planning the targets for the proportional and harmonious development of the different branches of the economy and production. These mistakes should serve as a lesson to the

State Planning Commission which must improve its work, link itself more closely with the base, and engage in working out long-term perspective plans for certain important branches of our economy.

Second, there have been shortcomings and weaknesses in the management of the economy by the state, economic, and party organs. Serious violations of the discipline of the plan have been tolerated, and not enough efforts have been made to utilize the existing capacities and other internal reserves. In this respect the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the Ministry of Communications, and especially the Ministry of Construction should take serious steps to eliminate mistakes and weaknesses and to improve the work of management.

The large volume of investments envisaged under the 1st five-year plan for setting up and expanding the various branches of the economy undoubtedly required development of extensive style buildings which assumed proportions unprecedented in our country.

The overall total of investments made during the 1st five-year plan reached 17,246 million leks (at 1955 prices).

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has always had in mind that the distribution of investments should be directed, primarily, towards the productive sector, which has absorbed 14,000 million leks of the investments, while the non-productive sector only 3,246 million leks, that is 81.2 per cent and 18.8 per cent respectively. The large investments in construction made it possible to begin building over 50 important projects. The 1st five-year plan has seen the completion of 31 major projects which have been put into operation, of which 11 are industrial complexes, factories, and hydro-power stations, 11 land improvement schemes, and so on. This implies that the national construction enterprises alone

have completed a major project nearly every two months, and have built 2.5 apartments every workday.

Besides putting new industrial projects into operation, the big investments made in our people's economy, and especially in industry, created possibilities for equipping the new and existing industries with up-to-date technical means which further improved the forms and methods of organization of work and production, improved the technology, and extended the material basis of production.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has continually and carefully followed the development of mines and has taken important steps to extend them as important bases for setting up other branches of the economy. During the 1st five-year plan and, particularly, in the last two or three years of this period, as a result of the big investments made in this sector, which reached 24 per cent of the total volume of investments, and as a result of the training of cadres, important successes have been achieved in increasing production and in discovering mineral resources thus ensuring the material basis for production for some years to come. The oil industry and the mines have been equipped with modern machinery and provided with the electric-mechanical basis. The strengthening of the geological service, as well as additional studies and research have opened further prospects to our mines, placing them on more normal conditions of work and creating the necessary conditions for more profitable production.

The danger which faced our industry of lack of fuel and electric energy was averted in time, and favourable conditions were created for putting productive capacities into operation as well as the possibilities for the extension, reconstruction, and further mechanization and electrification for industry and other branches of the economy.

The results achieved during the 1st five-year plan are closely linked with the heroic efforts of our working class, with its enthusiasm and mobilization to surmount every obstacle and difficulty. Thousands of new fighters have been moulded by the Party with the features of the socialist man, trained in the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the five-year plan.

The Party has attached special importance to the political, cultural, and vocational education of the working class, to increase their participation in production and to develop their class consciousness more extensively.

All this great work done by the Party during the period between the two Congresses shows that the party organizations have striven harder to carry out the instructions and the tasks that they have been faced with. Assisted by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, they have further intensified their work with people and have relied on the masses to a greater extent. Thanks to the experience they have gained and to the political and professional uplift of the communists, the party organizations have involved themselves more in the practical management of the economy and, by combining political with economic work more correctly, have guided production with greater competence.

The major successes achieved by our Party and people in carrying out the principal tasks of the 1st five-year plan have brought about a further development of industrial production and have raised our economy and culture to a higher level. Our country has made great strides in building socialism, and we are entering the 2nd five-year plan under very favourable conditions and with a much more powerful potential than we had for the 1st five-year plan. While carrying out the main economic tasks the 2nd Congress of the Party put before us to turn the country from a backward agrarian country to an

agrarian-industrial one, we are preparing for new tasks of further developing our industry, particularly our mining industry, mainly on the basis of full utilization of the existing productive capacities and the mobilization of internal reserves. Today we are able to set our industry and all the branches of industrial production new and major tasks, the accomplishment of which will ensure an even greater increase of our economic power and of the wellbeing of the people.

The main tasks of the 2nd five-year plan of the development of the people's economy in the People's Republic of Albania are:

THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRY, ESPECIALLY OF THE MINING INDUSTRY, MAINLY ON THE BASIS OF THE FULL USE OF THE EXISTING PRODUCTIVE CAPACITIES AND THE UTILIZATION OF INTERNAL RESOURCES, AND THE RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE, MAINLY ON THE BASIS OF REORGANIZING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION ON SOCIALIST FOUNDATIONS, AND ON THE BASIS OF THESE CHANGES, TO BRING ABOUT A FURTHER IMPROVEMENT OF THE MATERIAL WELLBEING AND CULTURAL UPLIFT OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE.

The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania has taken important steps to further improve the work in industry and in the other branches of the economy, and primarily, for the discovery and fuller utilization of internal reserves, because during this period, while industry has been developing in breadth and some results have been achieved, certain managers have been content with these results, and have neglected the utilization of industry in depth through more intensive use of the existing capacities, wider scale application of the new technique and technology, the further mechanization of

the work processes, the establishment of a strict regime of economizing, the raising of the technical-economic management of production to a higher level, the improvement of supply and planning, and the constant improvement of the quality, and extension of the range, of products.

The further development of mineral products, in which our country is rich, has been handicapped by the great backwardness we have inherited with regard to underground geological studies. In recent years greater care has been devoted to strengthening and extending this sector. However, the rate of studies and research work has not been adequate, and has not responded everywhere to the increase of production. Lack of cadres and of good organization of production accounts for the fact that certain mines did not fulfil the targets of the 1st five-year plan.

During the 2nd five-year plan, the most important task in the industrial sector must be the further increase of mineral production by extending geological studies and prospecting. The exploitable mineral reserves in the existing mines must be increased, and prospecting to discover new resources must continue. Oil production and, especially, oil refining must be increased, and there must be a rapid growth in production of coal, copper, bitumen, and especially chromium, by developing the existing mines and putting new mines into operation. During the 2nd five-year plan the production of the iron-nickel ore should begin, and by 1960 it should reach 200,000 tons.

The mechanization of production and transport must be raised to a higher level, the mines must be worked more rationally, spoilage must be reduced and quality improved by adopting more advanced methods of work. In the oil industry, greater care must be shown over raising the co-efficient of the use of oil wells and their rate of output.

In general, the building materials industry still continues seasonal production and the level of mechanization is still low. It is essential that an end be put to the unjustifiable shortcomings which have been tolerated in the sawmill sector, that reserves of logs be created on time, and the norms of consumption be respected. Greater care must be shown also for the rational exploitation of forests, and the rational use of timber must be considered a duty, not only of the consumers, but also of the organs of planning. It is important to ensure a rigorous upsurge in the production of cement, by expanding the existing factories, and of bricks and tiles, in order to meet the needs of construction and the requirements of the working masses.

It must be pointed out that the work in the construction sector is not satisfactory. The costs of building are high, there are delays in completion of projects, and there is not enough struggle for high quality work. The slowness in adopting the use of new technique on a broad scale in this sector must cease. The mechanization of work processes should be considered as one of the main tasks to lighten the burden of work, replace labour force and increase productivity. It is essential to strengthen the administration of the construction enterprises and to go ahead with preliminary organization of construction sites, because this gives the possibility of making a more correct and more efficient division of manpower, materials, and machinery. Materials must be produced and used according to standards and at lower costs, and technical control must be stricter.

More persistent efforts should be exerted to lower costs. More concern and greater attention should be attached to drawing up designs and specifications, which should be on the basis of science and the experience gained so far, making use of the laboratories and thoroughly

studying the geology and topography of the site. They should be studied in their complexity so that they turn out more rational and make better use of local resources. We need to have things designed well and cheaply. Our architects and engineers should also become good economists, getting away from formalism, from the trend to exaggerated and unnecessary things, without jeopardizing utility and technical conditions.

During the 2nd five-year plan the industrialization of the processes of construction work will begin, and for this more typified designs and standardized details will be necessary.

There must be more concern and responsibility in the construction sector for uninterrupted supplies of materials, for the job, and more attention should be paid to the treatment and living conditions of the workers.

The uninterrupted increase of production in the food-processing, clothing, and local industries, and in the artisan cooperatives has not been accompanied with the continuous improvement of quality, with the expansion of assortments of products to satisfy the ever growing requirements of the consumers better. Insufficient efforts have been made to find substitutes for materials in short supply, to lower the rates of consumption of materials, as well as to make greater and more rational use of local resources of raw materials.

In the draft-directives of the 2nd five-year plan, the principal task for the food-processing and clothing industries, as well as for all the sectors which turn out consumer goods, should be a radical turn towards increasing and extending the range of products, towards improving their quality through strengthening technical management, through the introduction of new technological processes, through observing state standards, and a

radical improvement of hygiene and health conditions during production. The enforcement of technical management, both at the centre and at the base, is essential to the local industry and the artisan cooperatives; the executive committees should give these sectors more direct and farsighted guidance so that they can meet the needs of the people better.

During the 2nd five-year plan, our task is to use the industrial capacities we have already constructed more rationally. Whereas during the 1st five-year plan period we have had an extension of industry, that is, its development in breadth, according to the draft-directives, during the 2nd five-year plan we shall give priority to the development of industry in depth.

In setting the targets for a further development of the various branches of the economy and production, we have also taken account of the large volume of investments which have been and will be made during the current five-year plan, as well as the large reserves which exist in our economy.

The draft-directives for the 2nd five-year plan envisage the investment of 21,900 million leks (at the 1955 prices), or 27 per cent above that of the 1st five-year plan. From this sum, 13,000 million leks, i.e., 59.4 per cent, or 16 per cent above the 1st five-year plan, will be invested in construction. Primarily, and to an overwhelming extent, these investments are to be made in the productive sectors, and particularly in those sectors where the effect is rapid, maintaining the proportion of 80.4 per cent, or 126 per cent compared with the 1st five-year plan in the productive sector, and 19.6 per cent, or 132 per cent compared with the 1st five-year plan, in the non-productive sector.

The tasks facing us under the draft-directives for the 2nd five-year plan are big ones, but they can be accom-

plished[6]. In order to fulfil them successfully, we must solve a series of problems related to the work of industry, on which the Party should concentrate its attention and its efforts.

2. — For qualified management and profitable production

The only way for our state and cooperative enterprises is to produce more, better, and cheaper. We have brilliant examples which show that many enterprises have made obvious progress and have mastered the production of many new articles in a relatively short time. But it should be pointed out that the drive and creative initiative of the working class has not always been met with qualified management. We still have many managers who view the work of their sectors from a very narrow angle. Unconcerned about whether profitablility of production is going up or down, they offer all kinds of excuses, and when their weaknesses are pointed out to them, they are able to shift the blame on to the whole world, while they themselves get by with self-criticism in general terms. They fall into such errors, of course, not because they want to, but because they think it is sufficient to manage the economy today as they did some years ago, with general guidance only, following up the realization of the plan targets according to average figures, and they do not see that important and serious shortcomings are hidden

[6] The 2nd five-year plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled. Two hundred and fifty big economic and cultural projects were set up; new mineral resources were put into exploitation; successes were also achieved in agriculture, with significant increases especially in the production of industrial crops; important progress was made in the development of education and culture — one in every 5 people attended school; the average life span of the population reached 62 years as against 38 prior to liberation.

behind these figures. This is precisely why the necessary attention has not been given to the improvement of the qualitative indices of the plan. Further toleration of these shortcomings will bring serious damage to the economy.

The further improvement of the management of the economy is closely linked with the organization of systematic and qualified aid from the central organs for the base. This aid should not be smothered under memos, reports, and meeting after meeting, as has been done in the case of solving complicated and important technical-economic problems. This will be achieved by strengthening still further the ties with the worker collectives, listening carefully to their voice and encouraging their creative initiative. An end should be put to the assistance given in "flying visits" all over the plant which certain managers resort to, who then go and shut themselves up in offices and meetings, drawing up plan after plan and rarely consulting the workers, the people who carry out these plans.

The central organs should raise their technical work to a higher level, should shake off the sluggishness in which they are immersed and apply advanced technique and technology in production with more determination and courage. They should come out of their shell of narrow forms, which on many occasions are quite artificial, and raise the work of the collective leading bodies to a higher level, especially now that we have qualified cadres and specialists for various sectors. The collective leading bodies should be properly appreciated; they should deal with important problems, doing more to create the conditions for their members to express their opinions and to help them view the problems in their complexity and in their total context, thus combating the sectarian and narrow departmental views which have often been observed.

Further improvement of the methods of management[7] by the central organs will open up wider perspectives to the engineer-technician personnel, to the brigade leaders, skilled tradesmen, and innovators, and will further enhance their activities and role as commanders and organizers directly in production.

The experience gained during these years, and the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has armed the cadres of our Party for further success. The realization of the plan has been the constant concern of the party organizations, but it must be said that their knowledge of the qualitative indices of the plan is still at a low level. The party organizations should understand that now the centre of gravity of their job in the economy is no longer in knowing and following up the plan in general, but in knowing each problem thoroughly and in depth. They should have a good grasp of their leading role in the economy, should exercise it fully and feel their responsibility for it.

The party organizations should step up their initiative and should not allow themselves to wait for everything to come from above and from the delegate sent to them, but should act independently. They should be more preoc-

[7] To improve the method of management, the Party centred its activity, first of all, on the solution of two important contradictions. The first contradiction was that between the insufficient technical-professional and educational preparation of cadres, and the ever increasing demands of the sector of management of the people's economy, and the other between the advanced technology of production and the low technical level of the workers and the engineer-technician personnel. To solve these contradictions, the CC of the Party re-examined the level of training and qualification of cadres and workers, criticized weaknesses, and took measures to place their training and qualification on a sounder basis.

cupied about their work with people, about raising their consciousness and strengthening discipline, spreading advanced experience, improving the level and organization of socialist emulation, which will result in an improvement of the qualitative indices of production. The economic efficiency of the enterprises where they are employed should be the epicentre of their daily struggle. They should give up involving themselves in a multitude of problems, but grasp and solve the main ones on which the success of the work depends. It is impermissible for the party organizations to get used to, and accept, the shortcomings which appear in the centres where they work.

The party organizations must struggle harder for the carrying out of party decisions, and not allow the breaking of the regulations established; they should show much more patience with the cadres, over the training and assistance they should give them, always linking the results of the realization of the plan with the people, because a certain sectarianism in promoting new elements who have proved themselves is often observed.

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4. — For a continuous increase of the productivity of labour, lower costs and a strict savings regime

One of the most important problems which should attract our attention is that of the productivity of labour, which ensures high rates of socialist accumulation and is one of the main sources for increasing the volume of production and lowering costs. In spite of the successes we have had in increasing productivity, it must be stressed that not enough has been done in mechanizing the processes of work anywhere, and especially in those branches of production and construction enterprises where there is a great deal of manual work.

The stabilization of the labour force and raising its qualifications has been closely linked with the further increase of the productivity of labour. The Central Committee of the PLA has taken important steps to adjust the pay system, to improve material, technical, cultural, and other conditions, but still more should be done in this direction, since the percentage of workers who stay on the one job continues to be low.

In spite of improvements achieved, the percentage of qualified workers as against the total number of workers is still low, and this becomes even more serious if we take into account that our economy is continually being provided with machinery and equipment of a high technical level. It is time to put an end to the inadequate concern about training workers and to take steps to get away from the superficial, formal work, far removed from practice, which is often carried on in the training courses for the qualification of workers.

The further increase of productivity has been handicapped also by the defects which have existed in the planning of norms and wages. Many enterprises and branches of production are still working according to experimental-statistical norms, which have not created suitable conditions for raising the productivity of labour, for lifting the backward to the level of the advanced masses.

As a result of the above shortcomings, a phenomenon very damaging to the economy has been observed in many enterprises and branches of production, the lack of harmony between the increase of productivity and the increase of average pay. In many enterprises and branches of production the average pay is increased in the same proportion and, at times, at a higher proportion than the productivity of labour, a thing which has exerted an influence detrimental to large-scale socialist production.

Our working class and the state, economic, and party organs have continually intensified their efforts and have achieved good results in saving the people's money, in lowering the costs of production. These savings have provided supplementary material and financial resources for the further development of our people's economy. But this very important problem, which calls for the mobilization of all reserves in order to turn out the maximum products with the minimum expenditure of the means of production, has not received the attention and concern due to it. Impermissible leniency has been observed in the frugal use of raw and auxiliary materials, fuel, and so on, and little has been done to lower administration expenses.

As a result of inadequate knowledge of the integral elements and structure of cost, the struggle for their constant reduction has not been well organized. The main links, which have the greatest specific weight in the volume of expenses, have not been grasped and resolved in time. The vigilance to safeguard socialist property has not been continuous, and as a consequence, damage, waste, and abuses have taken place.

The state, economic, and party organs and, first and foremost, the State Planning Commission must undertake a more profound study of the real needs for qualified cadres in conformity with the present and future requirements of production. Better material bases for courses should be provided, theory should be better linked with practice, and an end should be put to the failure to carry out the planned targets for training cadres.

Let it be correctly understood that the savings regime is not a temporary campaign, but is characteristic of the socialist method of running the economy, an objective necessity for our advance. Therefore, the shortcomings which are observed in this direction should be ruthlessly

combated. Every lek should be spent with the utmost frugality for the development of our people's economy, for the improvement of the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses. Every communist and non-party worker should be clear that the struggle to establish a strict regime of saving in the administration of material and monetary funds is a major question of honour and patriotism. All our Party and our people should be educated in the spirit of the regime of saving. . . . . .

B. — DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

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3. — On the collectivization of agriculture

Collectivization is the only road to lift our agriculture out of backwardness. It is on this glorious road which Leninism shows us that our Party is leading the working peasantry.

Sizing up the objective conditions of the country, on the basis of the line laid down by the 2nd Congress, the Party has proceeded with cautious steps on the question of the collectivization of agriculture. As a result of the correct implementation of this line, of the careful educative work carried out by the Party among the working masses of the countryside for the collectivization of agriculture, of the work of the economic-organizational strengthening of the existing cooperatives, and of the measures taken by the people's power in favour of the agricultural cooperatives, these have become stronger economically and organizationally, new cooperatives have been set up every year, thus increasing them in numbers, and favourable conditions have been created for them to advance at more rapid rates.

These are the rates of collectivization in agriculture:

Year	Number of agricultural cooperatives	Number of families in agricultural cooperatives	% in comparison with peasant economies in the Republic	Area of arable land of agricultural cooperatives in ha	% in comparison with cultivated (arable) land of peasantry in the Republic
1950	90	4,517	3.00	20,236	5.55
1951	94	4,668	3.08	20,744	5.69
1952	103	5,824	3.80	24,277	6.74
1953	129	7,972	5.16	29,702	8.30
1954	150	8,902	5.71	33,898	9.62
1955	318	15,313	9.84	51,118	14.48
up till 15.5.1956	694	29,478	18.94	93,616	26.16

From these figures it is clear that the political line laid down by the 2nd Congress of the Party in relation to collectivization has been correctly implemented. In the first three years, as can be seen, the rate of collectivization is slow. This has happened because special care was attached to the strengthening of the existing cooperatives, whereas in the last two years, with the stabilization of the situation of the cooperatives, the rate of setting up new cooperatives has been accelerated. In 1955 alone 87 per cent more agricultural cooperatives were set up than there were in 1950.

Another striking thing in the above table is the fact that the percentage of the collectivized land is higher than the percentage of the cooperated economies. This indicates that collectivization has been made in the lowland zones which have more land and which have special importance for agriculture.

It is worth mentioning that during this period, far from seeing any cooperative disbanded, many families, which stayed out at the time the cooperatives were set up, have now joined them. Even those cooperatives which, in general, were backward, have made headway.

The December 1955 Decision of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party was received with enthusiasm by our working peasantry. It is setting out voluntarily on the road of collectivization. As from the issuing of the decision up till 15th May, 376 new agricultural cooperatives have been set up besides 235 agricultural collectives[8]. A total of 35,440 peasant holdings have joined the agricultural cooperatives and collectives; the area of arable land collectivized, reckoning the two types, totals 27.91 per cent, and as economies which are organized to work collectively, they comprise 22.8 per cent of the entire peasant economies of the Republic. This is a great success. The correct policy of our Party for the construction of socialism in the countryside is finding complete support in our working peasantry. The fact should be underlined that the agricultural cooperatives are being joined not only by the poor peasants, but also by the middle peasants. In the 565 cooperatives, including 15,587 collectivized agricultural economies, about 42.4 per cent of their members were middle peasants. The development of life in the countryside indicates the correctness and relevance of the Party's policy concerning the collectivization of agriculture, the correctness of the policy pursued by our Party towards the middle peasantry, how

[8] An initial, preparatory phase of collectivization, in which only the labour is socialized for carrying out agricultural work in the fields on land that is personal property of the various members of the collective, as are the other means of production and the produce itself.

the teachings of great Lenin are being realized in our country, that

> *"The task at the present moment is to come to an agreement with the middle peasant — while not for a moment renouncing the struggle against the kulak and at the same time firmly relying solely on the poor peasant. . ."*.

By following a correct policy towards middle peasantry, our Party is gradually and systematically drawing it into the socialist construction of our country, along with poor peasantry, under the leadership of the working class.

Now the agricultural cooperatives in our country have shown that, when the individual economies are transformed into large collective economies, favourable conditions are created to secure larger agricultural production and to increase the productivity at work, and the possibilities are created to introduce mechanization on a broad scale, to apply agrotechnical science and advanced experience in agriculture.

From year to year, the collective wealth of the agricultural cooperatives and collectives has increased, the fund of land has also increased, and high yields have been achieved for every ha of land, in comparison with the individual peasant economies. If we compare the yields achieved in the agricultural cooperatives over the last three years with those of the private sector, it emerges that every year the agricultural cooperatives have harvested an average of 2.8 q of wheat, 2.2 q of maize, 3.4 q of cotton, 110.3 q of sugar-beet per ha more than the private sector. Although collectivized cultivated land in the Republic was 14.48 per cent in 1955, the agricultural cooperatives secured 13 per cent of the wheat, 26 per cent of the cotton, and

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 28, p. 207 (Alb. ed.).

73 per cent of the sugar-beet produced by peasantry in the entire Republic.

Concerning animal husbandry also the agricultural cooperatives stand higher than the individual economies. In 1955 as against 1954 animal husbandry in agricultural cooperatives registered the following increases: in cattle 65 per cent, in solid-hoofed animals 48 per cent, in sheep and goats 44 per cent, in pigs 13 per cent; while in the private sector the increase was 3 per cent for the first two categories, and 8 per cent for the second two categories. Similarly, in the increase of livestock products per head, in the development of fruit-growing and other agricultural activities, the agricultural cooperatives are distinguished from the private economies for the concern they show for the utilization of reserves in agriculture. Each year they have increased their income for every 100 ha of agricultural land. In 1955 they made 86,200 leks more income than in 1954 from every 100 ha. Among the outstanding cooperatives, those of Rrëmbec and Bulgarec in Korça have made 1,771,200 and 1,676,900 leks income respectively from every 100 ha of agricultural land, that of Cakran 1,440,018 leks income from every 100 ha of agricultural land. Incomes such as are secured by the cooperativist economy have never even been dreamed of by our peasantry formerly. In 1955 more than 90 agricultural cooperatives secured from 1 to 5 million leks in annual income, and another 11 cooperatives from 5 to 10 million leks annually. In 1955 they increased their indivisible funds[9]

[9] The indivisible fund of the agricultural cooperatives is made up of the material and financial means earmarked for the development of the cooperativist economy, the tools and draught animals of the cooperative, the means of transport, economic and social-cultural buildings, and so on. The continued growth of the indivisible fund is the most important condition for the development and increase of the group property.

by 155 million leks more than the balance of the year 1954.

With the continued strengthening of the collective economies, the economic and cultural situation of the agricultural cooperatives has changed perceptibly. Let us take as an example the village of Verria which in the past was the manor of the Vrioni beys. People there were always short of food and led a deplorable life, in miserable huts and ignorance. The people's power gave the land to the peasants of Verria; the Party educated them and pointed out to them the road of collectivization. In 1947, 107 families of this village united their economies and organized the cooperative. Today, in the agricultural cooperative of Verria, which is named after Lenin, life has undergone a radical change. Above one hundred and twenty cooperative members have built new houses. The cooperativists have their own school, they have set up 2 creches, the reading room, and 15 buildings for their joint economy; they have increased their agricultural implements, utilizing more than 80 various farming machines in their work, in addition to the aid the state gives them by means of the farming machines; they have extended the area of land, have levelled and drained it, and carefully apply advanced agricultural technology. The "Lenin" cooperative of Verria is distinguished from the individual economies for its high yields in agriculture. In 1955 it gathered 13.2 q of wheat per ha, 15 q of cotton per ha, distributing 3.23 kg of grain and 35 leks for every work-day, while increasing the indivisible fund to 1,598,230 leks.

The successes achieved by the agricultural cooperatives to date should serve as a stimulus to push the collective economy ahead and to draw the mass of the working peasantry onto the road of collectivization . . .

What are the tasks facing us in connection with the collectivization of agriculture? The draft-directives for

the 2nd five-year plan explicitly stress that by the end of the 2nd five-year plan the collectivization of agriculture should be completed in all the lowland areas of the Republic and in a large part of the hilly zones, on the basis of the organization of agricultural cooperatives of the artel type. We must manage to collectivize 70 per cent of the cultivated (arable) land of the Republic and, by organizing agricultural collectives of the lower type in the mountain areas, the collectivized area should total over 85 per cent of it. This is a whole revolution which has begun in our countryside.

There is no doubt that our patriotic working peasantry will continue with their usual loyalty to follow the road indicated by the Party. The rate of collectivization of the countryside is more rapid than our forecasts, and we are convinced that it is possible to achieve the target laid down for the collectivization of agriculture ahead of schedule[10]. This will be a great victory.

But, should we be content with the work which is being done in the countryside for the collectivization of

[10] By the end of 1959, collectivization was completed in general. Only in very mountainous areas some of the economies were not yet cooperated. The completion of collectivization constitutes one of the most important historic victories of the socialist revolution on the economic-social front. It was the second revolution, the most radical change in the economic-social relations in the countryside.

When the collectivization was nearly completed, the old cooperatives began slowly to fail to respond to the demands for their economic and organizational consolidation and the rapid development of the productive forces. In these circumstances, it became an objective necessity to enlarge the cooperatives. The cooperativist peasantry itself became aware of this and demanded it. Therefore, the Party put forward the task of the enlargement of the cooperatives through amalgamation. At the same time, it instructed that this should be done cautiously, on the basis of the free will and complete conviction of the peasants, and issued a timely warning against precipitate and unstudied mergers.

agriculture? Is the aid given by the organs of the Party and the people's power for the collectivization of agriculture sufficient? We must not be content with what has been done, or with the aid given so far, either. These have been insufficient.

First, the question of the collectivization of agriculture has not been raised as a major problem by all organs of the Party in the districts. In some zones, such as in Shkodra, Elbasan, Kruja, and Tirana, collectivization is moving slowly. The problem of collectivization has not attracted sufficient attention from the state organs and especially from the central organs. They have not specified the tasks and have not given the necessary aid. They consider this great problem rather as a job to be done by the organs of the Party and the state organs dealing with agriculture. This great task should be the subject of attention for all party and state organizations, for it bears directly on the implementation of the line of the Party.

Second, the Leninist principle of having the peasants join the agricultural cooperatives voluntarily, without pressure, and through conviction, must be preserved with the utmost rigour. This is the greatest guarantee for the victory of the line of the Party and for the future of the collective economy. Some district party committees, such as those of Kruja, Lezha, and Koplik, impelled by the desire to organize agricultural cooperatives, have fallen into grave errors, violating the line of the Party. Without doing preliminary explanatory political work among the peasants, even without giving sufficient explanations to the basic organizations of the Party, they have used incorrect methods. Pressure has been used to unite peasants into cooperatives, and, under the pretext of creating cooperative blocks, unwarranted displacements of the holdings of peasants who still remain outside the

cooperatives have been carried out. These acts should be condemned by the Party. They are in opposition to its just line and gravely damage the correct policy of the collectivization of agriculture. An end should be put once and for all to such distortions, and all those who violate the line of the Party for the collectivization of the countryside should be taken to task. Today, the private sector of agriculture occupies a considerable place in the economy of the country, therefore, along with the collectivization, this sector must be given support and aid so that it can fulfil the tasks assigned to it of ensuring the greatest possible abundance of agricultural and livestock products. This continued aid of the state and of the Party for the private sector of agriculture is aid for the strengthening and acceleration of collectivization. The aid given this sector through the agrarian credits, chemical fertilizers, selected seeds, farming tools, and through the MTS's should be used and exploited to the full by the individual peasantry. The peasants should make wide-scale use of the new agrotechnology, adopt the lessons of the most advanced experience, and march courageously towards collectivization, which is the brilliant future of agriculture.

Third, parallel with the work for setting up new agricultural coperatives, the Party should devote special attention to the further economic-organizational strengthening of the existing cooperatives. The economic situation of agricultural cooperatives requires profound study, the resources and possibilities they have for increasing agricultural and livestock production should be uncovered, measures should be taken, not only to ensure increased production in these cooperatives, but also to provide the people with ample products at a low cost. The party organizations and organs of the people's power should concentrate their attention on those villages where agricultural cooperatives have been set up to convince the individual

peasants who still remain outside them to join the cooperatives. This task should be considered as of no less importance than that of setting up new agricultural cooperatives[11].

Fourth, it is necessary to study the possibility of distributing monthly income in the form of advance payments for the cooperativists. The practice applied in the agricultural cooperatives until now is not entirely suitable. It would be a better stimulus for the members of agricultural cooperatives and would meet their day to day needs better, if the system of monthly advance payments for the work they do was established. This question, as well as other questions to do with arousing the material interest of the cooperativists in increasing the collective wealth, in increasing productivity at work, should be studied. In regard to the organization of work in the agricultural cooperatives and in the individual members' plots, the objective conditions of our country should be kept well in mind. All these questions should be gone into profoundly by the respective organs, and if necessary

[11] The Party was especially mobilized to crush any attempt of the class enemy at impeding collectivization. Instigated also by the diversionists sent by the imperialists and revisionists, the kulaks tried to commit sabotage and cause all sorts of disorders. The class enemy came out with such slogans as, "Do not hurry to set up cooperatives, the deadline is fixed for 1960", "You'll starve in the cooperatives", "Collectivization is a means to take the land from the peasants", etc. They tried on the sly to dissuade the peasants from joining the cooperatives. When cooperatives were set up, they urged the cooperativists not to implement their Constitution, fomented discontent, and tried to sow discord. They worked to sabotage the handing over of peasant obligations to the state and to impede the introduction of mechanized means in agriculture. As a result of the work of the Party and the revolutionary drive of the masses of peasantry, the efforts of the kulaks and other enemies were isolated and foiled.

the appropriate amendments should be made to the Constitution of the agricultural cooperatives . . . . . .

C. — THE RISE IN THE MATERIAL WELLBEING AND CULTURAL LEVEL OF THE WORKING MASSES DURING THE 2nd FIVE-YEAR PLAN

The Party of Labour of Albania and the government of the People's Republic of Albania have shown constant concern for the improvement of the material wellbeing and cultural uplift of our working masses. During these recent years, they have taken a number of different measures in favour of the workers of our country.

On the basis of the increase of industrial and agricultural production, the possibilities have been created for a better supply of mass consumer goods for the people. In 1955 the turnover of socialist trade increased 80 per cent above that of 1950.

During this five-year plan trade has expanded, and the people have been supplied with large quantities of industrial products and foodstuffs. Trade in industrial goods has increased, and it can be said that the targets in this direction have been accomplished better. The difficulties encountered in supplying the people with clothing and footwear during the first two years of the five-year plan have been overcome. There has been an obvious improvement in supplying the population with foodstuffs. More meat, edible fats, sugar, macaroni, fruit, vegetables, and so on, have been available. But in this direction, too, despite the improvements, the requirements of the people for certain foodstuffs are big and, as a consequence, the market has felt the need for more of them.

The provision of bread at very low prices for the workers is a further proof that, in regard to this staple commodity, the Party and the government have done their

utmost to see that the workers can cope with their needs for bread without any difficulty.

During the 1st five-year plan special importance was attached to providing supplies for the countryside. For instance, during 1955 the network of consumer cooperatives supplied the peasants with 136 per cent more woollen textiles than in 1950, 68 per cent more cotton fabrics, and 99 per cent more shoes and sandals. During the same period the countryside was supplied with larger quantities of cement, bricks, tiles, glass, nails, rope, more timber, kitchen utensils, radios, bicycles, and other articles, which have helped improve the standard of living in the countryside.

As a result of the improvement made in supplying the countryside with industrial goods, there was a considerable increase in the purchase of agricultural and livestock products, and more agricultural and dairy products were processed, which helped encourage production in remote regions and increase the supply of these articles for the population. But, in spite of the success achieved in this direction, the consumer cooperatives are not carrying out their tasks well. They have not extended their activities sufficiently to the remote regions. Many products of these zones go to waste because the material bases, where they could be gathered together and processed, have not been provided. These weaknesses must be done away with in the coming years. During the 2nd five-year plan larger investments will be made to set up factories and small units for processing and preserving milk, fruit and vegetables, thus extending the material bases for utilizing these resources, with the aim of increasing the range and quantity of foodstuffs on the market.

During the 1st five-year plan social catering was developed and the turnover of this sector in socialist trade was nearly twice as high as in 1950. The food at work

centres and boarding schools has been improved. Improvements have been made also in quality and in increasing the variety, but, in spite of this, social catering is still lagging behind. Efforts must still be made to extend the range of main products and lower costs. Social catering units, and especially the canteens and restaurants are not up to the task of becoming centres for feeding the family, so that they can help to lighten women's household chores so that they can participate in production to a wider extent.

The decision of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania and of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, based on the decision of the 2nd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania on the partial abolition of the rationing system and the unification of prices, is a triumph of our socialist economy, a victory testifying to the correctness of the economic policy pursued by our Party during this period.

On April 30 this year, an important reduction of prices was made on certain industrial and food products, amounting to 1,500 million leks. In this way, the purchasing power of the people was increased. Our Party and government will continue to have the constant improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working masses at the centre of their attention, and this will undoubtedly be achieved by increasing production, lowering costs, and cutting back on expenses. These will allow us to make continued price reductions, and thus further increase real wages and salaries. This is the best way of improving the material conditions of the working masses.

The lifting of trade restrictions in the countryside will strengthen the economic ties between city and village. Our Party and government have always devoted special attention to the consolidation of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry in the field of the

circulation of goods as in all other fields, and they will continue to do so in the future.

In spite of improvements made in supplying the people, it must be said that there are many shortcomings in trade which have become obstacles to better results. The commercial organs, beginning from the Ministry of Commerce and the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives, work poorly to acquaint themselves with the needs of the people; they do not know the esthetic feelings and tastes of the consumers well, they do not know the needs for children's outfits and many other articles, and do not appreciate the needs to provide supplies according to the various seasons and districts. Moreover, the organs of trade are slow to respond to changes in demand, and, consequently, make a mechanical distribution of goods. These failures have created surplus stocks of goods at the trade enterprises. The organs of trade have not exerted the necessary influence on the producers to improve the quality and assortments of their products, and in many cases the trade network has supplied the population with sub-standard and badly made goods. Trade in fruit and vegetables has been unsatisfactory. Likewise, the work of trade organs in protecting material and monetary values has not been good; there have been continual cases of theft and damage.

It is necessary to understand that stealing and causing damage are major forms of the class struggle in the economic sector, and therefore check-up must be strengthened, the vigilance of the workers must be raised to a higher level, and steps must be taken to block all possibilities for stealing and causing damage.

The further improvement of supplies of mass consumer goods for the population is, and continues to be, one of the most important tasks of our Party and government. Therefore, still greater tasks are set in the 2nd five-year plan for the sectors of production and trade so

that, on the basis of increased production, it will be possible to abolish the rationing system completely, as well as to continually reduce prices on the basis of lower costs of production.

During the 2nd five-year plan, supplies for the people will be further improved; they will be provided with more foodstuffs, and more clothing and footwear. By 1960, in comparison with 1955 the people will receive 39 per cent more sugar, 45 per cent more edible fats, 37 per cent more macaroni, 81 per cent more meat and fish, 264 per cent more cheese and cottage cheese, 60 per cent more beans and rice, 93 per cent more vegetables and potatoes, 195 per cent more milk, 21 per cent more cotton textiles, 35 per cent more woollen goods, 79 per cent more shoes and sandals, 379 per cent more velveteens and twills, and so on.

During this five-year plan, the countryside will be supplied with more building materials and other articles which will help in speeding up the collectivization in the countryside and in consolidating the agricultural cooperatives. This will help the agricultural cooperatives to set up the necessary buildings for collective use and for individual farms. Compared with the 1st five-year plan, by the end of the 2nd five-year plan the countryside will be supplied with 83 per cent more nails, 676 per cent more sawn timber, 123 per cent more glass, 345 per cent more cement, 221 per cent more bricks, 200 per cent more tiles, and so on.

Improving the supplies for the people and extending the circulation of goods require our socialist trade to improve its work of planning and distribution of goods, and to give up the mechanical distribution which has existed so far, to get a better grasp of the needs of the people, and to conform more speedily to changes in demand, because only in this way will it be able to exert an active influence on production. It is necessary to make a more

correct distribution of the network of trade and to proceed towards specialization in the network in the principal cities, to improve the service and lower costs in the social catering sector. Today, more than ever, the trade workers are faced with the problem of learning their business, and this is not an easy job but one which requires will-power and effort to raise the cultural level in trade higher. It is important to extend and consolidate the network of wholesale depots and workshops for processing agricultural and dairy products in the remote regions of the country. The Party should help strengthen the consumer cooperatives economically and organizationally, so that they may extend their field of activity and serve better as links of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry.

The trading conditions in the free peasant market must be improved. Even in the future this market should continue to serve the people with supplies. In the present conditions of our people's economy, small-scale retail trade and private artisans, under state control and influence, should continue to help supply the people, especially where the greatest need is felt, as in foodstuffs, in agricultural and dairy products, in extending artisan activities, and various services.

The increase of national income is an important index of the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses. During the 1st five-year plan our national income increased about 70 per cent above that of 1950. As a result of the transformation of the social structure in our country, the distribution of the national income is made in conformity with the interests of the working masses.

In our country, as in all the socialist countries, the development of our people's economy has created conditions for the elimination of unemployment once and for all. This has brought about the improvement of the wellbeing of the working masses and, consequently, the in-

crease of population. During the 1st five-year plan period, our population increased at a yearly average of 2.7 per cent. Such a big increase of population has never been seen before in our country.

During the 1st five-year plan, the agricultural cooperatives and individual peasants were provided with credits amounting to over 1,000 million leks, and during 1956 alone they will be given credits amounting to 535 million leks, or 23 per cent more than in 1955. Thousands of new houses have been built in our countryside; during the period under discussion alone, 17,152 houses have been built in the villages and agricultural cooperatives, and thousands of others will be built during the 2nd five-year plan. Thus, life in the countryside will improve year by year.

A supplementary source for raising the income of the working masses is the budgetary expenditure for education, public health, social insurance, pensions, and aid to mothers of many children, and so on. In 1955, expenditure for social and cultural purposes amounted to 1,867 million leks, or 193 per cent compared with 1950. Expenditure on social insurance in 1955 amounted to 249 million leks, or 215 per cent compared with 1950. During this period, there has been an increase of the number of workers and children who have spent their vacations in rest homes, likewise the number of kindergartens, nurseries, hospitals, etc. has been increased.

The 2nd five-year plan envisages a further improvement of the material and cultural wellbeing of the working masses. By the end of 1960, the national income will increase by 53 per cent above that of 1955. The real wages of the workers and employees will increase by not less than 25 per cent above that of 1955, and the income of the peasantry will increase by about 38 per cent. While expenditure for social-cultural purposes during the 1st five-

year plan amounted to 1,867 million leks, during the 2nd five-year plan it will amount to 3,150 million leks. During the 2nd five-year plan, there will be an increase of the number of students in higher and secondary schools, 119 new 7-year schools will be opened, with a 7-year school in most of the villages which have above 25 pupils, and there will be an increase of the number of elementary schools. Our Party and government have always had in mind the task of continually creating better living conditions for the young children, and for this reason, during the 2nd five-year plan, the number of nurseries will increase by 113 per cent as compared with 1955; 221 new kindergartens will be opened and the number of kindergartens which provide lunch, in cities and work centres, will be increased. Considerable funds will be spent for the health of the people, the number of hospital beds in 1960 will increase by 23 per cent as compared with 1955.

Although 1,712 million leks have been spent during the 1st five-year plan on building houses totalling 450,500 square metres of floor-space, again the problem of housing for workers remains an important one, bearing in mind that the needs are constantly increasing. Therefore, during the 2nd five-year plan about 2,500 million leks will be spent on new housing in cities and work centres or 45 per cent more than during the 1st five-year plan. Housing space will be increased by 47 per cent. It is the duty of all workers to show great interest in maintaining the buildings, because this question leaves a lot to be desired. The problem of building houses should assume a broader character, and more houses should be built by the agricultural cooperatives, by the peasants and other workers, using the credits provided by the state, as well as their own savings.

Comrades,

The great successes attained in the development of our people's economy, which we have referred to, are closely connected with the major revolutionary economic-social transformations carried out by our people's power in the first post-liberation years, which have brought about changes in the economic-social structure of our country.

Today we have two types of property in our country, socialist property and private property. Socialist property exists in two forms, in the form of state property and in the form of cooperative property. State property is the main form in the economy of our country. It consists of industry, the underground resources, forests, road, rail, and sea transport, the state farms, banks, foreign trade, internal wholesale trade, the overwhelming bulk of retail trade, and so on. Cooperative property includes the property of the artisan cooperatives, of agricultural cooperatives, and of the consumer cooperatives. Private property, in turn, is also divided into two categories, namely, into the property of the small producers, and into capitalist-private property which is based on exploitation and speculation.

In conformity with the various forms of ownership, our economy is characterized by the existence of the following principal sectors: the state and cooperative socialist sector, the small commodity producer sector, and the capitalist sector.

Today the state socialist sector holds the commanding positions. It is absolutely dominant in the sphere of industry, and especially in mining, finance, transport, foreign trade, and internal wholesale trade. It also extends into the sector of agriculture. But in agriculture the sector of small private production, represented by the fragmented economies of individual peasants, is

still large. The cooperative sector predominates in artisan and is rapidly increasing in agriculture. The capitalist sector is extremely restricted.

The development of the various sectors of the economy in our country has resulted in the continuous increase of the specific weight of the socialist (state and cooperative) sector in our national income. In 1955 it accounted for about 48 per cent, and in 1960 it is expected to account for about 84 per cent, of our total national income.

The specific weight of the socialist sector in total industrial production in 1955 was 98.1 per cent (at 1956 prices), while that of the private sector was only 1.9 per cent; in 1960 these percentages are expected to shift to 99 and 1 per cent respectively. This means that the problem of socialist and private ownership in industry is solved definitely in favour of the socialist sector.

In trade, too, this problem is being successfully and definitely solved. In 1955 socialist trade realized over 82 per cent of the turnover of goods, while small-scale private and peasant trade realized less than 18 per cent. There is no doubt that in order to meet the needs of supplying the population, the private sector will play a fairly appreciable role in trade during the 2nd five-year plan period as well. However, the consolidation of the socialist sector in industry and the collectivization of agriculture will certainly narrow its sphere of activity. Thus, it is envisaged that by 1960 the socialist sector of trade will sell the people about 86 per cent of goods, while the small private and peasant market will sell only 14 per cent.

In agriculture the socialist sector has continued to extend and grow stronger from year to year. In 1950 the specific weight of the socialist sector in the total volume of agricultural production, forests excluded, represented (at 1956 prices) about 6 per cent, and the private

sector 94 per cent, while in 1955 the specific weight of the socialist sector in the total volume of agricultural production amounted to about 14 per cent and that of the private sector 86 per cent. In 1955, over 15 per cent of the total cultivated area was under the state sector, about 13 per cent of which were held by the agricultural cooperatives, whereas on May 15, 1956 the agricultural cooperatives alone held over 24 per cent of the area under cultivation. With the rapid development of the collectivization of agriculture, as is envisaged in the draft-directives of the 3rd Congress of the Party for the 2nd five-year plan, by 1960 the agricultural cooperatives will own more than 70 per cent of the arable land, and the agricultural collectives over 15 per cent. The state farms, on their part, will increase the areas they had in 1956 by 56 per cent.

With the extension of the state and cooperative sector in agriculture the specific weight of the socialist sector in total agricultural production, forests excluded, in 1960 will be 78 per cent (at 1956 prices), while that of the private sector will drop to 22 per cent.

Hence, in agriculture, too, the complete victory of socialist property over private property is being ensured.

D. — DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION, CULTURE, AND SCIENCE

In our country, the cultural revolution is being successfully developed side by side with the great work of laying the foundations of socialism. The development of our people's education occupies an important place within the framework of this revolution.

In general, the tasks set by the 2nd Congress of the Party for our people's education have been successfully accomplished. During the period under discussion, illi-

teracy among people under 40 years of age has been wiped out. This is a great victory for our Party and our people's state power.

During the 1st five-year plan the network of the institutions of learning was satisfactorily extended. In 1955, our schools of all categories were teaching more than 189,000 pupils and students, or 9 per cent more than in 1950, and 3.3 times as many as in 1938.

On the basis of the directives of the 2nd Congress of the Party and the special decisions taken by the Central Committee of the Party about education, our new school has undergone considerable improvement also as regards the content of its work. Our schools have combated the harmful survivals of the old influence, they have improved the methods of instruction and education, they have strengthened their work from the ideological standpoint, the schools have been provided with a larger number of textbooks based on Marxist-Leninist methodology, and their material base has been improved and consolidated.

The 2nd five-year plan envisages a greater extension of the network of schools and the consolidation and improvement of their material base.

In 1960, the elementary, 7-year and secondary schools will teach not less than 249,000 pupils and students, or 59,000 more than in 1955. At the same time the number of students in the higher institutes of learning at home and abroad will be about 3,000, or 31 per cent more than in 1955.

But there are serious shortcomings in our school which must be done away with. The linking of theory with practice, of school with life, is quite inadequate, and the students' knowledge is of quite an abstract and superficial character.

The Ministry of Education and Culture must take serious steps to improve the content of the teaching and

educational work in the schools. Our schools of general education, through which thousands of young people pass every year, should educate them with love for work and imbue them with the necessary habits for it. It is time to gradually begin to introduce the elements of polytechnical training into our schools.

First and foremost, steps must be taken to make a better linking of theory with practice, of lessons with life. For this it is essential to re-examine the school programs, not only to free them of superfluous and unnecessary things, but to gradually introduce into them certain new subjects which will equip our students with the necessary technical knowledge and leave more room for practical and laboratory work in the school workshops and experimental gardens.

The teaching work should be improved, especially in the village schools, where the pupils should gain the practical abilities and habits for agricultural work and the rudiments of agricultural technique.

The 2nd five-year plan envisages a further increase of the number of pupils and students of vocational schools and of the higher institutes of learning, so that by 1960 about 6,200 technicians of middle-school vocational training and about 2,300 specialists of higher education will have been trained. But it must be emphasized that the Ministry of Education and Culture and the government departments which run vocational schools should take serious steps to plan the kinds of specialities and the profiles of these schools more correctly, on the basis of the real needs of our country, because the planning for training medium technicians and higher specialists so far has had many shortcomings, and has often been done without a thorough study of the prospects of development of the various branches of our economy. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the quality of the training of

medium and higher technicians in order to keep up with the requirements of the new equipment which is being introduced into our country.

The vocational schools and higher institutes of learning should be provided with better qualified teachers, and their laboratories should be better equipped. More attention should be attached to practice in production, and the work of the vocational schools should be more closely linked with the work centres, factories, workshops, machine and tractor stations, the state farms and agricultural cooperatives, so that, in addition to their classroom lessons, the future medium and higher technicians will be better acquainted, through practice, with the processes of work and production of the sectors for which they are being trained.

Great attention should be paid especially to the agricultural schools. Their programs should be cleared of things irrelevant to the conditions of our country, of everything which is stereotyped. These schools should be provided with adequate land and means for practical agricultural work.

Our country is marching rapidly towards collectivization. Therefore, the Ministry of Agriculture and the teaching organs face important tasks of training the necessary technicians who will run our new cooperatives. Steps should be taken to see that the network of various agricultural schools can successfully cope with the training of all the different agricultural technicians and specialists.

The most important question of extending and improving the work of our people's education is the training of cadres. Today we have about 7,300 teachers in all categories of schools. During the 1st five-year plan, the teachers training institutes and schools have trained more than 2,000 cadres; 2,200 others have been through quali-

fication courses, and about 1,400 are continuing their studies in correspondence schools. In spite of this, however, the cultural and vocational level of the teaching cadres is still low.

The primary task of the Ministry of Education and Culture is to take steps so that, by the end of the 2nd five-year plan, the teachers training schools and institutes, the courses of qualification and the correspondence schools will have raised the cultural level and professional ability of the teachers to a considerable degree in order to put into practice the directive of the Party for the gradual introduction of polytechnical education in our schools.

Great importance should be attached to adult education. After the successful accomplishment of the main task of the fight against illiteracy which the 2nd Congress of the Party set, measures should be taken during this five-year plan to continue the fight against illiteracy for those above 40 years of age, and especially to organize courses and evening schools for those who have been through the courses against illiteracy.

The evening schools and correspondence schools for people who are working should be extended. Today over 19,000 persons are taking lessons under this system. But the education network, which is expanding in our country, makes it much easier to draw a greater number of workers and employees in the countryside into the evening and correspondence schools. Therefore, the extension of evening schools and correspondence schools for people working in production should also be considered a powerful means for raising the cultural level and professional skills of our workers.

A problem of major importance to our entire society is the proper education of pre-school age children. The state organs should take measures for the maximum extension of the network of nurseries and kindergartens and

for the improvement of the educational work in them. The agricultural cooperatives, too, should work together with the state organs for this purpose. During the 2nd five-year plan, nurseries and kindergartens will be increased 183 per cent in comparison with 1955. This will not only provide better education for the children, but will also create possibilities for the women of our country to take part in production.

During the 2nd five-year plan, the network of school hostels will be extended. This is of major importance in training cadres for the countryside and in educating the new generations. The extension of the network of school hostels will make it possible even for those children whose families live in regions where the network of 7-year schools and secondary schools has not yet been extended, to attend these categories of schools regularly. By the end of the 3rd five-year plan (1965), universal 7-year schooling should be achieved, covering 80 per cent of the children who have been through the elementary schools. During the 3rd five-year plan an additional 200 7-year, and 35 boarding schools will be opened, which means that they will be extended to the most remote regions where there are at least 15 pupils eligible for the 5th class. About 1,000 new cadres will have to be trained for this purpose. Therefore, another higher teachers training institute is to be opened during the next school year in Shkodra. For all this the organs of education must take steps to extend the network of hostels, and at the same time, to see to it that better educational work is done in them. The children in our boarding schools, on state scholarship or on fees, should be exemplary both in their school work and in their conduct in society.

As a result of the accomplishment of the tasks set by the 2nd Congress of the Party, important successes have been attained also in the development of culture and art

in our country. The network of cultural centres has been extended both in urban and rural areas. The amateur artistic movement has been making great progress among the working masses. More publications of an artistic, scientific, theoretical and political nature have been turned out.

While working to accomplish the tasks set by the 2nd five-year plan, which envisages a very great development of cultural activities, and an increase of the number of cultural centres like cinemas, theatres, houses of culture, etc., the workers of culture and arts should further improve their work with the masses. First and foremost, they should intensify their cultural-artistic activity in the countryside, especially now that the Party is setting very important tasks there regarding the collectivization and progress of our agriculture. Our cultural centres should improve the propaganda of production, the work to spread advanced methods, both in the sector of industry, as well as in that of agriculture.

The cultural activity with the masses should aim at propagating the ideas of our Party, at creating the materialist world outlook. In this field, attention should be given to the struggle against meaningless prejudices and faiths, by spreading scientific knowledge among the working masses.

Our Party has been concerned with the development of sport and physical culture. During the period since the 2nd Congress, the material base necessary for the development of physical culture has been increased and the sports movements have been extended.

The 2nd five-year plan envisages a further increase of funds for physical culture. The physical culture movement should be further extended in order to include the broad masses of our youth, with a view to making them fit for work and defence.

The 2nd Congress of the Party put before the Institute of Sciences the primary task of linking its work as closely as possible with the practice of socialist construction. In order to accomplish this major task the Central Committee of our Party has taken important decisions which have led to expanding the activity of the Institute of Sciences. Three new scientific institutes have been set up during this period, that of agriculture, of zootechnics, and of history and language, and important steps have been taken to create better conditions for our scientific workers to carry on their creative activity.

In the field of agriculture, the workers of the Institute of Sciences have made certain studies on the problems of agricultural technique, of regionalizing areas for maize, of industrial crops, and some studies on improving the live-stock breeds.

In the field of social sciences, important successes have been achieved in the study of our language, folklore, and in archaeological discoveries, and work is in hand for drafting the history of Albania, the history of Albanian literature, and for working out the new orthography of the Albanian language.

But the work of the Institute of Sciences still falls short of meeting the growing requirements of our economy. There is sluggishness in attracting gifted and promising people to scientific work, and collaboration with the Ministries and our higher institutes is weak.

The main difficulty in the development of scientific work in our country lies in the fact that the cadres engaged in it are young, they have just embarked on this work, and lack the necessary experience. Therefore, they should make great efforts to temper themselves as real workers of the sciences. They should consistently study the results of advanced world science, especially of Soviet science,

they should attach great importance to their ideological tempering, to mastering the Marxist materialist world outlook, should tirelessly follow up, and make profound studies of, the experience of production, facts, and documents, in order to arrive at correct scientific generalizations and conclusions.

The party and state organs should concern themselves more over the scientific and ideological training of the science workers, because this is the main condition to ensure the development of scientific work in our country in quantity and to raise its quality to the necessary level.

The state organs, and especially the Ministries concerned, should give more assistance to the Institute of Sciences for the solution of the important problems to do with the further development of the economy and culture in our country. More cadres and more material possibilities should be provided for the Institute of Sciences so that it may cope better with scientific research, so that it may solve better the important and urgent problems of our socialist economy and culture arising from the 2nd five-year plan.

In the field of agricultural and biological sciences it is necessary to extend scientific research work in all directions. Special importance must be attached to the problems of increasing productivity in agriculture, to the problems of bread grains, of industrial crops, of maize in particular, of regionalization, to the problems of the agricultural economy, and so on.

At the same time, it is necessary for the Institute of Zootechnics to expand its studies, giving primary importance to the study of improving and increasing the productivity of animal husbandry, of improving the fodder base, and so on.

The themes of study of the 2nd five-year plan period in the field of technological sciences should be related to

the important problems of our industry and mines, the solution of which will bring our country great economic benefits.

The Institute of History and Language should work on drafting the texts of the History of Albania, of the History of the State and the Law, and the History of Albanian Literature, the publication of which will be an important event in the ideological life of our country. In addition, studies should be conducted to prepare the text of the Grammar of the Albanian Language, which will render a valuable contribution to elaborating the national literary language, as well as the preparatory work for compiling the Dictionary of the Albanian Language.

Special importance should be attached to the archaeological excavations which will bring to light the great cultural heritage of our people.

An important task of the Institute of History and Language during this five-year plan will be to extend the work of collecting and studying the rich creativeness of our people in the fields of folklore and ethnography, and to preserve and study the monuments of culture. Special concern should be shown for the qualification of scientific cadres and for raising their ideological and political level.

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III

THE PARTY

Comrades,

All the victories the Albanian people have achieved, from the National Liberation War up till today, are due to the correct leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party mobilized and led the people to the victory of the liberation of the country, and it is mobilizing and guiding our people in the great historic work for the construction of socialism in Albania. The Party of Labour of Albania is the directing force, the inspirer, and organizer of the life of the country. For our Party there are no loftier interests than the interests of the working class, the interests of the entire working people of the country.

The strengthening of the ideological, political, and organizational unity, which constitute the unbreakable strength of the Party, has been, and remains, the primary condition for our Party to play its role as leader and guide successfully. Our Party has based itself on the Marxist-Leninist principles, and it will always do so, and ever since the day it was founded it has fought against any manifestation of distortion of, or attempt at distorting, its Marxist-Leninist line, or any damage to, or weakening, the unity of the Party. It has fought against all the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, under whatever guise they have presented themselves. Our Party always held that the principled policy is the only correct policy, and while fighting for its implementation, it has preserved the purity of its ranks, has preserved its unity inviolate.

Today our Party comes to its 3rd Congress stronger, solid, monolithic, and rallied as one around its Central Committee.

The unbreakable strength of our Party rests on its indissoluble links with the masses, who, seeing the Party of Labour of Albania as their own Party, have given it their ardent love and unwavering trust. The further extension and strengthening, during the period under analysis, of the mass organizations which are led by the Party is an expression of this reality. Our Party maintains close links with, and leads, almost all the working masses of our country in an organized way. By means of these organizations our Party educates and mobilizes the working masses to carry out tasks, and listens at first hand to their voice, their demands, and proposals.

The increase of the Party from the ranks of the working class and of the working people in general is another expression of the close ties of the Party with the masses. On April 1, 1956, the Party had 41,372 members and 7,272 candidates to membership, that is 4,226 members more than at its 2nd Congress. The most resolute people, the most distinguished fighters in the work for the realization of the tasks of the Party have filled its ranks.

Now let us see more concretely some of the most important problems of the work of the Party.

1. — Strengthening of the composition of the Party

As Marxism-Leninism and the experience of our Party teach us, the strength of the Party and the steel unity of its ranks rests, first of all, on the social composition of the Party, on the quality and purity of its ranks. It is for this reason that the strengthening of the composition of our Party has been and remains one of the primary problems.

During the period since the 2nd Congress, the party organizations have carried out more careful work to bring into the ranks of the Party the best people, those most loyal and determined, in the first place, from the working class, from the ranks of the working peasantry, and the people's intelligentsia. As a result of this work, some successes have been achieved in the improvement of the composition of the Party. At the 2nd Congress only 11.5 per cent of the members were of worker status, whereas today workers comprise 17.7 per cent of the membership of the Party, that is, there is an increase of 6.2 per cent. In the admissions to the Party during this period workers make up 23.55 per cent, members of the agricultural cooperatives 6.18 per cent, members of the artisan cooperatives 2.61 per cent, poor and middle peasants 37.5 per cent, while office workers, students, and so on, make up 30.15 per cent.

From the above figures it results that, despite some advance in comparison with the past, in the work for the improvement of the composition of the Party, especially as regards the more rapid increase of its ranks with workers, we have not done very well. In the admissions to the Party, not only do workers not occupy the first place but, in comparison with those admitted from the other strata, in particular from among the office workers, the percentage of workers is still quite unsatisfactory.

All the conditions have been created in our country for the constant strengthening of the composition of the Party, because our industry has been set up and is growing. Increasing the ranks of the Party with elements from the working class is a vital question for the Party. However, it is noticed that some party committees and organizations do not properly tackle the problem of training elements from the working class for admission

to the Party, but frequently submit to the requests of office workers, carried away by the phrases, in the ready presentation of which such people are well skilled. The party organizations should thoroughly understand that the time has come when they must achieve a more marked increase in the percentage of workers in the total membership of the Party, and educate these elements from the working class through active work. Naturally, this does not mean that from now on we should fling the doors of the Party wide open to all the workers who may wish to join the Party. Admissions to the Party are always made individually, and after a careful verification of all the qualities of each person wishing to join the ranks of the Party. It should not be forgotten that the working class does not live apart from the other classes and strata of the people. It is supplemented and extended every day with new elements from the ranks of the working peasantry, or the strata of the townspeople, who bring with them the petty-bourgeois mentality, the psychology of private property, etc. Therefore, mainly those elements who, with their constant efforts, over a more or less lengthy period of work in industry or in the mines, through organized work for their education, have consolidated their consciousness as people of the vanguard class, should be selected for the Party from among the ranks of the working class.

There is no doubt that while primary attention must be paid to the question of the admission of workers to the Party, at the same time the Party should not completely neglect the recruitment of working people from the other strata as well, especially the members of agricultural cooperatives and from the strata of the poor, from staunch and tested elements with a clean record, ready to fight with self-sacrifice for the cause of the Party. However, it should always be borne in mind that the over-

whelming majority of those admitted should be made up of workers, and that the party organizations, in order to prevent the penetration of bureaucratism into the Party, should raise still more stringent demands towards the office workers, middle peasants, etc., who wish to join the Party.

Another question of importance in the work for the strengthening of the composition of the Party is that of improving the work with the candidates to party membership.

Proceeding from the decisions of the 2nd Congress of the Party, and from those of the 7th Plenum of the Central Committee, in the period we are analysing, the party organizations have been more careful in the work with the candidates to party membership. Now the question of the incorrect ratio between party members and candidates to membership has been solved. From 32.6 per cent of the total effective which the candidates represented at the 2nd Congress of the PLA, on April 1, 1956, they made up 14.9 per cent. Along with this, the party organizations have done better work for the training and education of the candidates to party membership by drawing them into active participation in party work.

But there are serious shortcomings still in the work with the candidates to party membership. In our party organizations, not only is the practice of dragging out the probation period of the candidate for several years on end not yet rooted out, but there is still a considerable number of candidates who have long since fulfilled the probation period, but over whom no decision is being taken. Such a thing clearly indicates not only the poor work of those organizations with the candidates, but also a serious weakness in their internal life. This situation shows that these party organizations have not organized their work at such a level that the surge of activity, the daily work,

criticism and self-criticism bring to light the negative and positive aspects of the candidate, and temper him during the probation period laid down to make him capable of being a party member. This also shows that many party organizations do not consider the probation period of the candidate as a test period, during which the organization verifies the personal qualities of the candidate and checks up on whether he is worthy of being admitted as a party member.

The situation of the party organization of the Berat district, where 72.9 per cent of the candidates have completed the period of probation and where there are still 107 candidates from as far back as 1948 and 1949, shows that not only have the basic organizations there forgotten about the term of the probation period of the candidates, but that the candidates themselves have "forgotten" that they are still on trial.

The work for the training and education of candidates to party membership is closely connected with the entire work the Party carries on for the education of new members. It is common knowledge that admissions to the Party should be accompanied with intensive work by the party organizations for the education of the new members, in order to raise them to the level of their tasks. But it must be said that very often concern for the new members ends immediately after the organization takes the decision to admit them to the Party. And naturally, when this is what goes on, serious weaknesses occur in the life of the party organizations themselves. Then, instead of the careful education and training of the communists, we find punitive measures and complaints about breaches of party discipline, failure to carry out tasks, etc.

2. — Development of criticism and self-criticism and strengthening of party and state discipline

Since the 2nd Congress of the Party, successes have also been marked in connection with the development of criticism and self-criticism in the Party. By creating a warmer atmosphere, by devoting more attention to opinions and suggestions of the rank-and-file of the party and the non-party masses, by strengthening the work for the education of the communists, the possibilities have been created for a more extensive and correct development of criticism from below. This has helped to increase the activity and initiative of the party members, of the basic organizations themselves, and at the same time, it has increased the control of the mass of the party members and non-party members over the elected organs. The discussions of important problems in the Party, at its basic organizations, at plenums, activists' meetings, at conferences and, especially, at the meetings for rendering account and elections, have become real tribunes for the broader development of criticism and self-criticism. Suffice it to mention that during last year's elections more than 59 per cent of the participants in the meetings took part in the discussion, giving their opinions on the activity of party bureaus and committees, and the activity of the elected organs in general. In some districts, such as that of Gjirokastra, this number reached more than 80 per cent. These facts show not only that the communists are now criticizing more courageously, but also that the feeling of responsibility of communists for the progress of work in general, and for the correction of shortcomings and weaknesses has increased. This is a question of major importance which expresses the militancy of the Party.

But the broader development of criticism and self-criticism, and especially of criticism from below, often runs up against some difficulties, which we must do away with without fail and without loss of time.

First of all, the sense of responsibility among the communists should be further strengthened, and the rendering of account on the part of the elected organs to the electors should be frank and concrete, because it very often happens that in the reports of the elected organs the shortcomings and errors are passed over very lighly or phrased in general terms, and the responsibility of the leading comrades for weaknesses in the work is watered down and diminished. As a result, the rod always falls on the people of the base. This sort of action, undoubtedly, puts criticism from below under restraint, and puts the bureaus, the secretaries of party committees and other comrades of responsibility in a privileged position. The masses of the party members and of the workers in general need to see the example of the comrades in posts of responsibility in connection with the development of self-criticism. A serious acknowledgement of errors results in the improvement of the cadre himself and of his work. The opposite occurs when self-criticism is only formal, and unfortunately a number of comrades have become accustomed to making "self-criticism", and then go on making the same mistakes. It is self-evident that such "self-criticism" is not constructive, serves neither the improvement of the cadre nor the improvement of work, therefore the sooner such practices are given up the better.

Criticism and self-criticism, powerful weapons of the Marxist-Leninist parties, are not empty and meaningless slogans. In their work, the communists are bound to make mistakes; nobody says that communists are infallible, but they should make fewer mistakes than others, because they are educated by the Party in the process of struggle and work. Unpretentious and devoted communists do not hesitate to admit their mistakes; likewise, they are very

courageous in telling anybody the truth, right to his face. But this does not occur with those elements who have a heavy burden of petty-bourgeois hangovers, such as the power-seekers, the braggards, the liars, the deceivers, and others who have been wrongly admitted to the Party, or who have never made any effort to benefit from the teachings and struggle of the Party to eliminate these vices. It is essential that mistakes and shortcomings should be analysed deeply before the Party and the masses, and the responsibility of anyone, whoever he may be, for the failure to carry out tasks and decisions should be brought out in full. It is only in this way that the masses will raise their voice more strongly to criticize anyone, regardless of his post. This is how mistakes will be put right, and everyone will understand the great value of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism.

The Central Committee of the Party has also paid attention to strengthening criticism and self-criticism in the party organizations of the People's Army and the detachments of the Border Guards, and many successes have been achieved in this direction, but it should always be borne in mind that the norms defined by the Central Committee of the Party for raising criticism must be strictly observed.

At the same time, the mass of the party members should be vigilant, not only towards formal self-criticism, but also towards denigrating, groundless, and slanderous criticism, aimed at discrediting honest party people.

Constant care to listen attentively to the voice of the base, to any criticism from below, be it even over small matters, is one of the most elementary duties of the party committees and the organs of our people's power. To check on criticism carefully, to always solve the problems it poses correctly, and to inform the organizations or the

people who have made such criticism about their solution regularly is one of the main conditions for the more extensive development of criticism from below.

Finally, a serious problem, which hampers the development of criticism from below is that some people in responsible positions take reprisals against those who criticize them. This is a serious thing, comrades, but unfortunately there are still such people who take revenge upon those who criticize them.

It is the duty of the party organizations to submit the activity of every communist, whatever the responsibility he may hold, to the criticism of the Party. Everyone, without exception, should be tempered on the one anvil, in the party organization. Simply because of their delusions of grandeur, some comrades in posts of responsibility hit out wildly when their basic organization criticizes them quite rightly, while when these same people are called on to report to the higher organs, they admit their mistakes with all sorts of palaver. Thus, in these unsound persons foolish arrogance is combined with servility.

It is the task of the entire Party to clear the road to make possible the all-round development of criticism. Constant, ceaseless struggle against weaknesses and shortcomings in the entire work of the Party, the people's power, the economy, and the other sectors is the guarantee of our success. Every communist, every working man or woman in our Republic should understand that it is a duty to speak up, even up to the Central Committee of the Party, against shortcomings which may be noticed anywhere and in anybody. Only through the concern of everyone for all matters will the more rapid development of our country on the course set by our Party be ensured.

Our Party has continually educated the cadres and the working masses in general in the spirit of readiness to serve the homeland, in the spirit of the rigorous application of party and state discipline. And, no doubt, the successes achieved in our country in the field of the economy, culture, etc., are explained, first of all, by the fact that the cadres, the communists and the working people in general have fought conscientiously for the complete implementation of the tasks and decisions laid down by the Party and the government.

The further strengthening of conscious party and state discipline is a task of major importance for the Party in the present period, because, as V. I. Lenin teaches us, the slightest weakening of discipline serves the class enemy, the bourgeoisie. It has to be said that in some organizations and among some cadres there are certain manifestations entirely incompatible with the iron discipline of the Party. It often happens with some comrades, ministers, or managers of enterprises, that they make enthusiastic pledges at the beginning of the year or the quarter, or when they are called to report before the higher organs of the Party and state about the fulfilment and overfulfilment of plans, etc., but when it comes down to brass tacks their pledges are so much hot air. And the worst of it is that these things are repeated over and over by the same organizations and the same persons, for no one stops to consider this question as a manifestation of breach of discipline. Now, it has become the usual thing with some comrades who, if called to report and be criticized for weaknesses and shortcomings, make a formal self-criticism, take a good pledge, probably without any study of the possibilities at all, just to get out of trouble, and go back again to their former work full of shortcomings. This is like feeding yourself with an empty spoon!

We must put a stop to such manifestations. The tasks assigned or the pledges taken after a detailed study, firmly based on the real possibilities, should be considered as the law, and the implementation of them to the letter must be demanded.

At this point, it is necessary to stress the weakness of our work to check up on the pledges taken, and in general on the fulfilment of tasks. There is a great deal of talk about the importance of check-up on the organization and fulfilment of tasks, about its major role, etc., but in fact, very little is done about it. There is no regular, systematic check-up, a check-up on all the tasks, even the minor ones, but decisions are taken, tasks assigned, and then what happens about them is completely forgotten for a long time. Only when time is running out do people think to see what was done about the decisions taken. This practice is extremely harmful. Iron discipline cannot be inculcated deep into people's minds when regular and systematic check-up on the part of the superior organs is wanting. If we want the tasks fulfilled properly and on time, and if we also want to preserve our cadres, then we must strengthen our check-up and, improve its quality.

Another dangerous manifestation connected with the violation of party and state discipline is the stand maintained by some cadres towards state laws, and the collective decisions taken by various organs. There are comrades who break them, especially financial laws, as though this doesn't matter at all, implying that these laws have not been made for them. Thus, to bring up only one instance, the deputy-minister of trade decides to raise the price of fish, etc., completely in opposition to the decisions taken by the Political Bureau and the Central Committee of the Party. Likewise, the second secretary of the Oil Refining Plant suspends and even

completely annuls various decisions taken collectively by the bureau of the party committee of the district, simply because they are not to his liking. In connection with these manifestations also a view crops up, which has been strongly condemned by the Party: that of thinking that there are two disciplines — in the Party and in the state. There are also party organizations which demand the observance of discipline, with one degree of severity for the rank-and-file, and an entirely different one for those in posts of responsibility. This shows up in even the most ordinary matters. In the party basic organizations of departments, for instance, when a rank-and-file member fails to pay his membership dues, this becomes a major affair, whereas when the minister forgets to fulfil this same duty, the secretary and the bureau of the organization hush it up. Is it permitted for comrades in posts of responsibility and burdened with work to breach the discipline of the Party? Does the decision of the Bureau of the Party Committee of the Kruja district not indicate, in fact, that it employs double standards of discipline when it imposes a very light penalty on the ex-chief of the Security Branch in the district, who had breached the law by unjustly arresting a communist, while on the communist who was unjustly arrested it imposes a heavy penalty simply because he had opposed "the chief"?

These are very dangerous attitudes which weaken the discipline of the Party and the state, and curb the militant spirit and the rigorous performance of his duty by every individual, whatever post he may occupy.

Regarding this question it is worth mentioning also some expressions of certain liberalism and laxity towards breach of discipline noticed among some comrades in responsible positions.

The spirit of liberalism and of leniency when it comes in calling people to account, causes immeasurable damage to the work and to the cadres themselves, and therefore we should put a stop to it once and for all. Not the slightest concession should be made to anyone whoever he may be, who does not carry out the orders and the duties he has been charged with. The feeling of responsibility should be greatly strengthened in everyone.

In some party organizations there is a very narrow and limited understanding of discipline: attendance of party meetings, regular payment of membership dues, observance of working hours, and some other expressions of the same nature. While failure to fulfil the task of production, turning out goods of poor quality, increasing costs, failure to utilize internal reserves and working time properly are not regarded as violations of party and state discipline. This is not in the least correct.

It should be understood that the rigorous observance of party and state discipline means to carry out all party and state tasks in all their complexity without hesitation, to carry out the tasks for the implementation of the state plan in general and in all its component parts, to carry out the organizational and political tasks of the Party which flow from its Constitution, as well as the social tasks. Observance of party discipline means maintaining a correct, honest, and exemplary stand at work, in society, and in the family, according to the requirements of communist morality. Therefore, any manifestation in opposition to these things should be considered as a breach of party and state discipline, and should be very severely punished.

The communists, in the first place, should set the example in the strict observance of party and state discipline, and through their example they should teach and

educate the masses outside the Party in the spirit of observance of state discipline.

The party organizations in the People's Army and in the units of the Border Guards should show special concern for the strengthening and observance of military discipline to the letter. The order of the superior is the law in the army. It must be carried out without question.

Observance of party and state discipline also implies that the decisions of the lower organs should always proceed on the basis of the decisions of the superior organs, and never run counter to them.

Acts such as those by the former first secretary of the Party Committee of the Kota district who, in opposition to the decisions of the Central Committee and the government, instructed the basic organizations to take administrative measures, such as confiscation of property, deprivation of membership in the Front, etc., towards all those who had not met their obligations, are not only flagrant breaches of party discipline, of democratic centralism, but also provocative measures, very dangerous to the Party.

Initiative and independent action in the solution of local problems must be combined correctly with the directives of the Party, with democratic centralism, and with the iron discipline of the Party.

3. — Improving the method of work of the party committees and basic organizations in carrying out the decisions of the Party and state

The question of the improvement of the work of party committees and basic organizations regarding the discharge of their tasks and the implementation of the decisions of the Party and state is a very important problem. In our work we should be guided by the Leninist principle that,

*". . . in order to administer successfully, besides being able to convince people . . . we must be able to do practical organizational work"**,

because the fate of the implementation of party and government decisions depends to a great extent on the way the party committees or basic organizations direct or give leadership. The Central Committee of the Party has attached special attention to this question and has adopted measures for the improvement of the method of work in giving leadership. In fact the period from the 2nd Congress of the Party up until today, which we are analysing, is a period of improvement in the work of the Party for the solution of economic and social problems. The leading role of the basic organizations and the party committees and their bureaus has been strengthened. We can affirm that a perceptible improvement has been made in comparison with the past, regarding the application of the Leninist norms of the Party in the work of the collective leadership, of the regular meetings of activists, plenums, and conferences, through all the levels of the Party. But at the same time it should be stressed that there still exist many shortcomings and mistakes which the Party should be careful to correct quickly. Along with this, the work done by party committees, plenums, and meetings of activists for a more profound, more concrete and scientific study of the problems discussed and decided upon at their meetings, should be improved and rigorous measures should be taken for putting the decisions taken into practice.

It should be stressed right now that the very important Leninist principle, that you have to convince the masses, has not been carried out at all times and everywhere to the desired extent, whether on the part of the committees

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 27, p. 267 (Alb. ed.).

in regard to the base of the Party, or on the part of the base in regard to the working masses. Quite frequently the method of commandism has been resorted to, which, far from clarifying and satisfying people, leads, on the contrary, to the erroneous road of taking administrative or arbitrary measures against those who are not clear and convinced.

Despite the improvements made in the training of the young cadres we have to admit that these cadres are still not up to the mark, and are not really aware of the great responsibility they bear before the Party and the people who have elected them to the leadership. The Party teaches us that it is of great importance not only to make a correct assessment of problems, to adopt correct decisions, but also to organize the work appropriately. In order to put this or that decision into life and into practice, the organization of work plays the decisive role. In this respect, there are great weaknesses in our work. Very often generalized leadership is given, with general phrases and orders, without getting down to the practice of things. Therefore, in this respect the cadres of the Party and its leading organs must radically improve their method of work, on which the success of the building of the socialist economy depends.

One shortcoming in the method of work of party committees is the excessive faith they continue to have in letters and decisions. Despite the great struggle waged in the ranks of the Party against bureaucratism, against unnecessary letters and useless meetings, there are still many party committees which do not find it easy to break with such practices. During the period from 1954 to 1955, the former Party Committee of the Durrës district considered the question of the collectivization of agriculture on twelve occasions. Twelve times decisions have been taken on this question, and, of course, all the decisions

were as alike as two drops of water. How much work and how much paper have been wasted by the people of this Committee, and what came out of it in the long run? The collectivization in Durrës has proceeded and is still proceeding slowly. While the case of the work done by the party organization of the Gjirokastra region for the same problem of the collectivization of agriculture is quite different. Basing itself on the decision of the Central Committee of the Party, it took only one decision on this matter, and followed up its implementation, assisting it with concrete and continuous work. It attached due importance to live, individual, creative work to convince the masses of the peasants, and within the year 1955 alone it managed to set up three times as many cooperatives as had been set up during the ten years after liberation. Therefore, the organizations and organs of the Party should devote their full attention to live work among the people, to practice, to the work for the organization and check-up on the application of decisions; and must never stifle the living forces of the Party in narrow office work, in bureaucratic work. Of course, the committees and the basic organizations of the Party must also hold meetings, listen to reports, take well-studied and well-prepared decisions, but this should be done so as not to occupy the biggest part of their time.

In order to adopt carefully studied decisions, in order to organize work for the application of decisions, it is indispensable and urgent to improve the activity of the apparatus of party committees. This means that the leaders, those who work in the apparatus of the Party, and all the communists in general should study technique, agricultural science, or whatever profession they work in, because only in this way will they become capable and successful leaders. Many leaders and comrades of the grassroots are content with the few things they have

learned in practice, and do not make the efforts they should to broaden their knowledge. There is no doubt that they will soon run out of knowledge, and then, if confronted with the task of teaching the masses, of working among them properly, of convincing and organizing them, they will resort to general phrases, to out of date methods, which will neither convince nor satisfy anyone, but, on the contrary, will hold back advance in the construction of the economy.

Practicism is a weakness for the cadres who limit themselves to this alone, and do not study enough to enlarge their own knowledge. We must not forget that the new and modern factories we have set up, and the collectivization of agriculture, which is proceeding at a rapid pace in our country, confront the communists with important problems which they must solve. They must teach and organize the masses outside the Party. Hence, to conceive the tasks of the party members in the construction of the new socialist economy in a simplified way, as some cadres of the party of the people's power do, is a very serious shortcoming which has to be eliminated; our Party and people's power have created broad possibilities for everybody to learn.

An important, but still unsettled, problem in the work of leadership of the party organs and organizations is that of the management of the economy through the organs of the people's power, and not over their heads. This practice, as has been continuously stressed, is harmful and dangerous, because the organs directly charged with the implementation of these tasks start to stand aside, and, to a certain degree, avoid their responsibility. This should never be allowed to happen. But, on the other hand, the party committees must not think that the work of the Party, the political or organizational work of the Party, is separated from the economic activity. Those who think

in this way are making a grave mistake. There is not and cannot be such a division in the work of the Party.

The Party should always have as its objective the organization and education of all the working masses in order to improve the management of the economy, and all the activity of the state should have as its objective the improvement of the material and cultural wellbeing of the people. The assessment of the capabilities of the leading cadres of the Party, of the functionaries of the Party, and of every communist should be made on the basis of the concrete results of their work in the production of material benefits, and not on the basis of the speeches they make at conferences. In this respect, the party workers should abandon superficial methods of work, and should no longer rush around like the wind, just issuing orders to the base and achieving nothing concrete. They should apply themselves to problems, give concrete help, teach the people, and only then go on their way.

It frequently happens that party committees, isolated from the base, summon the secretaries of the basic organizations to meetings instead of going themselves and giving concrete help there where people are working and struggling with difficulties. Instead of improving the work, such practice weakens it. We have had not one, but tens of cases, in which, when elections are held in the Party, the secretaries of the basic organizations have not wanted to be re-elected, not because they do not like to work for the Party and to shoulder the responsibility with which their organization charges them, but because they had wasted their time going from one meeting to the other, and their conscience pricks them, because, with such a method of work, they cannot fulfil the tasks the Party entrusts to them.

Hence, instead of calling the secretaries of basic organizations to the party committees, the committees should

go more often to the grassroots and help the secretaries with on the spot guidance, making great improvements in the quality of the instructions issued by the party committees. More trust should be placed in the people at the grassroots, and both the organs of the people's power and the organizations of the masses should have more confidence that the people at the grassroots will carry out the tasks entrusted to them; they should be given a broader scope for their initiative, while assisting them in the organization of the work.

In the method of work of some party committees and basic organizations a sort of mechanical approach is observed, a sort of stolid work which is not lively and creative, a pronounced formalism and dogmatism in organizational matters, which will become boring and dangerous to the Party if they are not combated and done away with promptly. A characteristic of party organizations which are working well is precisely that they know how to single out for themselves from the correct decisions, from life, from the demands of the development of production and the construction of the socialist economy, the main problems, the key problems, which have to be thoroughly solved. Such a solution of problems will have a beneficial influence on the solution of all other problems, too. To hold a meeting just for the sake of holding a meeting, as is the case with some basic organizations, to raise the same problems at every meeting, cannot yield results. Formal meetings as well as failure to develop the initiative and self-action of the party organs and organizations shrivel the enthusiasm of the party forces, and fritter away their impetus. Some may think that people can be activated in this way, but in fact it drives them into passivity. This methods of work is dangerous for the Party, therefore we must struggle hard against it.

The construction of the foundations of socialism in our country raises new and great tasks before our Party every day, with the economy being strengthened and expanded continuously. Parallel with this the cadres, too, should raise their level and strengthen themselves, so that they keep pace with the changing situation. The initiative and ability of every functionary, of every party organization and committee should be raised to a higher level. They must not become mere implementers of directives from above, but should assimilate them, and act on them in a creative way, and not just formally.

Party work can tolerate stereotyped methods and formalism less than any other sort of work. It cannot be confined to set patterns, defined once and for all. The same methods cannot be used at different times and in different places. The party committees, basic organizations and functionaries should combine their determination for the implementation of directives of the Party with flexibility and initiative in their work, with the ability to find forms and methods of work for the solution of problems which are appropriate to the place and nature of the job.

The leadership of the Party is a political leadership, but it cannot be such without having close links with life, without the sense of the new, of the perspective. First and foremost, the Party demands of its organs and organizations, of its cadres, that they work in a creative manner and with initiative.

4. — Strengthening the general control by the Party over the work with cadres, and improving work for their selection and education

The question of cadres has been, and remains, one of the most important problems about which the Party has always been greatly concerned, because the cadre is the

decisive factor for the solution of the problems facing us. With reliable cadres, capable of their tasks, there is no fortress that cannot be captured. Guided by the precepts of Marxism-Leninism, as in every other field, with unwavering faith in the creative qualities of the broad masses of the people, the Party managed, in the heat of war and at work, to train and develop able, courageous cadres, fighters for the fulfilment of the tasks laid down by the Party.

In the struggle for the realization of the 1st five-year plan, our cadres have become matured, educated, and strengthened. They have learned to direct the work in the sectors they are assigned to better, they have been tempered in struggle against shortcomings and hardships, they have become more conscientious in their work and in defending the interests of the Party and the state. A considerable number of cadres and workers have been trained on the job, by means of courses and schools.

However, bearing in mind the large number of cadres needed, which is increasing day by day, especially now that our country is entering a new stage, in the struggle for the realization of the 2nd five-year plan, the problem of the training of cadres, the work to select and educate them more correctly, becomes even more important.

First of all, the direct care and check-up at all levels of the Party on all the work going on throughout the country for the training and appointment of cadres must become much greater than it is today. All the party committees must thoroughly understand that they have the main responsibility for the entire policy of cadres in the area under their jurisdiction, regardless of the particular role of each cadre.

Often some party committees reduce their work with cadres to a series of mechanical measures for their appointment or transfer, and do not view it in all its com-

plexity. There is no doubt that, if they proceed in this way, even their work for the appointment and distribution of cadres can never be done correctly. If a correct policy is to be carried out on the question of the distribution of cadres it is indispensable to get to know them at first hand, in the course of their work, and give them concrete help. It is also necessary to work for the training of new cadres so as to ensure an inexhaustible supply of them.

Cadres do not come out of some "special incubator". They emerge from the majestic work of the Party, in the course of the struggle for the implementation of the decisions of the Party. They are brought forth by life itself. Therefore it is where the struggle for the realization of plans is being waged that we should look for cadres. All that is needed is more careful work, continuous work for their selection and training. In our work with cadres, we must give up bureaucratic methods, appointing them on the basis of documents alone, shifting them frequently without regard for their suitability, while keeping on hand a few well-known cadres, etc. It should be clear, that, if there is any work in which bureaucratism cannot be tolerated, it is the work with people, with cadres.

In our conditions, when thousands upon thousands of people are engaged directly in the administration of the country, when thousands upon thousands of workers activize themselves in social tasks and carry them out conscientiously, when from the struggle for the realization of plans wonderful people are emerging who are courageously smashing the old norms and establishing new ones, when all the possibilities have been created for the development of the creative initiative of the broad masses, there are hundreds and thousands of people who are capable of managing even the most difficult sectors. The question is to find them, to get to know them, to

train them, and to promote them courageously. And, in the main, it is the Party that can and should do this.

We should be patient in the work for the training of cadres. It is true that the young, but sound, elements from the ranks of the working class and the other working people cannot possibly have the necessary experience in the sector to which they are appointed, right from the start. Nobody is born trained to lead. The experience of the sector, the art of leadership, is acquired in the course of work. Therefore patience and friendly care is needed to develop the young cadres.

The selection and appointment of cadres is a matter of great delicacy and responsibility. The only correct principle on which it should be based is that they should be selected and appointed on the basis of their political reliability and capability at work. Therefore, in order to implement this principle correctly, it is essential to know the cadres from both aspects — from documents and from their work. One without the other, the underrating of the one and the overrating of the other, inevitably leads to mistakes which sometimes cost our Party and our state dear.

We have said at other times, and we are repeating, that the appointment of cadres on the basis of their political reliability, as well as vigilance in this aspect of our work, especially in our conditions, are of particular importance. Therefore, not even the slightest laxity should be permitted. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen the check-up to learn how the cadres are getting on in their work. Without fail, we must link the check-up on the implementation of decisions with the work with cadres more closely than we have done up to date. Facts show that, in this respect, we are not faring very well. The frequent transfers of cadres by many party

committees and departments in itself shows that they do not really know their cadres at first hand.

The Ministry of Health, for instance, in the course of 1955 has transferred over 23 per cent of its cadres: more than 70 per cent have been shifted at the same level, while nearly one fifth have been demoted. Such a situation not only shows lack of knowledge about the cadres, but also causes them immeasurable harm, because it doesn't allow them to specialize in a given sphere of work, or to settle into the job. And so they always remain new to the job, beginners, and this serves as a pretext to cover all sorts of other shortcomings.

Therefore, thorough knowledge of the cadres, careful study of them, getting them settled in one job, giving them a definite specialization, as well as concrete and continuous help in their work, are important tasks of the Party and the state organs.

An important part of the work with cadres is concern for the promotion of new cadres from the ranks of the workers of production. There is some hesitation, entirely unjustifiable, for the promotion and development of worker cadres. In the Durrës district, for instance, in a total of 494 cadres working in the enterprises of the district, there is not a single worker, while there are 139 cadres originating from the well-to-do strata.

The Party should combat such manifestations and weaknesses with the aim of courageously and patiently promoting and developing cadres from among the production workers and women.

An exceedingly harmful practice in the work with cadres is their promotion on the basis of favouritism and family ties. Such a policy, which is in absolute opposition to every directive of the Party, ruins the cadre, and seriously damages the work. In an atmosphere of unhealthy familiarity there is no criticism or self-criticism,

hence there is no struggle to carry the work forward. In such an atmosphere, flattery, conceit, submission to the "head of the clan", arise and develop. And, in their wake follow embezzlement and theft . . .

The Party should keep its eyes open and be on its guard to nip in the bud any manifestation which seriously damages the work. In no way should it be permitted that our production centres, services, and offices be turned into family institutions.

Another problem of great importance in the work with cadres is that of raising their technical and vocational level. The technical and vocational level of our cadres still does not fully respond to the needs of the development of the economy and culture in our country.

The 2nd Congress of the Party set us the task of eliminating the disproportion existing between the very low level of our cadres and the modern equipment with which our industry is being rapidly provided. In the course of these four years we have done a great deal in this direction; the number of technicians has been increased more than 240 per cent in comparison with 1950. On decision of the government the evening school and correspondence school network has been extended. To make it possible for our workers to acquire a higher level of schooling, a number of evening school branches have been opened: at the Oil Technical School of Stalin City, at the "7 Nëntori" Vocational School in Tirana, at the Polytechnical Institute and the Institute of Economics; correspondence courses according to programs of secondary schools, of agricultural schools, etc. have also been organized, in which 8,649 people are continuing their schooling; the network of labour reserve schools[12] and of qualification courses has

[12] One to two year courses training qualified specialists of various skills. Today, they have been replaced with one to two year low professional schools.

been extended with a total of 43,940 people having graduated or still attending them. But in the work for the raising of the technical and vocational level of the cadres there are still deficiencies, and the above-mentioned task laid down by the Congress has been fulfilled only in part. The rate of training cadres does not correspond to the rate of development of the economy and culture.

From an incomplete study, it results that in many sectors of work we are faced with a perceptible shortage of trained cadres. Thus, for instance, in the construction sector we are working with only 34 per cent of the high level technicians we need, in the sector of agriculture with 30 per cent, and in that of communications with 21 per cent, and so on. For some kinds of high level specialists, such as mechanical engineers, engineers for transport and land improvement, zootechnicians, veterinarians, physicians, etc., the needs are particularly acute. At the same time, many sectors are perceptibly short of technicians of medium training. Thus, agriculture is working with only 37 per cent of the middle technicians it needs, construction with 55 per cent, the mines with 56 per cent, etc.

Of course, this state of things is a result of the great backwardness we inherited from the past, but our insufficient work in this direction also has its effect.

We have not had any precise scientific study of the needs of the different sectors for cadres, and even today we have not done anything serious about it. A great responsibility for this situation rests with the departments, and especially with the State Planning Commission.

Being unclear about the needs for cadres, the measures taken for their training have been incomplete. In some cases these have even been neglected, and things have gone on without thought for the future. For instance, in 1953, the Ministry of Agriculture declared redundant and dismissed 970 technicians of lower training,

among them 150 tractor drivers. Certainly, these technicians were at a very low level of qualification, but still they did know something, and it would have been easier to train them as middle technicians than to take other people who knew nothing. The overwhelming number of those dismissed were young people, trained in courses after liberation.

There has been a lack of proper care on the part of the party organizations and the organs of the people's power concerning the selection of people to be sent to schools and courses, in seeing that all the places in them are filled, concerning the method of teaching in these courses and schools, in seeing that concrete benefits are gained from them. In fact when the students have come out of these schools and courses, it has been seen that among them there were some quite unsuitable people who have learned scarcely anything, and so on. The programs of these courses have been drawn up and approved in a bureaucratic manner, from behind the desk, without seeing in practice, whether the students can or cannot take in all those elements which they need to do their job well when they finish their lessons.

It is up to the Party to put an end to this situation.

Bearing in mind the rate of development of the economy and culture in the course of the 2nd five-year plan and the shortages we have, it is necessary to attach much greater importance to the question of training cadres for all the sectors of the life of the country. For all the party and state organs the problem of cadres should become the most important of all the important problems.

As soon as possible, we must take measures to make a more scientific study of the needs for cadres, to work out accurately the quota of cadres for each sector, basing ourselves on the Soviet experience and on the situation and the prospects of the development of the branches of

the economy and culture in our country, maintaining correct proportions for all the branches, and giving priority to the most backward sectors. The party committees and executive committees should show special care in regard to completing the contingents according to plan, having a clear idea of the future, and should not send people to courses and schools without any criterion.

Work in the qualification courses should be seriously improved, especially in regard to the quality of the work in them, proceeding from the principle of giving the state as many cadres, and as well trained, as possible. The programs of schools and courses should give great importance to the linking of theory with practice.

A few more words on the distribution of the forces of the Party. There is no doubt that in the period since the 2nd Congress of the Party in this aspect, too, some successes have been achieved. Thus, for example, in comparison with 1952 the number of communists in the sectors of industry, mining, construction, communication, trade and artisan production has increased by 40.5 per cent, in the socialist sector of agriculture it has risen 137.1 per cent, and in the sector of individual farming by 4.19 per cent. But still we should admit that we are not in order in the matter of the distribution of the forces of the Party. More than 40 per cent of the communists are employed in administration as office workers, and most of them fulfil auxiliary functions of second-rate importance. This situation has worried the Central Committee of the PLA, which has instructed the party organizations to take measures to transfer as many communists as possible from administration to production. And some initial results have been achieved. But, it should be stressed right now that among some communists working in administration, a manifestation totally alien to the Party, a bourgeois attitude, the attitude of an aristocrat towards work in production, has

appeared. In the Shkodra organization as well as in Tirana, there have been some communists who, without reason at all, have persisted in their refusal to go to production. Thus, of the 51 communists whom the party organization of Shkodra saw it completely possible to transfer from administration to production, 27 did not go. They justify this stand with the great contribution they had made during the war and in the work for the reconstruction of the country, with their lack of any trade training, or with some alleged physical disability, etc. But in fact this stand of theirs is nothing but an expression of the vestiges of the old morality in these comrades, of their scorn for work.

Our Party should fight hard against any such manifestation among the communists.

In our country, work is a matter of honour, glory and heroism, and it is the communists who should understand this better than anyone else. The most appropriate place for the communists is in the front line of the struggle, the place where the fate of the implementation of the party policy is decided. Yesterday, in the war, the place of the communist was wherever danger was greatest, at the head of his comrades. And the communist discharged his task with honour during the war, encouraging all the fighters by his heroic example. Today the front of the struggle, the main place where the communist should take his stand, is on the production front. Today the place of honour for the communist is there where material wealth is produced, at the head of the workers and working peasants, and it is there, by his personal example, that he should mobilize the workers and inspirit them to heroic deeds.

The unceasing upsurge of the economy of the country and, in connection with this, the strengthening of the work in production, calls for the concentration of the main

forces of the Party there. The party organizations must achieve this without fail.

5. — Strengthening the links of the Party with the masses and the work to be done for the greater mobilization of the masses for the fulfilment of new tasks

The great teachers of Marxism-Leninism have put special emphasis on the great importance of the links of the Party with the masses. They have pointed out that no great social transformation is possible without the broad and active participation of the masses. Our Party has considered the establishment of its links with the masses, and the continuous strengthening of these links, as one of its fundamental organizational principles.

The 2nd Congress of the PLA instructed us to further improve the work of the Party among the masses, to strengthen and enliven the mass organizations, to increase their creative initiative and to secure their greater mobilization for the implementation of the tasks laid down by the Party and the state.

Since the 2nd Congress of the Party, obvious successes have been attained in all these directions. A real turn for the better has been made, especially in regard to economic problems, by all the organizations of the masses: the Trade Unions of Albania, the Labour Youth Union of Albania, the Women's Union of Albania, and the Democratic Front. The trade unions, by increasing their care for the organization of, and checking-up on, the socialist emulation, the youth, by means of meetings with the working youth and by competitions organized among the youth in the countryside, the women's organization, by means of concrete actions, and so on, have been able to achieve a greater mobilization of the masses for the successful accomplishment of the various tasks in the economic and political-social fields.

However, in the work of the Party for the strengthening of the mass organizations and in the work of these organizations themselves there are still many weaknesses and shortcomings, and it would be a mistake if we did not look for them, uncover them, and struggle against them. The most glaring shortcoming in the work of the organizations of the masses is that their organizational and educational work, their work of leadership, does not respond to the drive, enthusiasm, and requirements of the masses. At the present level of their work, they are unable to direct all these energies into the best possible channels for the solution of the most important problems worrying the Party and the state. The formalism, sectarianism, and bureaucratism which exist, in varying degrees, in the work of these organizations, to some extent restrict the creative energies and wide-ranging initiative of the masses. Therefore, the main struggle of the party organizations and the organizations of the masses themselves, should be spearheaded against these methods in their work, for more lively, flexible, and concrete activity.

The great tasks arising from the directives of the 2nd five-year plan, which will be discussed at this Congress, constitute a great program of work for the development of the economy and culture in our country. The accomplishment of the tasks for the increase of industrial production, for the increase of agricultural and livestock production, for a more rapid rate of collectivization in agriculture cannot be achieved without the activity of the workers and of the engineering-technical staff in the economic enterprises, without securing the all-round mobilization of the rural workers, of the youth, women, without encouraging the further development of their creative initiative.

The Party has constantly stressed that in regard to the implementation of the tasks of the plan, the work among

the masses, the development of socialist emulation should be in the centre of the attention of the party organizations. Socialist emulation develops the creative initiative of the masses, strengthens their will to build up the people's economy and to correct the shortcomings in their work. To guide the socialist emulation means to work continually among the people, to show concern for them and to clear away any obstacle in their path. When the worker, the engineer, the technician see that their successes in production arouse interest, that their initiatives are backed up and encouraged, they work with even greater wisdom and initiative.

But in our organizations, and especially the trade unions, which have been charged with leading the socialist emulation, it is observed that the careful and living work which should be done in this respect is frequently replaced with collecting figures on the number of participants in socialist competitions, awarding prizes to the winners of the competitions, and distributing bonuses, etc.

The Party teaches us that the main aim of the socialist emulation is to encourage the workers to fulfil the targets of the plan and to have all of them realize the work quotas, hence to spread the most advanced experience widely. But often the organizations of the Party, and especially those of the trade unions and of the youth, involve themselves only with particular persons or small groups of advanced workers, and forget about the bulk of the participants in the competition. Such a thing is observed in our press, too. Instead of the living work among the masses, it prefers to make a big fuss about individual successes. This is not correct, for it does not give a complete picture of things. Care for the advanced workers is indispensable, but it should not be forgotten that it is the broad mass of the workers who are decisive for the realization of the plan. Therefore, particular atten-

tion should be centred on them; they must be helped, their work must be publicized, and the experience of the advanced workers must be transmitted to them. The fact that usually it is the newcomers to the job who remain outside the socialist emulation movement, who lag behind the others, should draw the attention of the trade union organizations. They need special care to get used to, and become familiar with, the conditions of work, to be educated and helped in overcoming the difficulties of beginning.

Superficial knowledge of economic problems by the cadres of the trade unions and their presumption to guide the socialist emulation through prescriptions dictated from above is bound to cause formalism in the emulation, and does not encourage the development of the initiative of the basic organization. The duty of the cadres, and in the first place of the communists who work in the trade unions, is to go more deeply into the technical and economic problems of production, and to guide the socialist emulation towards the key problems of production. The ability of the trade union organizations to discover everything new and progressive which arises in production, to find the forms and the means best suited to its development, is one of the most indispensable conditions for the guidance of socialist emulation. The trade unions should use many forms and methods for the further development of the socialist emulation. But one of the most suitable forms is the production meeting. The problems worrying the enterprises cannot be solved if they are not made the problems of the workers themselves. The tasks set by the Party for the discovery and exploitation of internal reserves cannot be carried out if the workers themselves do not take an active part in this movement.

In our economic enterprises there is bureaucratism, distortion, disorganization, lack of discipline, damage,

breakdowns, etc. Are these not important problems for the Party, the economic organs, and the trade unions? Could they not be solved more rapidly and better if they were made the concern of production meetings, if they were examined with the workers participating, so that they could have their say and pledge themselves to eliminate the shortcomings that are substantiated?

Another manifestation of the formalism in the socialist competitions is the carelessness shown by the trade union organs and organizations about ensuring in every enterprise the conditions essential to the fulfilment of pledges taken. Frequently, the trade unions reduce their task to the recording of pledges made by the workers, and, at the most, to the keeping of regular progress, reports on their fulfilment, while the main problem, which should occupy the largest part of their daily work, constant care for the elimination of all obstacles met on the road to the realization of the pledges, is completely neglected. In fact, they lack the militant spirit essential to ensuring the conditions for normal, rhythmical work on the part of the workers.

In practice, difficulties are encountered in the work for the fulfilment of pledges. It frequently happens that the administration of an enterprise does not ensure sufficient quantities of all the materials and means that workers need in time for the fulfilment of their pledges, or, instead of facilitating their work, it makes difficulties for the people working on inventions, rationalizations, etc. And instead of fighting and of raising their voice to the government and the Central Committee, the trade unions reconcile themselves to the management's excuses. Undoubtedly, this situation dampens the enthusiasm of the workers, checks their drive, and as a consequence, their pledges are left half-fulfilled. In the work for the fulfilment of pledges taken by workers, difficulties are en-

countered in connection with the creation of better living conditions for them. There is no doubt that in our country the state is directly interested in the creation of better working and living conditions for the workers. But this should by no means diminish the concern of the trade unions for the protection of workers' rights and interests deriving from the labour legislation and other laws and decisions of the Party and the state. The trade unions must certainly fight the bureaucratic attitudes maintained by certain managers of enterprises on the question of protecting the interests of workers, allegedly under the pretext of defending the interests of the state. Speaking on this question, V.I. Lenin has said:

> *". . . the trade unions no longer have to face the class economic struggle but the non-class 'economic struggle', which means combating bureaucratic distortions of the Soviet apparatus, safeguarding the working people's material and spiritual interests in ways and means inaccessible to this apparatus. . ."*.

There is no doubt that those managers who only demand the realization of the plan from their workers, and do not show the least concern for their life, are not managers in the party spirit, and do not deserve the trust placed in them. But even those comrades of trade union organizations, who see these weaknesses and shortcomings, who hear the complaints of the workers about their just demands that could be fulfilled, and who do not make the slightest effort to settle matters, they, too, are not working in the party way, are not worthy of the workers' trust. It is up to the Party to shake up these bureaucrats, to wake them up. Backwardness, laziness, the tendencies of individualism and anarchy at work and

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 103 (Alb. ed.).

the mentality of private property among the workers must be combated, and the socialist attitude towards work and the socialist property must be inculcated in them.

A working class free from exploitation, as our working class is, and conscious of its great role in the development of the society is capable of performing miracles.

In the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the state plan, especially in the countryside, a great role should be played by the other organizations of the masses, the youth and women's organizations, and the Democratic Front. While following the experience of the recent years in the organization of socialist competitions around concrete issues, at the same time, the youth and women's organizations, and the Democratic Front should also struggle against manifestations of boastful publicity, against sensational and bombastic declarations in this work. Through these organizations the Party must ensure livelier and more concrete work to arouse the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses of the peasantry for carrying out their tasks. Bearing in mind that we are now facing the main task of the socialist transformation of agriculture, it is essential that we further strengthen the leadership of the Party over the organizations of the masses in the countryside and over the work of these organizations themselves, with the aim of ensuring their all-round mobilization for the dissemination of the new in the village, for the increase of agricultural and livestock production, for the fulfilment of the plan of the land improvement, and for the acceleration of the rate of the collectivization of agriculture.

The strengthening of the links of the Party with the masses calls for the carrying on of continuous and systematic work for their political education. The working masses must be constantly clarified about the current problems of the policy of the Party.

The chief shortcoming in the work for the political education of the masses lies in its poor quality. The political education of the masses is carried on through general, often incomprehensible phrases, and does not respond properly to the varying demands and needs of the different categories of the working masses.

Therefore, it is necessary to raise the level of our political work with the masses, to improve the quality of lectures, of talks and readings.

Work for the communist education of the youth is also of great importance and of a much more delicate nature. Whereas, when we speak about educating our workers and peasants we always mean their re-education, the struggle against the vestiges of the past in their consciousness, and so on, when we speak about the education of the youth, we have in mind their education from the beginning, the formation of their socialist consciousness. Therefore, the role of the youth organization is exceptionally important, because, in collaboration with the state, and under the direct leadership of the Party, this organization should educate the youth from their tenderest years with the lofty qualities of the man of the new socialist society. From the work with the little children and pioneers to the lecture rooms of the higher schools, everywhere the youth are working, the hand of the Party and the youth organization should be felt, patiently tempering the new man.

The party organizations should be more concerned about the education of the youth, and try to find the most suitable forms for their communist education.

Everything new appeals to the nature of youth. Outdated forms bore them. Therefore we must not become slaves to some of our forms of work which we worked out long ago. We must create the possibilities for the youth

to be tempered and educated in the forms they themselves find most appropriate.

Bearing in mind the great backwardness inherited from the past among women, the raising of their political and cultural level is a job of great responsibility for the organizations of the Party and for the organization of the Women's Union of Albania. Today, the low cultural and vocational level of women has become a serious obstacle to increasing the participation of women in production and to the rate of development of the society. Therefore more effective measures should be adopted to strengthen the educational work with women, to raise their level in conformity with the demands of the economic development of the country.

The strength and vigour of the organizations of the masses stems from the wise guidance of the Party. But it must be said that not all the organizations and organs of the Party are as concerned as they should be about giving close and continuous leadership to all the organizations of the masses.

The Party leads the organizations of the masses mainly through its members who take part in them. But there are communists, who although they take part in the organizations of the masses, and are even elected to office in them, give very little help, or are totally inactive in their affairs. This is an utterly impermissible stand for the communists. Every communist is in duty bound to engage in some social activity.

It should be clear that the communist who dodges such an important and elementary duty, such as the work among the masses, has been admitted to the Party prematurely.

On their part, the organizations and the organs of the Party should give the organizations of the masses more concrete and effective leadership.

6. — On some questions of the ideological work of the Party

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Comrades,

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the people are the makers of history. The working masses, the producers, are the creators of the material values of the society, and socialism and communism are the product of the working masses themselves. On this, the great Lenin has said:

> *"All that we have achieved goes to show that we base ourselves on the most wonderful force in the world — that of the workers and peasants"*.*

By working out the bases of scientific communism, by explaining and furnishing arguments to bear out the historic role in the world of the working class as the vanguard builder of the communist society, Marxism wages a ruthless struggle against the view that history is allegedly created by outstanding individuals. Marxism-Leninism confronted these erroneous views on history with its materialist doctrine that the people are the real makers of history, and the more extensive the social transformations, the larger the masses of people taking part in them. This is borne out by the history of the great revolutions carried out by the peoples of various countries, such as for instance Russia, China, and some other countries — revolutions which have brought about profound economic, political, and social changes on the road of social progress. This correct materialist understanding of history also correctly defines the role of outstanding individuals in history, their role as leaders of the working people in guiding the revolutionary liberation movement in the construction of a new society. Marxism-Leninism

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 33, p. 166 (Alb. ed.).

does not negate the role of individuals, but assesses it correctly. These personalities emerge from the bosom of the people, they are created and encouraged by the people, who educate them and make them capable of serving the social interests, and they can, undoubtedly, play an important role in the social progress as organizers and leaders of the masses.

The founders of scientific communism have fought with all their might against the cult of the individual in all the forms in which it appears, as something utterly alien, useless, and harmful to Marxism.

The cult of the individual implies the excessive exaltation of individuals, giving them supernatural characteristics and qualities, transforming them into people who work miracles, and in the end, prostrating ourselves before them. These incorrect, non-Marxist views on the individual are alien and harmful to Marxism-Leninism. . .

The Party of Labour of Albania has criticized the manifestations of the overestimation of the role of personalities and leaders in a Marxist way, because these manifestations weaken the role of the Party, of the party base and the masses, and tend to create the view of the "infallibility of leaders".

The cult of the individual is a decayed remnant, the product of exploiting classes and small-scale producers. Viewing the question in this light, and taking into account the social conditions of our country, where the individual valour of heroes is readily placed above the heroic deeds of the masses of the people who have fought for centuries for the independence of the country, the cult of the individual, on the one hand, at all levels of the Party and the administration, incites arrogance and conceit in the cadres and elements who are still not properly tempered and educated in the Marxist-Leninist spirit, creates in these cadres varying degrees of haughtiness, boastfulness,

arbitrary actions, develops morbid, petty-bourgeois pride and the feeling of personal superiority and infallibility, and on the other hand, weakens the collective leadership of the Party at every level, weakens sound, principled criticism and self-criticism, and alienates the leadership from the masses.

The Central Committee of our Party has constantly spoken up for putting an end to any harmful, non-Marxist manifestation of the cult of the individual. The report submitted to the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party on July 12, 1954 says:

"The collective spirit has existed in the Central Committee and in the other leading organs of our Party, and continuous struggle has been waged day by day to strengthen collective work. The comrades of the Political Bureau can tell the Central Committee that time after time, and always correctly, the General Secretary raised before the Political Bureau and the other comrades in the leadership the question of the harm caused by the cult of the individual, and demanded that an end be put once and for all to certain excessive public manifestations by the masses of the people towards his person, such as chanting his name in chorus, the erection of busts in various cities, putting his photograph in newspapers and magazines without any apparent reason or occasion, and some other manifestations of this sort. But it is true to say that these questions which he raised on the basis of Leninist principles have, on many occasions, been taken as expressions of the modesty of his character. Now, it is necessary for the Central Committee to direct the Party, in the first place, to put an end to such a practice"*.

It is a very important duty for the Party to fight at all levels for the strict observance of the spirit of collec-

* See this volume, p. 413.

tivity in the leadership and for the complete observance of its Leninist norms. The meetings of the party basic organizations, bureaus and committees, the meetings of activists and the conferences of the Party should be held regularly and be characterized by a militant Marxist-Leninist spirit. The Party and all the deputies and councilors should strive to bring the people's power as close as possible to the masses, to democratize it as much as possible. The Party must struggle with all its might for the rigorous observance of the Constitution and the law, it should fight against bureaucratism and anyone trying to arouse the cult of the individual. All the communists should clearly understand that the development of the cult of the individual means the weakening of the leading role of the Party, the weakening of collective leadership, the weakening of criticism of errors and those who commit them, the weakening of self-criticism, and the development of vices alien to the communists, such as conceit, arrogance, self-satisfaction, the feeling of infallibility, and so on. The Party should not permit the role of the working masses in the history of our people, and that of the Party as their leader, to be overshadowed in the slightest. It should incessantly temper the socialist consciousness of our people on the anvil of the Party. The communists' consciousness and actions should fully conform to the spirit of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, the directives, the decisions and the Constitution of the Party.

Enemies of every kind will try in every way to hamper the implementation of the Leninist norms in the internal life of the Party. They will try to exploit the errors and self-criticisms of the Party and the communists to their advantage. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and of the petty-bourgeois and capitalist remnants in people's consciousness will do its work. The Party must be vigilant against them and fight them mercilessly, be-

cause the aim of these enemies is always to split the unity of the ranks of the Party, to weaken the Party, and in the end, to destroy it.

The Party should strengthen its revolutionary vigilance, because the enemy is working incessantly to lull the vigilance of the party members to sleep. The enemy tries to arouse among the communists a false feeling of calm, of the softening of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism. There will be unsound elements who, up till now, have been limping heavily on the road of the Party and wavering in their defence of the Leninist principles guiding our Party, whose weaknesses in their work and in the way they understand the line of the Party are bound to stick out like horns, and they may think that now it is time for the discipline of the Party, the vigilance of the Party to be changed, to have everything replaced, as they would like, with opportunist softness in the line, with the dying away of the class struggle, and so on. There will be others who will think that now the grave errors and faults they have committed towards the Party and the people should be forgotten. Others, Marxists of the eleventh hour, will think that now, under the guise of democracy, they can trample on the real democracy of the Party and weaken its iron discipline. The Party should wage a merciless struggle against these people, and should be extremely vigilant towards opportunist manifestations and Right deviations.

As for the class struggle, of course, we are not permitted to weaken our vigilance, but, on the other hand, we should not stir it up and sharpen it artificially, either. Lenin teaches us that,

> *"The dictatorship of the proletariat is a specific form of class alliance between the proletariat, the vanguard of the working people, and the numerous non-*

proletarian strata of the working people (the petty-bourgeoisie, small proprietors, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, etc.) . . . ".*

Always bearing in mind this teaching of great Lenin, the Central Committee of the Party, especially in recent times, in the district party conferences, has explained that the narrow understanding of the continual sharpening of the class struggle in the stage of the construction of socialism is not correct. Life proves that the forces of socialism are constantly growing, while the economic basis and the political influence of the overthrown classes is weakening, and they are not in a position to develop their struggle towards ever sharper forms. This, of course, does not mean at all that the class struggle dies out and that the overthrown classes will give up the struggle of their own free will. Without doubt, they will change the forms of their struggle, but this struggle is now no longer as harsh as it was in the first years after liberation, when the overthrown classes had a better economic basis, still exercised some political influence and were linked with foreign reaction, enjoying all its aid.

The struggle of the communists for the defence of the correct principles of the Party should be the most important duty in our daily work.

Assessing and interpreting the development of the international situation from an anti-party, anti-Marxist, revisionist and careerist position, Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, who were justly condemned by the Party, were convinced that the correct Marxist-Leninist line of our Party had to be overthrown and replaced with a opportunist, Trotskyite, bourgeois nationalist, and capitulationist general line. It was not the first time in their party life that these two people had expressed profoundly op-

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, pp. 422-423 (Alb. ed.).

portunist views. The aid that was continually given them by the Party did them no good. Violating every organizational principle of the Party, they went so far as to try to cause a rift in the unity of the leadership, to denigrate the leadership, to split the unity of the Party by defending hostile theses, such as the demand for revision of the line of the Party concerning its historic decisions to purge its ranks of Trotskyite, anti-party, and hostile elements, in their efforts to change the line of the Party in the direction of extinguishing the struggle against anti-party trends. These elements were for peaceful co-existence with anti-party tendencies in the ranks of the Party, and for the transformation of our Marxist-Leninist Party into an opportunist bourgeois party.

The Party has defended and will defend with all its might the principles of Marxism-Leninism which constitute its strength and life, the future and security of the Albanian people. Far from weakening it, our Party will sharpen the struggle against opportunist and deviationist tendencies of every hue and under whatever guise they may present themselves.

Recently, at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, some elements of bourgeois extraction and unhealthy intellectuals, with anti-party views and opposed to the strengthening of the people's power and the construction of socialism in our country, urged on by the slanderous and hostile propaganda of foreigners, tried to fight the Party of Labour of Albania, its line and leadership. These adventurists, who had smuggled themselves into the Party, who had made many mistakes over the line of the Party, were not pleased about the uninterrupted progress of our country towards socialism. Thinking that the international situation was in their favour, and taking their wishes for the reality concerning the capitulation of our Party before the hostile propaganda or vacillating ele-

ments, they fought to have our Party recognize the hostile, anti-party, anti-state power, Trotskyite and revisionist activity of the various groups and persons who have been justly condemned by the Party, as correct, patriotic activity on the Marxist-Leninist line.

It is evident that these anti-party elements are nothing but the continuation of the series of anti-party groups or elements opposed to the people's power, which the Party has long ago thrown out of its ranks. They have nothing in common with Marxism-Leninism, with the Party of Labour of Albania, or with our people. The principled struggle of our Party, its successes in all the activities of the life of the country, the heroic struggle of our people, who, under the leadership of the Party, are successfully building socialism, are bound, at every moment and every stage, to cause the emergence of such adventurist, careerist elements, enemies who try to check the advance of our socialist society. This is the law of contradiction. In this struggle victory will always go to the Party and the people. Even when they attack the Party from their anti-party positions, even when the hand of the justice of the Party falls on them, these anti-party elements use and will use demagogy and slanders, they will howl and complain that "democracy has been violated, freedom of speech has been violated, arbitrary measures have been used", and so on.

In the century of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, the Marxist-Leninist parties have accumulated great experience from the actions of these hypocrites.

Dreaming that the moment was opportune, with bombastic phrases aimed at disorientating the audience, the anti-party elements who emerged at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana began to speak about the Leninist norms of our Party: its inner democracy, criticism and self-criticism, discipline, the unity and collec-

tive spirit of the leadership. But the Conference set things right very quickly, it uncovered and exposed their entire activity. In their own words they admitted that, with anti-Marxist disdain, they had violated all the Leninist norms of the Party about which they had so much to say. At that Conference they were bold enough, not only to run down, but even to deny, the great economic successes in the construction of socialism in Albania, and they resorted to this forgery, this slander, or better say, this thesis of the "Voice of America", and of all the other propaganda of international reaction against Albania, in order to fight and discredit the heroic Party of Labour of Albania, its correct line and its Leninist Central Committee, just as the "Voice of America" and hundreds of western radio stations do.

Of course, these radio stations will start bellowing in defence of the interests of their zealous followers who received the blow they deserved from the Party. They will scream themselves hoarse, claiming that in Albania "terror is rampant, at a time when in the other countries those who had been wrongly condemned are being rehabilitated". But this will deceive no one. Our Party has never been afraid of admitting its mistakes when they are proved in life, and this is what will happen in the future, too. To admit one's mistakes means to correct them and not repeat them, means to march forward successfully towards socialism and communism. This is the law of our Party, for only in this way will our Party become stronger, and because it has acted in this way our Party is strong, and enjoys the boundless love of its people.

Comrades, what happened at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana should serve as a great lesson for all the Party. But it should be stressed that it was the very poor and shortsighted work of the Provisional Bureau of

the Party Committee for the city of Tirana that provided the excuse and scope for this hostile work. The Party Committee for the city of Tirana, and especially its Provisional Bureau, with all the secretaries of its Committee, had wrapped themselves up in trifling matters, in markedly bureaucratic work. The secretaries of the Committee and the members of the Provisional Bureau had cut themselves off from the live work of the Party and the masses. They had replaced work among the masses with papers and statistical evidence, they had created an unhealthy spirit of familiarity in the Bureau and in the Committee, with purely formal criticism and self-criticism. They did not know anything about the real life of the organizations, in which unhealthy, vacillating elements, and old enemies of the Party were taking advantage, working against it. These elements exploited the weaknesses, shortcomings, and difficulties in the work of the Party in order to breach its discipline, criticism, and self-criticism, to weaken the vigilance of the Party and its struggle.

It is necessary to intensify the struggle in the basic organizations and in all the leading organs of the Party, so as to make our Party still more militant; it is necessary to strengthen the feeling of responsibility among the communists, to strengthen the discipline of the Party, and not allow party matters to become the talk of the town; it is necessary to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, and to ruthlessly fight formalism and familiarity in regard to this. Sound secrecy should be preserved, and state secrets should be guarded as the apple of our eye. Communists must know how to recognize hostile elements or those with alien tendencies, who, under the mask of the democracy of the Party, seek to abuse it to the detriment of the Party. The true democracy of the Party should be used against these distorters of democracy so as to expose and crush them.

Wherever they are, wherever they work, the communists should set the example at work, and be relentless fighters against bureaucratism.

The Party not only exposed the markedly anti-party activity of certain elements which showed up at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, but it also learned a lesson from its mistakes. These mistakes should become lessons for us on the need to further strengthen the work of the Party.

The political, ideological and organizational unity of the Party should be guarded as the apple of our eye, because the enemies of the Party and of the Albanian people will use all their means to destroy this unity. Of course, they are doomed to fail as they have always done, because our Party is stronger than ever, and it has gained vast experience from the struggle which it has constantly waged against deviationists and factionalists.

In its thorough analysis of the measures adopted against all anti-party and deviationist groups and elements, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, held from the 10th to the 11th of May 1956, concluded that these measures had been absolutely just. The activity of Koçi Xoxe and Co. was inimical to the Party and state. Koçi Xoxe and his associates created and set in motion one of the most dangerous factions against the Party, a faction aimed at disrupting the unity of, and liquidating, the Party. Koçi Xoxe placed the activity of the Party under the control of the State Security; he prepared the ground for the political and physical liquidation of the leadership of the Party and state; he ruthlessly trampled on state laws, etc. The charges brought against Koçi Xoxe and his associates are fully based on facts, and the sentences imposed on them by our Party and state were absolutely just.

These just decisions were taken collectively by the plenums of the Central Committee, by the congresses, conferences, and meetings of activists of the Party. These just decisions received the full support of the entire Party, because they were based on Leninist norms, and backed up by facts.

Our Marxist-Leninist Party has not gone wrong, because it has been correctly guided by its Central Committee, because it has always been solid, because in everything it has done and in every step it has taken, the Party has been guided by the lofty interests of our people, and has constructed its general line on the basis of Marxism-Leninism . . .

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Works, vol. 13

ON CERTAIN MATTERS CONNECTED WITH THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP

Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

November 3, 1956

We are holding this meeting of the Political Bureau in order to take up certain matters connected with the relations between the countries of our socialist camp.

We are all aware of the development of events in Hungary[1] and in Poland[2]. But it must be pointed out that so far the Soviet Union has told us nothing about these events either through party or state channels.

Twenty days ago we received a letter from the Central Committee of the CPSU in which we are told that

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[1] In the socialist countries, revisionism spread and deepened especially in Hungary and Poland. With the aid of the Khrushchev group, anti-Marxist elements, condemned for their revisionist and anti-socialist activity, emerged at the head of the workers' parties of these countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat was paralysed. Western bourgeois ideology and culture were allowed to spread on a broad scale. Under the guise of "cultural circles", counter-revolutionary hotbeds such as the "Petöfi Club" were created in Hungary, and elsewhere. This situation was exploited by the imperialists who incited, spread, and organized counter-revolution in those countries where the revisionists had prepared a suitable ground for it, and in collaboration with them, undertook the work of re-establishing capitalism there. Thus, from the 23rd of October to the 4th of November

a delegation of theirs composed of comrades Khrushchev, Molotov, Kaganovich, and Mikoyan would be going to Poland. This letter stresses that the situation in Poland is fraught with danger for the socialist camp, especially for the Soviet Union, and promises that in the future they will keep us fully in the current of events. But since this letter we have had nothing fresh from them, no information whatsoever.

We have learned of the events taking place in Hungary from the broadcasts of the radio of that country and from the very little that Radio Moscow, the TASS news agency and the radios of the other countries of our camp have given. The Czechoslovak radio has broadcast certain information, some of which describe the events in Hungary as a counter-revolutionary movement, as we think they are, as an attempt to destroy the state power of people's democracy in Hungary, and to bring the capitalists to power. Meanwhile the TASS news agency has given only the statement of the Soviet government and some minor information. The first communiqué we heard claimed that the counter-revolution in Hungary had been suppressed, that order had been established in Budapest, and so on. However, the fact is that calm has not been

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1956, counter-revolution broke out in Hungary. The Hungarian people's democracy faced the danger of complete obliteration. The Hungarian Workers' Party was broken up. Betrayed by the revisionists, the Hungarian communists and workers put up desperate resistance. With the aid of the Soviet army, the counter-revolution was crushed, but its roots were not extirpated. Revisionism in Hungary was not wiped out; it only made a withdrawal. The revisionists there still held key positions in the organs of political power and in the re-organized leading party.

[2] In June 1956, international imperialism and the revisionists jointly organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in Poznan of Poland, to overthrow the socialist order and to re-establish capitalism in Poland.

restored in Hungary, and we hear from Western radios that armies from the Soviet Union and Rumania are going to Hungary and have already occupied Hungarian airports and surrounded Budapest[3].

For the Party of Labour of Albania and its leadership it has been clear all along that, regardless of certain mistakes that may have been made in Hungary on economic matters, like that of failing to take into account the right proportions between the branches of economy, which naturally has depressed the standard of living of the people, the possibility existed to correct and repair them, as has been done elsewhere. Rakosi and some other comrades may have been responsible for such mistakes, but my opinion is that their faults are not so enormously grave that they should have been removed from the leadership altogether. Only in a situation where there is an anti-Marxist and anti-revolutionary spirit against the people's power and the camp of socialism, as there is, in fact, in Hungary, could communist elements like Rakosi and other comrades, who have a long record of revolutionary activity to their credit, be sacked.

The activities of the anti-Marxist elements in Hungary, which have nothing in common with Marxism, are fascist actions and enjoy the full backing of reaction and imperialism. Although these elements conceal and mask their activity, there is no lack of proof that they have organized and incited the development of counter-revolutionary events, while also undermining the positions of the sound elements in the Hungarian Workers' Party.

[3] As it became clear later, the Khrushchev group hesitated to send the Soviet troops into action to suppress the counter-revolution. It was only after great pressure from below, and especially when it saw that Hungary was slipping from its sphere of influence, that it was finally forced to allow the Soviet army to go to the assistance of the defenders of the Hungarian revolution.

Under the guise of certain mistakes which, as I said, could be corrected, these anti-Marxist elements manoeuvred and seized state power, placing Hungary in a catastrophic situation.

We are able to judge these matters more coolly and competently because we are not short of experience of the intrigues and manoeuvres of the Tito clique against our country. The counter-revolution in Hungary has been incited by the Yugoslav Titoites who did not fail to say that allegedly grave mistakes have been committed against certain persons, who, according to them, have been unjustly condemned by "the Rakosi gang". Who could these persons be? One of them is Imre Nagy.

On our way to Moscow[4], in Budapest we met the comrades of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party. Among other things, they told us that when Imre Nagy celebrated his birthday he invited 150 persons including members of the Central Committee and ministers. A member of the Central Committee who had asked whether he should go to Imre Nagy's birthday party had received this reply, "Make up your own mind!". When I asked, "Why did you not tell him bluntly that Imre Nagy is an enemy, and that he should not go to his banquet?" "Well," they said to me, "we left it to his conscience to judge and decide for himself". This is an indication of the grave situation created in Hungary. It is clear that Imre Nagy had backing in his opposition to Rakosi and the sound section of the party. It was manoeuvred in such a way as to make Imre Nagy lead

[4] On the way to Moscow, the delegation of the PLA, which was to take part in the Comecon Conference in June 1956, stayed one night in Budapest. In the evening the members of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Workers' Party apart from Rakosi, Hegedus, and Gerö, who had left for Moscow, met the delegation of the PLA.

the counter-revolution. Hence it turned out that Rakosi was right.

People like Janos Kadar[5], Rajk[6], and their ilk, have worked to liquidate the Hungarian Workers' Party. These people have never been Marxists, and we know what intrigues they have hatched up in collusion with the Tito clique, therefore, the stand Rakosi has maintained against them is correct.

The mistake of the party leaders in Hungary is that they did not hold fast to, and mobilize, the party and the people to deal the appropriate blow at the activities of hidden and open enemies, on the contrary, they made a number of concessions, to the point that the counter-revolution broke out in Hungary.

In this situation, we, the members of the Political Bureau who were in Tirana, got together, discussed, and took certain decisions to further strengthen the organs of State Security and the army. We think that these steps are necessary. At such critical moments, it is impermissible for us not to take precautions, regardless of the fact that the situation in our country is sound. Our Party is clear and stands on extremely strong and sound positions, as you yourselves have seen at the district meetings of

[5] In April 1951, he had been imprisoned for grave offences and anti-party activity. In July 1954, as a result of the campaign launched by Khrushchev against the socalled "cult of the individual", he was rehabilitated. At the time of the events of October-November 1956 in Hungary, the modern revisionists, mainly the Soviet revisionists, placed him at the head of the Revolutionary Government of the Workers and Peasants, and later made him First Secretary of the CC of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.

[6] Former Minister for Internal Affairs of the PR of Hungary, agent of the US imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. In September 1949 the people's court meted out to him the sentence he deserved.

activists and those of the grassroot organizations. In spite of this, we should always be awake, on our feet, prepared and vigilant, and we must learn from these events which are taking place in other countries of our socialist camp.

With regard to Poland, we have discussed it once before. My opinion is that events in that country are developing to the disadvantage of our socialist camp. Gomulka and Co. have come to power in the People's Republic of Poland. But who is Gomulka?

Gomulka is an element who has been in jail for anti-party activity, for Rightist views in the management of the economy, and so on. Now this element has been rehabilitated and elected First Secretary. In some of Gomulka's speeches we have been struck by a number of problems. What are some of them? Gomulka has attacked the question of agricultural cooperatives, claiming that they are not efficient. We do not interfere in their internal affairs, but we want to say that we do not agree with such a view. The mistakes that may have been made in Poland in connection with collectivization should not be attributed to the system of collectivization as if it were bad in itself. If the system of collectivization were to blame, then the agricultural cooperatives would have been in bad straits in our country, too.

Likewise, from Gomulka's speeches it is obvious that he has no respect for the leaders of other parties. He had said that the first secretaries of the other parties have been like Stalin's moons, that is, his satellites. Thus, Gomulka speaks in terms which only the reactionary radios use.

Another tendency of Gomulka's is the allusion he makes in saying that Bierut also has made mistakes. Gomulka does not say this openly, but wants the activity of all leaders to be re-examined. As far as we know,

Bierut has been one of the outstanding leaders of the world proletariat and of the Polish people. He has defended the interests of the Polish working class in their most critical situations. Bierut has been an ardent partisan of close friendship of the Polish proletariat and the Polish people with the workers and peoples of the Soviet Union and with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Gomulka is quite different. He and his associates came to power with a definite program and with slogans of "the genuine independence and sovereignty of Poland, the further democratization of the Party and the country, and for the liberation of Poland". But from whom did all these perils come? Obviously from the Soviet Union.

Elements with these Rightist and Trotskyite views towards the Soviet Union and its Communist Party have organized anti-Soviet demonstrations in Poland. Therefore, it is clear to us that those who are now in power in Poland, like Gomulka and Co., are counterrevolutionaries. Among other things, the measures taken there to oust from the party leadership a number of comrades who have fought for the liberation of the Polish people and for socialism demonstrate this. Some of them have been or are being discarded, by removing them from the Political Bureau and replacing them with persons holding anti-Marxist views.

From what we hear, it seems to us that, in Poland, they are opposed to the stationing of the Soviet army in their country. If for the moment they have kind words about the Soviet army, this is on account of their immediate interests, because there is also the national question, the fear of an eventual German assault, hence it is not easy for them to speak openly against the Soviet army. On the contrary, the Polish leaders issue demagogic slogans with a view to deceiving the Polish people and the politically unenlightened communists, and to strengthen-

ing their own position. Of course, love for the Soviet Union has not been extinguished in Poland.

There are certain other problems in Poland, like that of the cult of the individual, which many elements who hunger after it for themselves are trying to exploit. According to our people's saying, these people see the mote in the other's eye but fail to see the big stick in their own. These people are trying to do all sorts of things under the cloak of the campaign against the errors of the cult of the individual.

It is up to the Party in Poland to solve these problems, but we have our own opinions which we can and should express, because in this way we shall also defend the friendship which exists between our countries, which are part of the socialist camp. If Gomulka wants to follow this course, let him do so, we shall go our own way. Nevertheless, we have major interests, the general interests of the whole camp, and should give no cause for aggravation of relations, but we shall defend our principles to the very end.

There may be other things in Poland which we do not know, but one thing we know for sure is that the present Polish leadership, headed by Gomulka, is opposed to the Soviet Union, to the Soviet army, and to the socialist camp. This is borne out by many facts. But things did not turn out in Poland as in Hungary. The flow of events was checked because the Poles showed themselves more capable than the Hungarians. However, facts prove that in Poland, too, the danger continues to exist. And Tito continues to be involved in these events. It is a fact that the slogans and theoretical views of the Poles and of the Hungarians are very similar to those of the Yugoslavs. About all the events which are now taking place in Poland, too, the Soviet Union is maintaining complete silence. The Soviet government sends us a letter it has

addressed to Nehru and Sukarno about the question of Egypt, which is not so urgent, while it fails to keep us informed about the events which are taking place in Hungary and Poland.

I have talked about all these things with Krylov, the Soviet Ambassador in Tirana, but I do not know whether or not he has transmitted our remarks to his Party and government. We are also keeping in mind what Suslov told us about Hungary, but what he said does not convince us. He told us that from now on things will be all right in Hungary, because now there is unity in the Party and Imre Nagy has made a good self-criticism. He also told us that relations with Yugoslavia will improve, because he had talked with Tito in the Crimea, that Gerö would go to Belgrade at the head of a delegation for talks with the Yugoslavs. These views of Suslov were a reply in confrontation with our views, because we had told him that with Rakosi's downfall there was no unity in the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party.

Likewise, we have also talked with Krylov about some economic difficulties which our country is encountering. On this occasion we asked for maize from Rumania, because we need bread, but so far we have received no reply. We spoke to Krylov also about some news we hear on the radio that Rumania and Czechoslovakia are helping Hungary with medical supplies, an action which we do consider incorrect, because Imre Nagy himself says openly for whom these medical supplies are intended, thus they are trying to smooth matters over with him, while we are not being assisted even with maize for bread. But I told Krylov that we will defend the cause of our people to the very end, that we will go without bread and shoes, and we will not allow others to come in and do what they please in our country.

In this difficult situation when war is being waged in North Africa, when Egypt is in flames, we must struggle and persist in our work to cope with any situation, no matter how dangerous it may be, with our own resources. We will make no mistakes, we will defend our homeland, the revolution and socialism. All this we have told Krylov again and again. He listens and expresses no opinion, only this set phrase, "You raise these problems correctly", and nothing more.

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IN NO WAY WILL WE MAKE CONCESSIONS ON PRINCIPLES

Discussion at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA

November 13, 1956

Today we have received two other letters which have been exchanged between Tito and comrade Khrushchev[1]. At this meeting of the Political Bureau I think we should read these letters, and at the same time I should also report to you the conversation I have had with the Soviet Ambassador, Krylov. Then, in conclusion, all of us should contribute to the discussion, to see what is our common opinion, what proposals there are on our part, what stand we should maintain at the present moment and in the future towards these important issues.

I want to say right at the start that the moments we are living through are very serious and critical, therefore, the comrades should do some deep thinking, weighing every word they say, with a view to finding the right Marxist-Leninist solution to the problems, always in the interests of our Party, of our people, of the revolution and of socialism. I think, of course, that we should keep these

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[1] This refers to Tito's letter to Khrushchev on November 8, 1956, as well as to Khrushchev's reply to Tito on November 9, 1956, in continuation of their earlier letters, beginning from November 4, which dealt with the Hungarian question, the protection of the traitor Imre Nagy and Co., etc.

matters to ourselves, for they involve the protection of the Soviet Union.

Having read the letters exchanged between the Presidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, comrade Enver Hoxha continues:

Today I talked with comrade Krylov. I asked Krylov some questions about certain points of the recent letters which are not clear. One of the questions I asked him was the following: "In the letters, we see no clear-cut stand on the part of the Central Committee of the CPSU, nor any allusion to the words Tito says about 'certain evil persons'. Could you say something about this?" Krylov replied: "No, I have nothing to say," and said nothing more.

The second question I raised with Krylov was this: "In the letter we read that the Central Committee of the CPSU has tried to arrange that Janos Kadar becomes the First Secretary of the Hungarian Workers' Party, but it is not clear to us where the Central Committee of the Hungarian Workers' Party was formed, in the Crimea?" What was Krylov's reply? He replied, saying: "No, but it may be that the Hungarian comrades have gone to Crimea and discussed who should be their leader, while the Central Committee of the CPSU has said that Kadar would be the best choice." Then I told Krylov that this means that the Central Committee of the CPSU is not in favour of Gerö but in favour of Kadar. And he answered: "Yes, that's how it turns out from the letter". Then I asked him this other question: "How can it be explained that Gerö became First Secretary?" Krylov's reply was: "He was elected by the Plenum of the Hungarian Workers' Party". In winding up this question, I told the Soviet Ambassador that Janos Kadar's government had been formed in close collaboration between the Central Com-

mittee of the CPSU and Tito, and he accepted this saying: "So it turns out to be".

In the meantime, I informed him of our misgivings, saying that the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had considered that an extremely important issue, and that was why it was taking it up for discussion nearly every night. My personal opinion, which was also the unanimous opinion of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party, was at variance with the activity of the leadership of the CPSU and of Tito who, among other things, also discussed who should make up the Hungarian government. Then Krylov asked me what we thought of Imre Nagy's going to Rumania[2], whether we agreed or not.

I answered this question in this way: "We have stated and state again that Imre Nagy is a traitor who has opened the doors to fascism. Tito has stated: 'Imre Nagy is with us', while we, Albanians, say that Imre Nagy and Co. are anti-Soviet. How is it possible that a traitor who has killed Soviet soldiers, who has called on the imperialists to come to the aid of the counter-revolution, should now be sent to Rumania, to a friendly country? The Soviet comrades are making a major concession in this matter. Formerly, they told Tito: 'It would have been better had Imre Nagy gone to the US Embassy', while now they say: 'Give him to us to have him sent to Rumania'! This seems to us to be quite incorrect. We say that if Nagy goes to Rumania, it is just the same as if went to the Soviet Union. Therefore, comrade Krylov", I continued, "we cannot put ourselves in opposition to

[2] After the failure of the counter-revolution in Hungary, the traitor Imre Nagy was taken under the protection of the Yugoslav revisionists. He was sheltered for this purpose in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest. Through the intervention of the Khrushchevite Soviet leadership he was later sent to Rumania.

our people and our Party who do not agree with the backing given to Imre Nagy. We are of the opinion that we have made the right approach to the events of the present situation before our people and our Party. We are raising this problem in a comradely way, telling the Soviet Union that we are not in agreement with it. Later, we may go still further in sizing up the Hungarian events, for in this way we are consistent in our correct line, but today we are speaking from what information we have and from the inferences we draw from the letters exchanged between the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

In his letter Tito calls us 'evil people', opposed to socialism. We reject this categorically. On the contrary, we are good people, Marxist-Leninists, determined to uphold the cause of socialism to the very end. As a matter of fact, Tito is opposed to socialism, and this is borne out by many facts."

I stressed to Krylov that the Central Committee of the CPSU was well aware of our views because we have repeatedly expressed them. I asked him: "Is this not so?" And I received this answer: "Yes, that's true". Then I asked him: "Have you reported our opinion every time we have talked to you?". "Yes," he replied, "I have reported everything."

Comrades, it is clear that the Central Committee of the CPSU knows very well that we say (and we are one hundred per cent certain of this) that, in addition to the intervention of the imperialists, Tito and Co. also had a hand in the organization of the counter-revolution in Hungary. On what do we base this? We base this on facts. We have our own experience, too, which teaches us that during these eight years, Tito and his henchmen have tried and are still trying to destroy our Party and

our people's power. Not only earlier, but even now, when their relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are improving, they are continuing to plot against our Party, our people and our state. The CPSU is well aware of this. It is informed that the Tito clique are brutally interfering in our internal affairs and aim to liquidate our Party and our people's power.

This will encourage Tito and Co. to continue their struggle against us more vigorously. Therefore we cannot agree with an attitude like this which is being maintained towards Tito. In spite of that, we have waited one year and a half, and even two years, for the Tito clique to cease their hostile activities against our Party and our country, but they have done nothing of the sort. On the contrary, they are continuing their activities against Albania, and we have many facts to prove this. But we refuse to give in. We shall continue to follow the right Marxist-Leninist course we are on, we shall uphold our principles to the very end.

I also raised with comrade Krylov the question: "For a whole month we have been telling you every day, that we are absolutely without information and know nothing about the events taking place in a number of countries of our camp. Have you ever come to tell us anything about these matters?" "No!" replied Krylov, "except for these letters I have brought you."

In the course of our conversation, I said, as we had stated also at other times, that we did not consider it proper that all those talks should be conducted with Tito while nothing was explained to us about the events taking place within the ranks of our camp, in which we were deeply interested. Why was this? Was it because ours was a small country? Marxism-Leninism draws no distinction between big and small countries. All of us had the duty to uphold matters of principle. For that reason, in

the first place, we considered we should have been kept up to date about those events of principled importance, and, second, because they were very closely connected also with our cause, with the defence of socialism and of the Party of Labour of Albania.

Our principles and the interests of the Albanian people demand that we defend the unity of our Party and Marxism-Leninism, our people, the Soviet Union and its Communist Party. On these issues we think we have made no mistakes and will never do so. I asked Krylov to transmit our views to the comrades of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He replied that he understood our situation very well.

Finally, in passing, Krylov asked me: "What about Dali Ndreu's trial, will you carry on with it?" It seems to me that this was not a casual question but one which might well have been prompted by ulterior motives, for we had told him who Dali Ndreu was and what documents we had in our hands about this traitor. My reply was this: "Yes, we have prepared Dali Ndreu's trial. We shall conduct it and reach a verdict because he is a traitor and an agent of a foreign power. If Tito continues to act against us, as he is doing, although he tries to camouflage his hostile activity, we shall not hesitate to reveal the truth with many facts on a tape recording. We have put up with enough from the Titoites who not only continue to damage us but also accuse us of being evil people and opposed to socialism!" "I understand your situation", Krylov wound up, thanked me, and left.

Now, comrades of the Bureau, let us weigh up these issues, for they are very serious. I think we should not moderate our principled stand by agreeing on Imre Nagy's going to Rumania, as the Central Committee of the CPSU writes. How is it possible to support a man who opened the doors to the counter-revolution in Hungary? In the

same way, it seems to me that all the attempts which are being made to hush up the grave mistakes which Tito has made, and continues to make, are not permissible. This is not pursuing a consistent and correct revolutionary line. I emphasize once again that I stated to Krylov that we are not in agreement on these matters. We do not like these things that are taking place because we do not see where they will lead to in the future. And on all matters we are discussing, we have been told nothing to convince us of the advantages of the course we are supposed to take.

We expect to be told something about the events in Poland, too. A month ago we were told that the situation there is very grave for our camp and for the Soviet Union, but from that day to this we have received no further information. In the Soviet magazine "New Times", we have read an article which says, among other things, that the Soviet Union is fully in agreement with what is happening in Poland. Gomulka, too, has stated that the leadership of the Soviet Union is in agreement with him. In the course of my conversation with Krylov I told him that we learned from the Polish press that Anders' officers, fugitives, similar to those who had fled our country, were returning to Poland, issuing leaflets and distributing propaganda material, people who might eventually drop bombs and kill us. How was it possible to leave us in the dark and tell us nothing about what was happening in Poland? That was not right. We were deeply interested to learn the truth. Krylov replied, "Your request is right". Then I asked him, "Please transmit to the Central Committee of the CPSU the views we hold about these things, too".

It is clear that the way the situation is developing, there may be further consequences, therefore the problem before us is whether to breach our principles, to keep

silent, or to march forward, irreconciliable with incorrect attitudes.

What is my opinion about the course we should follow? I insist that we proceed on the basis of the principles we have defined, because we have to deal with very delicate problems. But, regardless of our disagreements on certain questions raised by the Central Committee of the CPSU, we should not publicize these differences of opinion, for this is to the detriment of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. On the other hand, it is my opinion that we must not make concessions of the kind the leadership of the CPSU wants to make, for this is a markedly opportunist stand. I am of the opinion that an exceptionally big role in this grave situation is being played by the intrigues of the Yugoslav Titoites, one of whose objectives is to create conflicts between our two parties, and among all other communist and workers' parties which uphold Marxism-Leninism, to compromise them and pit them one against the other with a view to developing the situation in their own favour.

Therefore, I repeat once more that we should conduct our discussions well, seriously, and with full sense of responsibility, weigh every step we take, foresee the further development of events properly, because, whether we like it or not, unexpected things may occur, and we do not know what the circumstances will force us to do.

Krylov tells us nothing. The only word he utters is "Pravilno" (that's right). And when he has anything to add, his words are: "I understand your situation, but we have no word from Moscow". Referring to my recent speech[3], he said that it was "silny" (strong), and nothing more.

[3] At the solemn meeting on the 15th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, on November 8, 1956.

As regards the question of going or not going to Moscow for the purpose of clearing up these problems, I am still thinking about it. In principle we are entitled to go to the Soviet Union, because we are faced with major problems of extreme importance which involve both us and the socialist camp, problems which are not clear to us. This clarification is necessary, also because we should state our opinion openly to the leadership of the CPSU, just as we did when we objected to Khrushchev's going to Yugoslavia[4] and his evaluation of Tito. We expressed our views, which have been transmitted to the Central Committee of the CPSU, therefore let us express them once again now. But, in practice, we must bear in mind that by going to the Soviet Union we may come up against things on which we should make no concession on principles. Things may go so far as to compel us to say to the Soviet leaders: "Look where you are going, comrades! We are opposed to the concessions you are making". This will happen if we have one-thousandth of a doubt that the Soviet comrades will not understand and correct their concessions.

But we hope that we can reach agreement. The recent article[5] written by us giving a clear statement of our views on all matters of principle in connection with the Polish and Hungarian events was published in full in "Pravda", without any alteration. This indicates that

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[4] In May 1955, the CC of the PLA sent a letter to the CC of the CPSU in which it expressed its opposition to Khrushchev's going to Yugoslavia and to the rehabilitation of the Yugoslav leadership, and demanded that these questions should be considered at a meeting of the member parties of the Information Bureau, at which the PLA should be invited to state its views.

[5] The article "The Party of Labour of Albania Completes its 15th Year", written by comrade Enver Hoxha and published in the newspaper "Pravda", on November 8, 1956.

our Party is on the right road, therefore, these days we may write some other articles on the ideological plane, in the spirit of the recent writings and speeches which have really blistered the Yugoslavs. In this way we shall defend Marxism-Leninism to the end.

We have the right to take a further step in exposing the activity of Tito and of his clique. Regardless of the fact that we are at variance with the Soviet Union, we should make our criticism of the Soviet leadership, saying that we do not agree with its opportunist stand on the Yugoslav issue. But I think we should not make matters worse, we should not publicize our opposition to the Soviet leadership, because we should protect the Soviet Union, for there exists the danger of placing a weapon in the hands of the enemy, especially under the present circumstances when the imperialists and the bourgeoisie have launched an unbridled campaign against the Soviet Union, and when there is no shortage of blatantly anti-socialist slogans in certain other countries of the socialist camp, like Hungary and Poland. I mean that we should weigh the issue up very carefully. We have told the Soviet comrades where we differ from them, and they know the position and attitude we maintain. Under these circumstances, if they do not invite us to talk over and clarify matters, then it is our duty to ask to go to the Soviet Union, for otherwise, if we do not go, there is the probability of our marking time, which would not be right. Therefore, I agree in principle to go to Moscow and say to the leaders of the CPSU: "Until now we have not been in opposition to you, but now we have other opinions on certain issues."

After all the comrades of the Political Bureau had contributed to the discussion on the above mentioned issues, comrade Enver Hoxha continued:

There is complete unanimity in the Political Bureau on these issues. This is of decisive importance for our Party and the construction of socialism in Albania. I think this principled stand maintained by the leadership of our Party will be a contribution to other parties, too. Why do I say this? I say it because, as we have always stated, the struggle against Titoism is one of the most important issues of principle. Titoism must be exposed. The stand the Soviet comrades have maintained on this issue following the 20th Congress has been such that the danger of Titoism is minimized, not properly evaluated. A big dark veil is thrown over the Titoite ideology, over the espionage activities and intrigues of the Titoite clique. They tell us this is tactics (we wish it were!), but even if we take it as tactics, it seems dubious and wrong to us. Our Party has not done this. It takes its stand as a Marxist-Leninist party; we are in favour of friendship with Yugoslavia, but we do not trample on principles.

The Soviet comrades have not only underestimated the Titoite danger, but have also disregarded the correct stand of our Party. Our Party has informed them and shown them with facts the basis of its stand, down to the last detail. We have discharged our obligation towards them. If the Soviet comrades have locked our documents away in their files, that is their own responsibility. Suslov has said that the leaders of the CPSU know our problems with Yugoslavia. But, it seems, they have taken our opinions and our attitudes as minor affairs of a local nature, simply saying, "the Albanian comrades are right", and then adding: "Tito has now made self-criticism," therefore, according to them, this self-important clown can be on our side.

Let us take the question of the socalled cult of the individual of Stalin. The imperialists took advantage of

this and launched a terrible campaign to defame the Soviet Union and our socialist camp as a whole. Imperialism is the chief organizer of the campaign against the Soviet Union in connection with the "cult of the individual of Stalin", but we are of the opinion that Tito is its right hand and intends to break up the socialist camp.

There is no lack of facts and documents to show what the imperialists and Tito have done. Time has proven their espionage activity against our socialist countries. Whether Tito has agreements with imperialism over these things, or not, we do not know, but the facts are such that he is their tool, while the Soviet Union is neglecting this matter. Perhaps the Soviet comrades will re-examine their attitude towards Tito, and we wish they would, but the situation the Titoites have created has become so badly entangled that perhaps they may not know how to get out of it. Such an opportunist attitude towards the Titoites on the part of the old Bolsheviks is beyond our understanding.

It is good that all the comrades of the Bureau who took the floor said that our Party has maintained a correct stand. In no way will we yield the slightest concession on principles, not even a millimetre. In these very delicate matters we should protect the prestige of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, but we shall uphold questions of principle even if we remain alone. We shall certainly not remain alone for long if we wage a just struggle in defence of principles.

If for the time being it is necessary not to state openly that Tito and Co. are breaking up the socialist camp, the day will come for us to do so. Because we base ourselves firmly on Marxism-Leninism, our Party and our people are quite clear, for example, why we object to Imre Nagy's finding refuge in Rumania. On this occasion I propose

that in Mehmet's[6] speech we should make an addition referring to Imre Nagy saying that our Party and our people are convinced that those who shelter or support this traitor are not assisting the building of socialism. We are telling our people bluntly that he is an enemy and a traitor. If we are asked why Georghiu-Dej agrees to shelter him in Rumania, we shall say that is his own business, but we do not agree with it. If more explanation is required of us, then we shall tell our Party that we have raised these problems and discussed them with our friends informing them of our contrary opinion, but, comrades, we should always bear in mind that we must protect the interests of the CPSU. If the party members ask us why we have not told them these things, we can reply that it was not the opportune moment, and the Party will certainly tell us that we have thought and acted correctly.

We earnestly desire that these things may take a turn for the better when we go and discuss them in the Soviet Union, but perhaps our opinions will differ. If this happens, we should in no way violate Leninism. But to be a whole-hearted friend with someone, you cannot fail to point out to him his mistakes, of course in a Marxist-Leninist way. If the leaders of the Soviet Union say to us: "Look here, comrades, everything you Albanians say is correct, we have made a grave mistake, but if we declare we have erred, will this not create a favourable situation

[6] This refers to the report to be submitted by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, comrade Mehmet Shehu, to the meeting of the People's Assembly of the PRA on November 14, 1956, regarding the visit of the government delegation of the PR of Albania to the PR of Mongolia and to the DPR of Korea. This speech refers also to the reception given in the PR of China to the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, which attended the 8th Congress of the Communist Party of China.

for the imperialists?" Of course, if we manage to reach an understanding of this sort, everything between us is in order, and we shall talk about the future, because we know very well that the enemy should not benefit. Yes, this is what we wish. Whether this will happen or not, time will show. We shall wait and see whether the Soviet comrades say what Tito really is. This and other matters will have to be settled, otherwise we can make no headway. To continue this course is catastrophic.

From the information we have, we also know this: the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU who spent their vacation in our country, have expressed themselves against Tito, against the stand maintained in his favour, which they say is not in order. Therefore, comrades, let us stand as we have done, unshaken. This is how we shall stand to the end, making no mistakes. Only we should be very cautious, we should keep our heads cool as always, and when we say a thing we must guarantee that it is so, and not otherwise. These are problems of very great importance. Everyone knows how much we love the Soviet Union, and even there, one, two or three persons are apt to err, but it is not easy for the whole CPSU to make a mistake. We know very well that the Tito clique wishes to isolate us from the Soviet Union, to pit us in open conflict against the CPSU. Therefore, we should explain our differences with the Soviet comrades carefully and fairly. Marxism-Leninism permits the thrashing out of opinions, but never in the way Togliatti thinks and acts[7].

In conclusion, we can say that we are all in agreement on the problems we have discussed as well as on the send-

[7] Reference is made here to the anti-Marxist views which Palmiro Togliatti expressed. He had expressed the view that "the socialist system had degenerated"; he had expressed incorrect views about the international role of the Soviet Union and

ing of a delegation to Moscow after waiting a few more days. But there is also the question of who will go to Moscow, taking into account that all the comrades should not go.

Now, do you think it proper to inform the Central Committee of these matters, or should we wait a little longer? I say that for the time being we should keep these matters within the Political Bureau, for the reasons I have already pointed out. In general lines, the comrades of the Plenum of the Central Committee are in the current of these matters.

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about the universal importance of the Soviet experience, against the the socalled cult of the individual of Stalin, which he considered a consequence of the socialist system itself. He had incorrect views about the leading role of the working class, and did not denounce the anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslav leadership.

TO KEEP OUR UNITY STRONG FOR IT IS VITAL

From the report at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA "On the Talks Held in Moscow Between the Delegation of the PLA and the Leaders of the CPSU"[1]

January 3, 1957

At this meeting of the Political Bureau we thought we should report on the results of the talks of our delegation with the leadership of the CPSU.

In the first place I wish to stress that, wherever we went, very great love for, and confidence in, our Party were shown.

Our reception began at Odessa where we were met and held intermittent discussions with those who had come to welcome us. But naturally, what is important is the

[1] In line with the discussion and decision taken at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA held on November 13, 1956, a delegation of the PLA headed by comrade Enver Hoxha went to Moscow. The delegation of the PLA took up with the Soviet leaders political problems regarding events which took place following the 20th Congress, the question of Yugoslavia, of the counter-revolution in Hungary, and of the situation in Poland. During the discussions the Soviet leaders appeared to be trying to tone down and justify their mistakes and opportunist stand. There was no lack of pressure and arrogance on the part of Khrushchev to suppress the correct criticism by the PLA, but comrade Enver Hoxha, unruffled, courageously continued to lay before the Soviet leaders the views of the PLA. This upset the Khrushchev clique who tried to win over the delegation of the PLA with flattery and a series of promises of economic aid.

discussions we had with the comrades of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU in which we expounded the views of our Party at length and in detail, as the Political Bureau had instructed us.

Right at the start of our conversation with the Soviet leaders we asked them, within the margins of possibility, to explain to us the international situation which has developed recently. In concrete terms, we told them that we wanted to take up three problems, namely, the questions of Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland. As we agreed in the Bureau, on these three matters we put forward the views of the PLA on how it interprets them, what stand it had maintained, and what stand it intends to maintain towards them in the future. We emphasized that we also had our proposals on these matters.

Before getting down to the essence of the questions for which we had gone to Moscow, we told the Soviet leaders why we had sought explanations from them. We stressed what the USSR is to our people and our Party, and that we are concerned that we do not have views identical with theirs on certain matters of principle. But we could not remain silent, without expressing our opinions. We were not afraid of revealing to our common enemies that fair and frank position of our Party towards the CPSU and the USSR.

While expressing the love which our people and our Party cherish for the Soviet Union, we told them that in our talks with them we would speak like comrades, like Marxists, like internationalists, without diplomatic niceties, and stressed that that was how all who called themselves Marxist-Leninists should regard the Soviet Union. We think that whoever tries to hide his love for the Soviet Union, for fear that the imperialists may accuse him of being its satellite, is wrong, because it is all the same to the imperialists whether you express your ideas openly

or in a round-about way towards the USSR — they will still accuse you of being "dependent on the Soviet Union". Certain people, who are afraid they might be accused of being dependent on the Soviet Union and do not talk frankly of it, do this in order to conceal their anti-Marxism, not their internationalism. Thus, it is worse if one's true attitude is concealed because that does our cause greater harm.

We think that at all times, but especially now, the USSR must be protected by all and with all their might. We say this, not because the USSR is weak and stands in need of our aid, but because in this situation, reciprocal assistance is as essential as ever, therefore we think that this is a decisive main problem. When we defend the USSR, we consider that we have defended our Party and our people, that we have defended Marxism-Leninism, socialism. Therefore, we pointed out that we would open our hearts to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and speak our mind frankly about everything, for to whom else could we speak of our troubles and worries, our opinions, right or wrong, pleasant or painful, because those things that had been going on were of special importance to our Party and our country. We say this, not because our country plays any great role in international questions, for it is small, but we should take into account the position of Albania, which is very delicate. Therefore, when our Party maintains these attitudes, and if we are in the wrong, we should be told openly about and convinced why.

This said, we got down to the subject of the talks.

We told the Soviet leaders that our Party and our people are interested in all the problems of our camp. We are interested also in the other events taking place in the world, but we want most to talk about matters concerning certain countries of the socialist camp and the problems connected with the Warsaw Treaty.

Of course, our country plays a minor role in the Warsaw Treaty, nevertheless, as members of this Treaty we are entitled to say that we think it necessary that we should be informed about everything. We say this because we want to know how was it that we were not informed at all why these events took place in Hungary and elsewhere, when they are of an important international character and are connected with our socialist camp. We say we have been kept in isolation and without information. The very little information imparted to us is no more than the telegrams exchanged between the Soviets and Tito. We are of the opinion that it would not have been wrong for us, too, to have been better informed.

In saying this, we also expressed the opinion that under such circumstances a meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty ought to have been called. We say this because all these political attitudes and the measures taken under such critical and complicated circumstances do not appear to us to be consistent, and it would have been better to hold consultations. If such consultations have taken place between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other parties, while our Party has been left out, this is not at all correct, and we call it a mistake[2]. We base this assertion on the words of Shepilov who said that these matters were discussed at meetings and consultations.

[2] The facts indicated that Khrushchev did not want to consult the PLA because he knew more or less the attitude of the PLA towards the Yugoslav leadership. Meanwhile, he had found a common language with Tito, with whom he collaborated closely and co-ordinated activities which in fact were counter-revolutionary. Thus, for instance, the Soviet leadership was no less responsible than the Tito clique for hatching up the counter-revolution in Hungary, and following its defeat, tried in every way to cover up its serious mistakes and faults.

Our Party is of the opinion that in the present circumstances it is imperative that we all maintain the same stand, otherwise mistakes might be made, because some may tear along too fast, others may be more moderate, and still others may not be moving at all. If we do not consult one another on what common stand we should maintain, the enemy might think that there are divisions among us, and thus reality is not presented as it should be, showing that we are strong and united, with identical views, which make us even more united and a great deal stronger. This being the case, why should we not display our strength, why should we not come out with identical views, why should we not consult one another?

With regard to these events we said to them: "Allow us to express the views of our Party. We wish to begin our discussion with the Yugoslav issue, because this is of major importance to socialism, to the unity of our camp, and especially to our two countries".

We have pointed out in detail to the Soviet leadership the relations of our Party and our people with Yugoslavia. But we asked them: "Please, bear with us while we go over these matters again. The things we intend to say are well based, real, factual, and not prompted by passion, as some may think. They are not subjective opinions, or regional matters, but are very complex issues of principle which we think concern the socialist camp".

We spoke to the Soviet comrades about the organization of the faction, which was the result of the work of Velimir Stoinich, Koçi Xoxe and others, about the responsibility of the Titoites in Nako Spiru's suicide, in the persecution of the comrades at the 8th Plenum, in eliminating other comrades of the leadership by keeping secret files on them, their objective to turn Albania into their colony, their sabotage in the oil fields, agriculture and trade, we revealed to them the true nature of the

Albanian-Yugoslav joint companies, the Yugoslav intentions in planning, parity of currencies, removal of customs barriers, prohibiting us from maintaining relations with other countries except Yugoslavia; we told them how the Yugoslavs reacted against us when we concluded an agreement with the USSR and with Bulgaria, and so on. Then we mentioned to them that all those things were intended to annex Albania to Yugoslavia, and showed them Boris Kidrich's document which speaks about Albania's being considered as "the 7th Republic".

We then spoke about our military agreements, about the aims of the Yugoslavs to liquidate our country through the joint command, armaments, the application of the Yugoslav military rules and regulations in our army, through a campaign against me, Mehmet Shehu and Hysni Kapo, through deploying Yugoslav divisions in Albania in order to do away with the Party and the independence of our country. And this was later confirmed: the attack against Albania was carried out by the Greek monarcho-fascists in the August 1949 provocations. Our army faced up to this attack heroically.

We think that the objective of this Yugoslav preparation was not only to liquidate our country but also to launch a major provocation of an international character. This is confirmed by the fact that the Yugoslavs and the Greek government concluded a pact which dug the grave for the Greek democratic army. Hence, we are up against a major international intrigue.

We also linked these things with the words of Goshnjak[3] who admitted with his own mouth that the Yugoslavs had gathered an army on the border with

[3] Secretary of State for Defence of the FPRY, who on November 23, 1956 declared that during the events in Hungary, Yugoslav troops were concentrated on the Hungarian border, ready to intervene.

Hungary in order to intervene there; we told the Soviet comrades that our Party considered them major provocateurs on an international level, because an act of that kind meant war since it would violate the Warsaw Treaty, and we would necessarily have been involved in war with them over their intervention in Hungary.

Our Party is of the opinion that our stand and the measures we took regarding this problem were right, and that we should be on our guard, because, since they were prepared for such a provocation on an international scale, a similar provocation could be repeated against our country, and besides this, the Tito clique are keeping a number of Albanian fascists in Yugoslavia. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the Yugoslavs may one day smuggle these traitors into our country and follow them up with intervention by the Yugoslav army under the pretext of saving socialism in Albania.

Goshnjak is seeking armaments from the Soviet Union. We are of the opinion that Yugoslavia should not be provided with any armaments, for it would be really tragic to see the Albanian people killed by Soviet-made tanks and airplanes. Yugoslavia is asking for arms to protect itself, but from whom? They know that our camp will not attack them. They should fear the capitalist countries. Then, if this is so, let them sever their relations completely with them, and our camp will provide them with arms. But our Party is of the opinion that they want these arms to use against us, because Tito is allied to the imperialists through the socalled Balkan Pact. He is in struggle with all our parties, with the CPSU, with our Party, he has been and continues to be against all the communist parties. These facts confirm that the Tito clique is linked with the imperialists, and all these attitudes are bluff, a means to gain time.

We told them why we fully supported the Resolution of the Information Bureau, why we considered all that was said in it about Yugoslavia completely correct; for us the problems raised in the Resolution were well founded, we had experienced their foul play to our cost.

Nevertheless, we told them that we are in favour of improving our relations with Yugoslavia, but only along Marxist-Leninist lines. Our Party, however, is of the opinion that mistakes of principle have been made in this respect. Far from making self-criticism for their grave blunders, the Yugoslavs are carrying on in the same wrong way, and concessions are being made to them.

But what has happened through making these concessions? They have become even more arrogant, under the impression that they have not made mistakes[4]. We have extended our hand sincerely to the Yugoslavs but all through this period they have continued to abuse and discredit us. They have written hosts of articles and published cartoons against us, and continue to try to smuggle in their agents as before. They are doing all this, taking advantage of the course of reconciliation with them which is being pursued.

In the course of our conversation, we explained to them how the Yugoslav leadership has exploited the 20th Congress of the CPSU and the question of the cult of the individual of Stalin. We spoke about the 3rd Congress of our Party where the Yugoslav question was raised in accordance with the advice of the Soviet leadership, of course without accepting the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe or the Yugoslav activity against us, but accepting the improve-

[4] In this direction, a great influence was played also by the stand of Khrushchev who, when he went to Yugoslavia in May 1955, without the approval of the other parties, consented to kowtow to Tito, declaring that "grave mistakes had been committed against the CPY and the Yugoslav leaders" (!)

ment of relations on a state level. In this respect we have shown patience and cool-headedness. In spite of this, the Yugoslavs carried on and organized plots against our state and our Party. Thus, they have the same aims as they used to have prior to 1948 against Albania, that is, its liquidation. On this occasion, we briefly mentioned the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, as well as the group of agents, Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, and Petro Bullati, Tito's speech at Pula, Vidich's[5] attack, and what the Yugoslavs were after with these attacks. On these matters we took measures, we told the Soviet comrades. We replied to Tito. In our opinion, the reply we sent him was in rather strong terms, but it was right. They deserve such a reply for all they have done to us.

Then we explained what the stand of our Party and our people is under these difficult circumstances. When we told our people frankly about the anti-Marxist attitude maintained by the Yugoslav leaders, they were in complete solidarity with our Party and united around it more tightly. The recent elections to the People's Councils are an example of this unity. They gave a further indication of the close ties existing between our Party and our people, of how they have jointly crushed the anti-Marxist intrigues of the Yugoslavs. These were the first elections conducted with ballot papers.

We spoke to the Soviet leaders also about the question of Kosova. We told them that the Albanian population in Yugoslavia is very large. In connection with this problem, our Party has maintained an internationalist stand with patience and cool-headedness, because the Yugoslav leader-

[5] Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the FPRY, who, during the counter-revolution in Hungary, declared to the Bulgarian, Albanian, Czechoslovak and other press correspondents that what was happening in Hungary was bound to occur also in the other socialist countries.

ship, which is anti-Marxist, nationalist and chauvinist, is pursuing towards the Kosova Albanians a policy even worse than that the Serbian monarchs used to pursue. We showed to them how cruel and bloodthirsty the Yugoslavs have been in Kosova. They have murdered thousands of the Kosova Albanians, even within our borders, labelling them as Ballists. Had our National Liberation Army not gone to Yugoslavia in 1944, even greater bloodshed would have occurred there, but our divisions prevented such a thing. This policy of extermination we call genocide. The Kosova Albanians are not only murdered, imprisoned, or dispersed to other regions of Yugoslavia, but the Tito clique is committing other monstrous crimes against them, deporting them to Turkey, a thing which even Tsaldaris did not do, because when the Greeks persecuted the Albanians of Çamëria in 1945, they drove them across our border, whereas the Yugoslavs are deporting them far away from their homeland. In connection with this problem, we told the Soviet leaders that we had maintained a correct stand, and stressed that that was a very grave matter and it should be stopped.

Towards the end of our speech on the Yugoslav question we told them in conclusion that, on the basis of facts, our Party was of the opinion that Tito and his clique should not be trusted at all, because they were anti-Marxists, Trotskyites, and anti-Leninists. They wanted to liquidate socialism and our camp, they wanted to sabotage the unity of the international working class in favour of imperialism.

Following this conclusion, we emphasized our stand towards Yugoslavia saying: "We won't break off relations, but shall strive to maintain state and trade relations along correct Marxist-Leninist lines; however, on no account will we have party connections with them, for they are not communists. We will protect ourselves against their

provocations, keeping our heads cool; we will defend our Party and our country, and fight any attempts by the Tito clique to weaken the situation in our country, and we shall respond to any provocation they undertake against us through the press."

Now I shall give you some information about what we talked about in connection with *the Hungarian problem.*

We told them that this problem had caused us great concern because Hungary was a friendly allied country, and that apart from other reasons, Yugoslavia bore a large part of the responsibility for the organization of the counter-revolution in Hungary. We also told them the impressions we had about the Hungarian Workers' Party, which we had pointed out to the comrades of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Party as well. We stressed that we were kept completely cut off from information about the events which took place in Hungary.

Then we spoke about the Soviet Army. We agree that the Soviet Army had to intervene in Hungary, and that it would have been better to have done this earlier. Then we told them what we thought about the Hungarian problem, about Rakosi and Gerö, but stressing that there were many things we did not know, that we were not sufficiently informed to pass judgment on to what extent they were responsible. But we said it was astonishing to us that Kadar should call Rakosi and Gerö a clique of criminals when we knew that they were no such thing, but were internationalists, devoted to the Soviet Union and to communism. We did not know whether they had made mistakes to the extent that they should be considered criminals. On the other hand, we did not know that, from the economic standpoint, Hungary was in a serious situation (and the Soviet leaders admitted that the economic situation in Hungary was not grave).

We do not agree with Tito's analysis of the Hungarian issue, because we think that the Yugoslavs had a hand in organizing the counter-revolution. How did they go about it? Based on our own experience, we think that first and foremost, the Yugoslavs tried to discredit Rakosi in order to discredit the political and economic line, as well as the system of the people's democracy in Hungary along with him, to detach Hungary from our camp, from the Soviet Union, and to place it in allegedly neutral positions at first, and eventually, in one way or another, to attach it to imperialism. All this was intended to set Hungary and other countries on the Yugoslav course, so that Yugoslavia would become the leader of these countries which would become the granary for Yugoslavia, just as they had aimed to do with Albania. Hence, the tactics of the Yugoslavs has not changed, and this should be considered as a hostile act on their part to undermine the socialist camp. We told them that those things could not happen by accident, but were well prepared and organized beforehand.

We told them also what we thought of Kadar and his government. Our attitude towards him had been cautious. We had spoken our mind about his government, but if it gave proof, we should see what we would do, and may be we should change our attitude towards it. We told them also what our attitude was towards Imre Nagy, towards the Warsaw Treaty, and so on.

After Hungary we spoke about *the Polish problem.* We told them that, not being well acquainted with the situation there and lacking information, we had maintained a very reserved attitude towards Poland. During last October we received only one telegram and one communiqué on the complicated situation which had arisen in Poland. Then we spoke of our impressions from the

meeting of the Economic Council, of Cirankiewiecz's speech. We asked the Soviet comrades: "How is it possible for a leadership to be Marxist-Leninist when it comes to power by means of an anti-socialist, pro-imperialist movement with slogans against the Soviet Union, as the Polish leadership headed by Gomulka has done? This seems astonishing to us. Let us see who Gomulka is. We know he has made all those mistakes for which he was imprisoned." We asked them to please tell us how those things came to pass, for we had received no news about them. We told them that in Poland the gates of the jails had been flung open, criminals had been set free, the Polish Church had been given freedom of action, religion was being taught in the schools at a time when it was not taught even in many bourgeois states. We spoke about the anti-socialist trends in Poland, and so on. Finally we told them again who Gomulka was, as far as we knew, and where Poland was heading, and that we suspected that it was taking the road of Tito.

The Soviet comrades listened to all this very attentively. After we had spoken we listened to what they had to say, interrupting them when necessary with our questions or to repeat our own views.

While speaking to Khrushchev in connection with our relations with Yugoslavia, he told us to be careful and keep cool. We replied that we had striven and continued to strive to keep cool, but we would not tolerate the work of Tito's agents. We said this because his clique had never ceased that sort of activity against us. All the agents the Yugoslavs had activated had wanted to do away with our Party and our people's power, or at least, according to them, to oblige us to take harsh administrative measures by putting as many people in jail as possible so that a tense atmosphere would be created in our country. This was a tactic the Yugoslavs pursued.

We have borne, and will continue to bear in mind, the question of administrative measures, and we try to make the necessary differentiation, using persuasions with our people in the first place, and administrative measures with the enemies such as the Yugoslav agents.

Let us take the question of Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega. With these two the cup was filled to overflowing, and I told the Soviet leaders their whole history. They were agents of Tito but failed in their mission, for they were captured at the border and could not get away. If they had crossed over to Yugoslavia, that would have been very dangerous, because Dali Ndreu was also a general of our army and knew a lot of things which would increase the possibilities of the Yugoslavs to organize an attack against us. Hence, how could we fail to take measures against such agents?

We also took up with Khrushchev economic problems, as we had discussed at our Political Bureau, as well as the problem of the abolition of rationing[6] and the question of credit.

Regarding Yugoslavia, when we talked with Suslov, he said: "In connection with the recent stand of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the Central Committee of the CPSU is drafting a letter to be sent to it, which, after approval by the Presidium of the Central Committee, will be sent to you, too, for information".

[6] In October 1957, on the basis of the successes achieved, the ration system was completely abolished, and prices were reduced. The complete abolition of the ration system and the transition to free, unrestricted trade, at unified state prices, became an important factor for a fairer distribution of social production on the basis of the socialist principle of quality and quantity of work.

Then they asked us about a document which a member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania had allegedly given to the Yugoslavs. This false information was given them by Tito, but we told them that that was a slander and was not true at all. The Soviet comrades were shocked at that and said: "We shall note this in the letter we will send to Tito".

Among other things we also asked: "Why are Rakosi and Gerö called a clique of criminals, and does this help unite all the Hungarian communists?" In his reply, Suslov said: "The mistakes of Rakosi and Gerö had created a serious situation in the Party and among the people in Hungary. These mistakes were so grave that they created great dissatisfaction among the people and the communists".

However, since these phrases did not seem very convincing, we asked to know concretely what were the mistakes of Rakosi and Gerö. Suslov answered this question, saying: "They were not linked with the masses, they were not acquainted with their situation, they had not worked systematically for the consolidation of the Party and for carrying out all its Leninist norms. In spite of the advice we had given them, they had made mistakes in the field of the economy. Then, with regard to the national question, reaction has played an important role in arousing the chauvinist feelings of the people, because there are many Hungarians in Rumania, Yugoslavia, and Czechoslovakia, and this has made the chauvinist work of the reactionaries much easier. There were also pronounced weaknesses in political and ideological education as well as serious violations of socialist legality". Again we asked if it were possible to give an example. Then Suslov gave Rajk as an "example", saying: "He was called a spy without documents to prove it".

Then we posed the other question: "Have these things ever been discussed with Rakosi, have they been advised about what you are telling us?" They answered: "Rakosi never accepts advice".

Another question we asked was this: "Can you tell us what kind of a man Kadar is?" They replied: "Kadar is the most positive man among the Hungarian comrades. He is not Tito's man, and he now has the backing of the Soviet army, and gradually the situation will be stabilized". Then they recommended that we write about him in our Albanian press, for we have not written anything about Kadar! We did not accept that idea, and told them that we did not agree with that assessment of Kadar who was connected with the traitor Imre Nagy. As far as we could see, their idea was that Kadar should be supported because, according to them, Tito was against his government.

In conclusion, on the topic of Hungary the Soviet comrades said to us: "The Hungarian events came as a great surprise to us. The problem had to be solved with the greatest speed, consultations with other parties were impossible". Here I broke in with the question: "How could time be found to consult with Tito? Was it not possible to find time enough to inform us?" They said: "We did not consult Tito about Kadar, we only told him that there was no room for Nagy's government". Then we pointed out that in the letter of the Soviet leaders there is mention of their having talked about the Hungarian leadership, and asked them how did they explain this. Ponomaryev replied, saying: "Yes, this is in the letter," and with this the Hungarian issue was closed.

Likewise, regarding Poland we posed this question: "What can you tell us about Gomulka's act of dismissing so many good officers, friends of the Soviet Union, who are being persecuted?" In connection with this, Suslov said: "Gomulka relied on the men with whom he was

acquainted, and he is not to blame of all the things that happened. Even before Gomulka, as well as now there were bad elements in Poland" (alluding to Cirankiewicz, Morawski and Zambrowski[7]).

When we asked how the anti-Soviet views and slogans in Poland can be explained, Suslov said to us: "These things happened spontaneously. The situation was very acute, and Gomulka is now taking steps to stabilize it". As an example he cited the replacement of bad elements in the leading organs of the party with "old and reliable comrades," for instance, the former first secretary of the Party Committee of the city of Warsaw had been reinstated to his post. The same thing had been done also in the other leading organs of the party.

After this we asked another question: "How should we consider Gomulka's statement about the Church and agriculture?" Suslov replied: "Gomulka came to power when the forces of reaction had won positions, and the leadership had lost control of the press. This attitude maintained by the Polish press has not been inspired by Gomulka. We do not agree with many things which are taking place there, but it is evident that Gomulka is maintaining a correct stand[8], pro the socialist camp, and is trying to promote friendship with the Soviet Union. He offers us his hand, therefore we should not drive him to the Yugoslavs, but should help him take the power into his own hands. As far as the Church is concerned, this is a manoeuvre prior to the elections, therefore, they are allegedly giving importance to the freedom of the

[7] Former members of the Political Bureau of the Polish United Workers' Party, revisionist elements.

[8] Time proved the correctness of the foresight of our Party that Gomulka was a revisionist; after having been squeezed dry like a lemon by the Soviet revisionists he was thrown into the garbage can.

clergy." We told them such a thing was not right and seemed to us highly dangerous.

Finally, Suslov said to us: "It is true that we have not come to Albania, because there is no urgent problem that could not wait in your country, but don't think you have been forgotten. Khrushchev and Malenkov have gone to all the people's domocracies, and the time will surely come that we shall visit your country".

I wish to tell you also about certain remarks we made to the Soviet comrades in connection with the wrong attitude of the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana, Krylov.

First, we told them that on the 39th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution a mass rally of fifty to sixty thousand people was organized in Tirana. The staff of the Soviet Embassy had been informed in due time about this manifestation. But what happened? The people who took part in this rally waited for more than thirty minutes in front of the Soviet Embassy, but none of its staff came out. It had been a custom, on such occasions, for the former ambassadors, like Chuvakin and Levichkin, to appear on the balcony of the Embassy and wave to the demonstrators, but Krylov did no such thing. Nevertheless, a delegation from the masses went into the Soviet Embassy to express the greetings of the occasion. The delegation was headed by the secretaries of the Party Committee of Tirana and other comrades. Krylov pretended to be ill and did not come out until after the demonstrators had left.

When Mehmet Shehu referred to this in a comradely way to Krylov, the latter said: "I don't agree to such rallies because there may be enemy elements among the crowd". But Mehmet Shehu rightly replied that in rallies organized by our Party nothing could happen, because it was the people who took part in our manifestations, and

there was no room there for enemies. Yet, the Ambassador stuck to his own erroneous opinion.

Second, we stressed another moment, that which I believe you comrades will recall: On the very day when the People's Assembly was to meet and the Prime Minister was to speak, Krylov had planned to visit Korça in order to "see the sowing campaign". Though he had already been informed, we reminded him again, asking him to honour us with his presence at the proceedings of the People's Assembly. But what did Krylov reply? He said to us: "Well, now that the first secretary of this district who is a representative to the People's Assembly will be in Tirana, I will postpone my trip to Korça". This means that he postponed his trip because the first secretary would not be in Korça, not because the People's Assembly was to hold its meeting.

Third, when a solemn meeting was held at the People's Theatre celebrating November 29, Krylov left the box reserved for the representative of the USSR and went to that of the Chinese Ambassador, sitting behind him. No one saw the Soviet Ambassador, at a time when all the foreign representatives appeared to be present. We consider this gesture a grave mistake, too.

Next day we attended the banquet organized by the Central Committee in commemoration of the anniversary of liberation and, as usual, we had assigned the place of honour to the Soviet Ambassador, according to the tradition created in our country for the representatives of the Soviet people. In spite of this, Krylov sat at the farthest end of the table. We tried to sit him at the head, and he finally consented, provided the Dean[9] would come with him. We told him again that this was the seat reserved

[9] On this occasion, dean of the diplomatic corps was the Hungarian Ambassador.

for the Soviet Ambassador, while the Dean would sit like all the other representatives of the diplomatic corps. We had a hard time to persuade him to take his seat, which he did reluctantly, taking the Dean along with him. The banquet was addressed by comrades Haxhi Lleshi and Mehmet Shehu. Usually the Soviet Ambassador proposes a toast at our celebrations, while Krylov proposed no toast whatsoever at this banquet. The toast was proposed by the Dean who spoke about two words.

When Krylov left, he almost commanded the Chinese Ambassador to go with him. The Chinese Ambassador told him not to hurry, for it was still too early, but Krylov insisted. He left too early, and even without shaking hands with the Prime Minister and the other comrades, on the pretext that "he had work the following day". But this was not the reason.

Of course, we regret that Krylov maintains such an attitude. His mistakes have a continuity, constitute a line. We think that such an attitude on the part of a representative of the USSR is very grave.

When we listed all these things, Suslov was astonished and asked why this man should have done all these things. After this Krylov was immediately summoned to Moscow.

Now I will say a few words about the dinner put on in honour of the delegation of our Party at the villa "Gorky", which was attended by all the comrades of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev informed us that we would meet there to talk and at the same time to have our dinner.

When dinner was served, before even proposing a toast, Khrushchev said: "The Mediterranean should be ours, under our control, and every connection will be built through Albania where we shall set up strong submarine

bases, because Albania is small but of very great strategic importance. With the installations established in Albania the whole Mediterranean, all the movements of aircraft, and so on will be under surveillance"[10]. Khrushchev insisted strongly on this matter and then, proposing his toast, he spoke of the need for a correct assessment of the situation which was developing in the world.

After the toast we spoke of Khrushchev's visit to Albania. All the comrades of the Soviet leadership took part in this discussion. Many of them said in a jocular way: "Why not call a meeting of the Presidium in Albania"? All replied they had no objection, even to the meeting of the Plenum[11].

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[10] The subsequent development of events confirmed the intentions of the Khrushchevite revisionists to use Albania as a point of strategic importance to their social-imperialist schemes in the Mediterranean.

[11] All these were ridiculous manoeuvres of the Soviet leadership to gratify the delegation of the PLA which, according to them, would kowtow to, and stop criticizing, the erroneous stand of the Khrushchev clique. Such manoeuvres were continued later, too, by the Khrushchev group towards the PLA. Especially when it saw that it got nowhere with its threats hoping that the PLA would give up "its stubborn attitude" and submit to its dictate, this group started to use other means to achieve its ends, and one of these means, it thought, was the economic aid of the Soviet Union, without which, Khrushchev believed, Albania would be unable to take any step! One of these manoeuvres was the remission of the credits which the Soviet Union had accorded the PRA from its liberation up to 1955. As was later demonstrated, the Soviet leadership did not do this out of genuine friendship and on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. On the other hand, the PLA, the government of the PRA, and the entire Albanian people considered this gesture not as charity, but as fraternal and internationalist help from the Soviet people to a fraternal people and a socialist country. But neither the threats nor "the gifts" shook the determination of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA to defend its revolutionary line to the end.

When Molotov took the floor to propose a toast, among other things, he said: "I belong to that category of people who, prior to the Second World War, attached no importance to Albania. Now our people are proud to have such a militant friend. Albania and our friendship with it are of a symbolic and international importance. The Soviet Union has many friends, but they are not all alike. Albania is the best friend of the Soviet Union. Let us drink this toast that the USSR may have such resolute and loyal friends as Albania!"

I and Hysni also proposed toasts at this dinner.

Our delegation was then invited to the meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was held on economic problems[12]. The Soviet comrades told us that this was the first time the representatives of a fraternal party had taken part in a meeting of their Plenum.

We may consider the invitation to take part in this Plenum also as a response to our complaint that they had not consulted us on the Hungarian issue.

When Khrushchev spoke in the Plenum about Yugoslavia, everyone turned their eyes towards where we were sitting and smiled. This shows that they knew our correct stand towards Yugoslavia, the struggle we are waging against the Titoites; nevertheless, their concessions and the soft attitude which they continue to maintain towards the Tito clique are not to our liking.

In short, what conclusions can we draw from the visit of the delegation of our Party to Moscow?

The concern of our Party and its leadership about all these events has not been misplaced. It is important that the leadership of our Party has maintained a correct stand

[12] This Plenum of the CC of the CPSU considered the realization of the 1956 plan and the tasks for 1957.

on these problems. Of course, this does not make us swellheaded, but it is a satisfaction for our Party that, all through these very difficult situations, it has been able to take a firm Marxist-Leninist stand for socialism and communism. This is a satisfaction for the work of our Party, with whose stand the Soviet comrades are in agreement.

Another matter of very great importance is the fact that, at these extremely important moments, our unity in the Central Committee and in the Political Bureau is firm, we are on sound positions of principle, we have gone deeply into the problems which the times dictate, have made a correct assessment of their positive and negative aspects, without once wavering. This unity of thought and action is reflected throughout our Party. This is the biggest, most important and decisive victory. Let us keep this unity strong, for it is vital for us.

During the moments we are passing through, our people have linked themselves more closely to their Party, and they have very great confidence in it. Not only the party members, but all the workers approve the decisions of our Marxist-Leninist Party. This has further strengthened the unity of the people round the Party, and has won our Party a well-respected place among the ranks of the other communist and workers' parties of our camp.

But we should not allow ourselves to be carried away with these things and rest on our laurels. This situation calls for struggle against the class enemies, against the Yugoslav Titoites and other elements hostile to Marxism-Leninism. The struggle continues, and it will become more intense. Therefore, we should always be vigilant and well prepared to deal resolute blows at the enemies of communism, especially at the enemies of our country. Let us publish the documents to expose all the activity of the enemy and of the Yugoslav leaders, the splitters and

saboteurs of Marxism-Leninism. Let us raise the ideology of our Party to a higher level, although under these circumstances it is proving to be of a very high political level, and it understands the development of world events very well.

Works, vol. 14

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY

From the report to the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA

February 13, 1957

Comrades,

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee considers it necessary to submit a report on the international situation to this Plenum because important international events have recently taken place, which are directly connected with the cause of peace and socialism, with the struggle to consolidate and defend the unity of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, and with the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

The aggressive imperialist forces, international reaction, anti-Marxist and revisionist elements have recently launched an open attack on the socialist camp, on the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries, and on the people of the Near and Middle East. The aim of the imperialists was and continues to be to split the socialist camp and defeat the principal forces which resist their plans of war and aggression. The attempts of the imperialists have suffered defeat everywhere, but they have not failed to influence the international situation and have caused a further rise of tension in the relations between states.

In analysing the principal aspects of the development of the international situation, we should examine, first of

all, the problems which are linked with the consolidation of the unity of our camp, and draw the necessary conclusions for our Party to further strengthen the unity in its ranks, to further intensify its struggle in defence of the interests of our people and of the socialist camp as a whole, in defence of Marxism-Leninism.

One of the distinctive features of the events of these years is that during this period the international situation has marked progress towards the lowering of international tension, but has also suffered temporary setbacks which reflect the contradictions on an international scale between the forces of peace and those of war, between the forces of socialism and those of imperialism.

The great changes in the ratio of forces between socialism and imperialism, in favour of socialism, the emergence of socialism from the framework of one single state into a world system, have shaken the world capitalist system to its foundations. The magnificent achievements of the Soviet Union, the important and rapid successes of the People's Republic of China and the other countries of the socialist camp, have demonstrated the undeniable superiority of the socialist system over that of capitalism.

The Leninist policy of peace and friendship among peoples, the policy of peaceful coexistence, persistently pursued by the countries of the socialist camp, which complies with the vital interests of all the peoples, has found the support of all the peace-loving states and forces in the world. It has exerted a decisive influence on the struggle of the peoples in defence of peace, against war, against the arms race, against the aggressive military blocs, against the war-mongering policy of the imperialists, for disarmament, collective security and international cooperation. On the contrary, the policy of the imperialist monopolies, headed by those of the USA, has gone into crises: the

policy of the "cold war" and "from positions of strength" has suffered heavy defeat. The national liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples has dealt telling blows at colonial domination. Within the capitalist system, the contradictions between the capitalist states have become more profound, and with the weakening of the positions of imperialism and the deterioration of the economic situation the class struggle within each capitalist state has become more intense.

It goes without saying that this situation is not to the liking of the imperialists. The lowering of international tension does not comply with the interests of the aggressive imperialist circles which base themselves on the policy of strength and which exact colossal profits from the arms race and from war. In fact, the lowering of international tension will not be achieved with the goodwill of the imperialist camp, but must be imposed on it by the ratio of forces changed in favour of socialism, by the forces of the socialist camp, by the efforts of the Soviet Union, of China, and other countries of the socialist camp, as well as by the efforts of the independent national countries like India, Indonesia, Egypt, Syria and others, by the will of peoples for peace.

The most aggressive imperialist circles are searching around for the opportune time and place to counteract, with a view to putting a stop to this process so dangerous to them, and are very actively preparing for war against the socialist camp, against the peace-loving peoples.

At what they thought was the suitable moment, the western states launched a broad offensive against the socialist camp, and with their aggression against Egypt[1]

[1] The Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt was carried out from the 29th to the 30th of October 1956. This act constituted another link in the general attack of the imperialists against peoples and peace-loving forces.

and the counter-revolution in Hungary, they went over to flagrantly aggressive activities. At the same time, the forces of imperialism and international reaction launched fierce fascist attacks on the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries. All these assaults were part of the general plot of the imperialist powers to split the socialist camp, to isolate the Soviet Union, to put down the struggle of the oppressed peoples, to crush the workers' forces, so that, by eliminating the main obstacles to their policy of war, they could pave the way for the forces of reaction and fascism, re-establish the colonial and anti-popular regimes in these countries, and regain their lost position and privileges.

The socialist camp has had to cope with all-round attacks. In this battle the forces of imperialism and international reaction were defeated. This defeat of imperialism was a further proof that the imperialist system is doomed by history, and that the future belongs to the freedom of the peoples and to socialism. But, on the other hand, these events show that imperialism has not given up the fight against socialism, that it will do its utmost to prolong its existence. The socialist camp, the communist and workers' parties, the peace-loving peoples and the progressive forces of the world will draw great lessons from these events.

1. — THE IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION AGAINST EGYPT

One of the characteristics of the present international situation is the sharpening of the contradictions between imperialism and the non-aligned countries. As is known, the triumph of the Soviet Union over fascism, and the victory of socialism in China, the creation of the world socialist system have exerted a very great and direct influence on the awakening of the oppressed and colonial

peoples, on arousing them to fight for freedom and independence, against the imperialist colonialists. The states which have recently freed themselves of the imperialist yoke, like Egypt, Syria, and others, are bourgeois, but not imperialist states; they pursue the policy of safeguarding their national independence and of fighting against imperialism and colonialism. Their struggle against colonialism and imperialism draws them closer to the Soviet Union and to the socialist camp in general, but they are not socialist states, they do not belong to the socialist camp. That is why they are called independent, non-aligned states.

The Bandung Conference[2] of Asian and African countries defined their general direction in international relations as against colonialism, for the preservation of peace, for peaceful coexistence and for collaboration among states of different social systems. Objectively, their stand is against imperialism. The peoples of the Near and Middle East are extending their struggle to gain and consolidate their independence. This struggle has inflicted very great damage on the colonialists. Many Arab countries have been liberated and others are fighting to win their freedom. The colonial system is completely disintegrating. French colonialism is breathing its last. Tunis and Morocco have won their independence, while Algeria has been ablaze for a long time. The Algerian people are fighting with heroism to throw off the odious yoke of the French colonialists who, employing the services of the Rightist leaders of the French Socialist Party, headed by Guy Mollet, have launched an unprecedented terror there. Nearly half the French army is engaged in Algeria. The French socialists

[2] It was held in Bandung, Indonesia, from the 18th to the 24th of April 1955, with the participation of representatives from 29 Asian and African states.

have been utterly exposed as the blind tools of imperialism and traitors to the French working class.

The bigger Arab countries are fighting with determination to consolidate their independence. For the purpose of further consolidating its independence, Egypt has recently nationalized the Suez Canal Company which the imperialist powers used as a means of exploitation and oppression against the Egyptian people.

The struggle of Egypt and the Arab peoples for independence has caused great damage especially to two of the major colonialist powers, Britain and France, whose monopolies are losing the colossal super-profits they make by plundering the tremendous resources of these countries. Suffice it to mention that the countries of the Middle East possess three quarters of the oil known to the capitalist world. At the same time, it must be emphasized that the countries of the Near and Middle East have major strategic importance to the aggressive general plans of imperialism. For all these reasons, the imperialists found in the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company a pretext for launching an offensive on all the Arab countries. It is well known that Israel's attack on Egypt was nothing but a provocation to justify imperialist intervention. In reality, it is the British and French imperialists who organized and launched the aggression against Egypt, while Israel is nothing but the pistol in the hands of the Anglo-French imperialists yesterday, and in the hands of the US imperialists today.

By attacking Egypt, the Anglo-French imperialists intended to deprive it of ownership of the Suez Canal, to put down Egypt's resistance and, by crushing the resistance of one of the major Arab peoples, to demoralize the other Arab states, to pave the way for depriving them of their national independence and for re-establishing the colonial

domination. The assault on Egypt was the first step in this scheme.

As we all know, the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt failed.

But the imperialists have not given up their plans to re-establish their colonialist system in these countries. Following the failure of Britain and France, the principal role in carrying out this plan is being played by the US imperialists. A clear indication of this is the socalled Eisenhower Doctrine.

In his message to Congress, President Eisenhower submitted his plan, in which he offers the countries of the Near and Middle East "economic aid", "military aid", and "the use of the US armed forces" in these countries, to protect them allegedly from the peril of international communism. In reality this is a new plan to enslave the Arab peoples.

At the time when the very existence of these states was really at stake, when Egypt was attacked by the Anglo-French-Israeli imperialist armies, the United States of America took no steps whatsoever to protect the Egyptian people.

Today, when the positions of the two principal colonialist powers, England and France, have been weakened, the US imperialists do not hesitate to go so far as to prepare a US military intervention in the Arab countries under the guise of protecting them from a non-existent danger. It goes without saying that the real objective of the United States of America is not to protect the Arab peoples from "international communism", but to take over the dominant economic and political positions in these countries now that the English and French have been ousted. This policy constitutes a great danger for peace in the Near East and in the world.

The Anglo-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt and the latter's victory have sharpened the contradictions between the Afro-Asiatic peoples and the imperialists. They condemned the aggression and backed Egypt. This victory enhanced their confidence in their own strength, in their just cause; it added to their hatred for imperialism.

Through its demagogic stand in the UNO towards the Anglo-French-Israeli aggression, the United States of America intended to enhance its influence on these peoples. But the proclamation of the "Eisenhower Doctrine" will intensify the struggle of these peoples against imperialism, and will also arouse them against US imperialism and speed up the process of their liberation. The Arab peoples will not consent to place themselves under a new yoke, no matter how hard the imperialists may strive to wrap it up in demagogy.

The resistance of the independent Afro-Asiatic peoples against imperialism enjoys the support of the Soviet Union, China, and all the countries of the socialist camp as well as of the peace-loving forces of the world. Facts are demonstrating more and more clearly that the situation in these countries has not taken the course the imperialists wished to impose. Their struggle against imperialism will grow fiercer until colonialism is completely wiped out.

The friendship between the Arab peoples and those of the countries of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is a brilliant success which has been attained thanks to the peace-loving policy of the countries of the socialist camp.

Friendly relations have been established between our state and the Republic of India, Egypt, Sudan, as well as with Syria, Lebanon, Tunis, and others. Formerly, our country carried no weight with any one, because it was a colony in the hands of the imperialist wolves. Today, public opinion in many Afro-Asiatic countries and

distinguished leaders of these countries sympathize with our people. We think that Albania is of special interest to the Arab peoples for a number of specific but very important reasons: 1) The question of the liberation of the people of our small country from the yoke of the colonialists through armed struggle and with the aid of the Soviet Union, a thing which the imperialists and colonialists seek to obscure. 2) The question of the affirmation of our state of people's democracy as an independent, sovereign state, which has shown great stability, which has heroically and successfully coped with the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their lackeys who, within these twelve years, have tried to wrest the power from the hands of the people but have failed in all their attempts because our people have fought heroically, because they were vigilant, and because our state had the backing of the Soviet Union. 3) The great progress of our people in the economy, in culture, in education, in social affairs, the improvement of the life of the people and their unceasing drive to build socialism under the guidance of the Party of Labour, a Marxist-Leninist Party, on which the big batteries of the imperialists, anti-Marxists, revisionists, Trotskyites and so on, have concentrated their fire. 4) Of interest to Arab public opinion is how in the people's democracy of Albania, in which the overwhelming majority of the population have been of the Moslem faith, and where many customs and the way of life have been similiar to theirs (because both we and they languished under the savage yoke of the Ottomans for centuries on end), such great progress has been made, so many evil survivals from the bitter past have been done away with, illiteracy has been wiped out, modern socialist industry has been set up, the socialist order is being established in the countryside, the women have taken off the yashmak, and the state, while being resolutely non-religious, tolerates and does not

interfere with religion and the beliefs of the people. All these questions and others arouse an interest in our country among progressive Arab opinion, and at the same time, love and great sympathy for our people. We have all the possibilities to make our Albanian reality better known in the Arab countries and to make our contribution, of course, to the extent of our forces, to the consolidation of the friendship of these peoples with the peoples of our socialist camp. The example of Albania helps these countries to realize that Marxism-Leninism is the beacon light to a prosperous and free life for the peoples. The very existence, and the happy and prosperous life of the people of a small country like ours, who live in freedom, sovereign, honoured, and respected, enjoying all the rights that a great state enjoys, is an example of this.

2. — *THE FAILURE OF THE FASCIST COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN HUNGARY*

The main characteristic of the present international situation is the fierce struggle raging between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, which is continually losing ground but still holds strong positions.

The strength of the socialist camp is the principal and decisive factor for the preservation of peace, the main obstacle to the aggressive imperialist plans, a base, an unwavering support for the struggle of all peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, for the preservation of peace and for the peaceful development of relations among states. It is because of this that the ruling circles of the imperialist states pursue a policy of war against the socialist camp and, first and foremost, against the Soviet Union.

The North Atlantic military bloc, the military bases which the imperialists, and first of all, the United States

of America, have set up around the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp, the 100 million dollar fund the US Congress earmarks every year for acts of diversion in our countries, the unbridled war-mongering propaganda against our countries, the backing and mobilization of all the renegades and traitors of socialism, all these things are clear manifestations of the policy of war against the socialist camp.

At the last meeting of the NATO Council, the organization of counter-revolutions in socialist countries, to divide these countries and to undermine the people's state power from within, was considered as the best and most feasible method of this war.

In the scheme of their general conspiracy against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, the counter-revolution in Hungary, which was intended to overthrow the people's power and replace it with the power of the large estate-owners and the capitalists, with the Horthy-fascist dictatorship, had an important role to play.

While launching the counter-revolution in Hungary, the imperialists were aiming, at the same time, to create a hotbed of war and aggression among the countries of the socialist camp, on the borders of the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania, and to split the countries of the socialist camp, to detach them from the Soviet Union and then to destroy them one by one, to disrupt the world communist movement.

The interference of the imperialists in Hungary is the principal factor of the counter-revolution. Long ago they organized bands of inveterate criminals, Horthyites and fascists, whom they smuggled into the territory of the People's Republic of Hungary during their preparation for the counter-revolution. They organized an unbridled propaganda campaign against the Soviet Union, against the socialist camp, against the Hungarian Workers' Party,

against the people's power in Hungary. Numerous facts speak clearly now about this blatant intervention on their part in Hungary.

The activity of the imperialists found the support of the internal enemies, the enemies of the people's state power, the enemies of the working class. Horthyite forces were in considerable numbers in Hungary. The class enemy, dispossessed but not done away with, was not sleeping during these 12 years of people's power but working and awaiting the opportune moment to launch an attack, with the aid of the imperialists, against the People's Republic of Hungary in order to overthrow the state power of the people and to re-establish its own capitalist state power. Internal reaction was able to preserve its forces and organize itself even under the conditions of the existence of the people's power in Hungary, and then to pass on to open attacks, up to an armed uprising, because of the weakness and lack of vigilance of the former leaders of the Hungarian party and state. It is a wellknown fact that during the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism the antagonistic classes do not disappear, that the class enemy is at work and uses every means to fight the people's power. To suppress the enemy, the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary vigilance must be strengthened.

An important role in the Hungarian events, in preparing for and launching the counter-revolution, was played by the anti-Marxist opportunist elements, the traitors within and outside the ranks of the Hungarian Workers' Party, headed by Imre Nagy. This is not the first time the imperialists have used the Rightist forces, the opportunists, the deviators and traitors, in their fight against the workers' movement, against the communist movement. The case of Hungary is a further proof of the mobilization

of all the forces hostile to socialism in the service of imperialism.

At the same time, it must be emphasized that the errors of the former leaders of the Hungarian party and state, which created situations that were not good, had aroused great dissatisfaction among the labouring masses, and this was turned to good account by the counterrevolutionaries. Failure to recognize the forces of reaction and the concessions which were made enabled the enemy, under the pretext of combating the mistakes which could and ought to have been corrected within the framework of the people's power, to deceive the working masses and to launch their savage and bloodthirsty counter-revolution.

But in spite of all these things, the schemes of the enemy were foiled. The counter-revolution in Hungary was crushed. Responding to the appeal of the Hungarian workers' and peasants' government, the Soviet Union helped the Hungarian people to crush their enemies, to save their freedom, independence, their people's state power and socialism. By helping the Hungarian people in their fight against imperialism and their internal enemies, the Soviet Union discharged a lofty internationalist duty, and at the same time, performed a very great service for the cause of socialism and the whole world communist movement.

Assessing the Hungarian events as they were, as a counter-revolution launched by the imperialists in collusion with the class enemy and anti-Marxist elements and traitors to the working class, like Imre Nagy and Co., our Party maintained a decisive and correct Marxist-Leninist stand. Our Party's correct assessment was fully confirmed.

Any assessment of the Hungarian events which is not made from the viewpoint of the class struggle is incorrect, anti-Marxist, and inflicts grave damage on the cause of socialism, aids and abets the enemies of socialism, and is

a hostile attitude opposed to the interests of the working class and socialism. The attempts of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and all their propaganda to explain the Hungarian events as "a popular revolution of all the working masses", brought about not by the enemy but by "the bureaucratic political system and by the mistakes of the Rakosi-Gerö clique", not only have no foundation but are a hostile attempt to obscure events, to conceal and negate the class struggle, to deal a blow at the system of people's democracy, to sow confusion among the ranks of the communist and workers' parties, to lull to sleep their vigilance against the enemy.

There are many facts which lead to the conclusion that the Yugoslav leaders do not have clean hands in the Hungarian counter-revolution, but on the contrary bear a heavy responsibility for the development of events in Hungary:

a) After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the opportunists and enemies of Marxism-Leninism in Hungary, under the banner of the struggle against "Stalin's mistakes" and of spreading the "Yugoslav way" as the "only correct way of building socialism", launched a big propaganda campaign to discredit the Hungarian Workers' Party and to split the Hungarian party and state organizations. Parallel with this, a wide campaign was launched for the rehabilitation of Imre Nagy, placing him at the head of the Hungarian party and state, as a man "unjustly persecuted", as "the man who should lead Hungary in the new situation". All this campaign was strongly backed by the Yugoslav press and the Yugoslav leaders. Before the outbreak of the counter-revolution, the Yugoslav press was filled with news and articles about the activity of anti-Marxist elements, about the hostile activity going on at the "Petöfi Club", and about all the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist and revisionist work

going on at that time in Hungary. The Yugoslav agents in Budapest enjoyed full freedom of action, and together with the various groups of anti-party elements, carried out a wide-ranging campaign about the "specific construction of socialism in Yugoslavia", thus undermining the position of the Hungarian Workers' Party and the people's government.

b) When the counter-revolution broke out, the Yugoslav leaders were the first to greet it, through their press and through direct messages from Tito, as a "people's revolution". While all the Marxist-Leninist parties openly denounced the counter-revolution and Nagy, the Yugoslav press continued to defend the Nagy government. The Yugoslavs had stationed their troops along the Hungarian border, ready to move them into Hungary. As they themselves have officially stated, if the Soviet Army had not intervened on November 4, they would have moved their troops into Hungary. This is how far things had gone. The entry of the Yugoslav army into Hungary would have greatly complicated the international situation. At the time when the fascist counter-revolution had broken out there, Hungary, a member state of the Warsaw Treaty, was to be attacked by a foreign army. In that case, the member states of the Warsaw Treaty, including the Soviet Army already in Hungary, would have had to liquidate this hostile attack. It was only the aid of the Soviet Army in suppressing the counter-revolution that averted this international provocation.

c) When the counter-revolution was smashed, the Yugoslav leaders maintained a hostile stand against the Soviet Union, denouncing the aid it gave the Hungarian workers to suppress the counter-revolution, and described it as "intervention". Imre Nagy, who called on the imperialist troops to come to his assistance, and who certainly counted on the intervention of the Yugoslav troops, too,

under whose leadership fascist bands murdered and hanged thousands of communists and workers, found shelter in the Yugoslav legation in Budapest.

The Yugoslav leaders and their propaganda were bitterly opposed to the reorganization of the Workers' and Peasants' Revolutionary Party and to the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Kardelj came out openly against the steps taken by the Hungarian government. He demanded that territorial councils of workers (filled with counterrevolutionaries) should take power, and called on the Hungarian leaders to radically change the political system in Hungary. Taking into account that socialism was being built during the years prior to the counter-revolution, it is clear that Kardelj's demand for "radical change in the political system" means simply the liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the re-establishment of the capitalist system. In short, the attitude of the Yugoslav leadership and press cannot be considered as anything else but interference in the internal affairs of Hungary, in order to hinder the Hungarian party and government in eliminating the remnants of the counter-revolution and normalizing the situation.

The counter-revolution caused Hungary huge material losses, aggravated the economic situation of the people, created a great deal of chaos and confusion. The Party was liquidated by the attack of the counter-revolution and by the internal disruption of the anti-Marxist elements.

We should do whatever we can to help the fraternal Hungarian people, who are our allies, to heal their wounds as soon as possible.

3. — EVENTS IN POLAND

Recently, in Poland, too, when the hostile activity against the countries of the socialist camp became more

intense, unpleasant things have occurred which have created a grave situation, though they did not take the same turn as in Hungary.

Following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the reactionary forces, Rightist elements, and opportunists launched a rabid offensive in order to denigrate the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party itself, and the people's power in Poland under the demagogic slogans of "fighting the cult of Stalin" and "bureaucratism," "for the democratization of the socialist system", "for a new Polish way", "for equality", "for non-intervention in internal affairs", "for sovereignty and independence from the Soviet Union", and so on. In the Polish press, even up to the organ of the Central Committee "Tribuna Ludu", more and more space was given to bourgeois nationalist articles and propaganda, to the propaganda of reactionary ideology. After this, the situation became even more grave when the reactionaries went over to open hostile activities, armed actions as in Poznan, and to anti-Soviet actions and demonstrations. Bourgeois nationalist elements were given a free hand, and taking advantage of certain mistakes that had been committed in the relations of the Soviet Union with Poland which should have been corrected in the normal way, they launched a frenzied attack against the Soviet Union in order to wreck the friendship of the Polish people with the peoples of the Soviet Union, in order to detach Poland from the socialist camp. The reactionary forces and Rightist elements began to belittle everything that had been achieved in Poland under the people's power, and speculating with and exaggerating certain economic difficulties created in Poland during this period, launched a big campaign for the re-examination of the political system of people's democracy itself, in order to replace it with a new system

which would respond to the "new socialism", to the Polish "national", "specific" line. This hostile activity was given free play because there was a lack of party unity, because the leadership was disrupted by the opportunist elements and could not fight the enemies and demagogues with energy and determination.

The 8th Plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party[3] was held in a situation in which Rightist, opportunist, anti-Soviet slogans were predominant. Certain opinions were expressed and certain decisions were taken at the Plenum which seem incorrect to us. The Polish party and government may have made mistakes (that is for the Polish comrades to say) but we are of the opinion that these could have been corrected in the normal way, and not by labelling the 8th Plenum "the October Polish Revolution", "the Rebirth of Poland", and so on. The views and decisions regarding the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, regarding the relations of the party with other, non-Marxist, parties, regarding the international role of the Soviet Union and the Soviet experience, regarding the agrarian policy, the Catholic Church, and so on, seem incorrect to us. This is an internal matter for the Polish United Workers' Party, but, as internationalists, we say that it is not clear to us why many comrades, who may have made mistakes in practice but who are veteran revolutionaries, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the Soviet Union, have been removed from the political bureau and the secretariat. We pose this question also because, when our Party has taken measures against certain leaders who have erred, it has informed the Polish United Workers' Party, as a sign of friendship and internationalist solidarity.

[3] It was held in October 1956.

From the Polish press we gather that after the 8th Plenum there have been certain incorrect manifestations. Party meetings of activists and conferences have been held, in which in many cases veteran worker comrades have been dismissed and opportunist elements elected. Major disputes and disintegration began in the youth organization. The whole leadership of the trade union movement was removed and replaced by a new one. Many tested officers, including Rokosovsky, were discharged from the army, and the rehabilitation was begun of many officers, including the old ones, officers who had fled the country or who had served with the British Royal Air Force (RAF). Tens of thousands of persons were freed from jail. Many agricultural cooperatives were disbanded. The activity of the Catholic clergy was revived, and the teaching of religion in schools was allowed.

Our Party was not directly informed of what was happening in Poland, but taking into account what we learned from the official Polish press, we maintained a reserved but correct attitude towards these events, an attitude which may not have been to the liking of the Polish comrades. We have spoken frankly to the Party about matters that seemed to us incorrect, contrary to Marxism-Leninism and to the unity of the socialist camp, and we think we have done very well, and this is the way we shall always act.

Recently, the situation seems to have improved somewhat, nevertheless we think that many things are not yet clear. Gomulka has said that there were three trends in the party, namely, those adhering to the 8th Plenum, the "conservatives", and the revisionists who continued to hold strong positions in the Party. In the Polish press, incorrect, anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet views continue to appear. We think the Polish comrades are not making a

correct assessment of the need to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat under the present circumstances, and they are not waging a resolute campaign against reaction and alien ideology. As their press shows, they are in favour of a milder attitude towards imperialism, they have reservations regarding the evaluation of the international role of the Soviet Union and the Soviet experience. The Polish leaders insist on the "specific Polish way to building socialism". So far, the Polish United Workers' Party has not adopted any stand against the serious opportunist, revisionist, and anti-Marxist deviations of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. As regards the causes of the Hungarian events, the Polish comrades do not agree with the view that imperialism is their main instigator. The attempts of the Polish comrades to secure aid from the United States of America and from other imperialists seem to us very dubious and dangerous actions, regardless of whether the Polish state is or is not in need of this aid from the Americans, whose only aim is to destroy and enslave our socialist countries.

We hope that the situation in Poland will get better, that the working class and the Polish United Workers' Party will overcome these difficulties. Like all Marxist-Leninist parties, we should work in the spirit of proletarian internationalism to help improve the situation in Poland, to consolidate the positions of Marxism-Leninism, to strengthen the unity of our camp, headed by the Soviet Union. We shall preserve our friendship with the fraternal Polish people; we shall strengthen our comradely and international bonds with the Polish party, and will not lack the Leninist courage and sincerity to speak frankly with the Polish comrades about matters which do not convince us and which we consider incorrect, just as they may bring things to our attention whenever they deem it necessary.

4. — THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE FASCIST ATTACKS AGAINST THE COMMUNIST PARTIES IN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES

In addition to their offensive against the socialist camp, imperialism and international reaction launched fierce attacks against the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries. The enemy resorted to all possible methods, ranging from the exploitation of the Hungarian events to the organization of fascist assault groups. The communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries courageously resisted the attacks of the enemy, and continue to resolutely defend the interests of the working class and Marxism-Leninism. But while the frenzied propaganda of reaction against the Soviet Union, against the aid it gave the Hungarian people, and the attacks of fascist bullies were unable to shake the communist and workers' parties, they did influence and upset certain elements in circles friendly to the party, in the ranks of the Leftist socialists, and even certain communists. Generally these were unstable intellectuals, not closely linked with the cause of the working class, the cause of socialism.

The enemy's attacks were especially savage against the French Communist Party. All French reaction hurled themselves furiously upon it, even organizing attacks by fascist groups, because in the French Communist Party they saw a major obstacle to the achievement of their objectives. Through its stand the French Communist Party repulsed the enemy attack and continues to loyally defend Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the working class, friendship with the Soviet Union, the cause of socialism. This has so enraged the enemy that recently in their attempt to launch a new anti-communist campaign they have gone so far as to propose in the French Parliament the disbanding of the Communist Party and a series of the most reac-

tionary laws that existed in the time of fascism. But the French Communist Party, at the head of the working class, and all the democratic forces will not allow an act of this kind. The French Communist Party will know how to fight with courage and will defeat these new fascist provocations, too. Our Party holds the French Communist Party in high esteem, and has expressed to the French comrades its feelings of solidarity with their heroic struggle.

The anti-Marxist elements, together with the reactionaries and the imperialists, also launched an offensive against the Italian Communist Party. After the 20th Congress, when the imperialists and all the enemies of socialism tried to take advantage of the criticism made of J.V. Stalin in order to attack Marxism-Leninism and the communist parties, there were some wavering elements in the Italian Communist Party who went off the rails and undertook activities against the party, spreading anti-Marxist "theories" and hostile views against the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, popularizing the Yugoslav "specific" socialism. Some of the revisionist and hostile elements took part as delegates to the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party[4], and there they vent their spleen against Marxism-Leninism, the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. A hesitant attitude was maintained towards these elements, and this, of course, had a damaging effect.

As you know from the press, unfortunately, comrade Togliatti himself, although a wellknown revolutionary leader, has expressed some erroneous views. In June 1956,

[4] It was held in Rome from the 8th to the 14th of December 1956. This congress revised the programmatic and tactical principles of the party and made such amendments to the Constitution of the party as to open the way to its further degeneration.

in an interview with the magazine "Nuovi Argomenti", he expressed the view that "the socialist system has degenerated". In the same interview comrade Togliatti expressed incorrect views regarding the international role of the Soviet Union and the universal importance of the Soviet experience. He said that today it is objectively impossible to have one centre of the international communist movement, and that this movement should have a polycentric character. At the 8th Congress of the Italian Communist Party, comrade Togliatti expressed incorrect views regarding what he calls "servile imitation of the Soviet experience on the part of the people's democracies", and in general, regarding the situation in the people's democracies. In his June interview he expressed incorrect views also regarding the leading role of the working class; even in the Resolution of the 8th Congress, where it speaks of the driving forces of the revolution, there is no mention at all of the leading role of the working class. At the same time, the attitude of the Italian comrades towards the anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslav leadership seems to us incorrect. At the 8th Congress, these dangerous revisionist and anti-Marxist views were not openly denounced, while in December 1956, after all those events, Luigi Longo, one of the principal leaders of the Italian Communist Party, even wrote a long article on the Yugoslav experience. Comrades, we say these things for they seem to us to be incorrect, and we hope that the Italian comrades will strengthen their Party in the Marxist-Leninist way.

* * *

From the problems that have been raised we arrive at the conclusion that the activity of the imperialists, their aggression against Egypt, the counter-revolution in Hungary, the attempts in Poland, the attack on the communist

and workers' parties in capitalist countries, and so on, show that imperialism has not given up its preparations for a new war. Its aggressive plans are directed first and foremost against our socialist camp. The enemies of socialism, the enemies of our countries, take advantage of any relaxation of vigilance, of any weakness of the people's power, of any breach, no matter how slight, in the unity of our camp. Therefore, it is our duty to strengthen our revolutionary vigilance, to consolidate our socialist camp, with the Soviet Union in the lead.

Comrades,

I think it necessary to dwell on certain main questions that emerge from the analysis of the recent international developments.

I. ON THE UNITY OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP

The recent events in the international arena are characterized by an all-round attack by imperialist reaction and all the revisionist and anti-Marxist elements against the countries of the socialist camp, and in general, against the solidarity of the world communist and workers' movement. The enemies are pursuing the old tactics of imperialism "divide and rule". The Yugoslav leadership has taken up the banner of the disruption of the international communist movement, and is revising Marxism-Leninism under the slogan of overthrowing "Stalinism" and the "Stalinists".

1. — The international role of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet experience

In order to split the socialist camp and the world communist movement the imperialists and revisionists are

trying, in the first place, to isolate the Soviet Union by negating its international role and by discrediting it.

The leading role of the Soviet Union in the entire communist movement is determined by the historical conditions. This is an objective fact.

a) This leading role arises primarily from the significance of the October Socialist Revolution and its international importance.

First, it is known that the October Revolution marked a turning point in the history of mankind. For the first time in history, it established the dictatorship of the proletariat and imparted a major impulse to the revolutionary movement of the proletariat of the world. From the October Revolution onward the proletarians of many other countries, with the example and with the aid and support of the Russian workers, broke the chains of capital, and today the socialist system includes about 1,000 million people.

Second, the October Socialist Revolution marked the beginning of the crisis of the colonial system. Forty years after the October Revolution, a population of nearly 1,500 million of the colonial and semi-colonial countries has been liberated, the colonial system is in complete disintegration.

Third, the October Socialist Revolution was at the same time a revolution in ideology as well, because it put an end once and for all to the ideological domination of the Second International, marking the triumph of revolutionary Marxism in the international workers' movement.

b) The leading role of the Soviet Union in the international communist movement has become a historical reality also due to the universal character of the Soviet experience itself. The fact that the Soviet Union has been transformed from the backward country it was before the

revolution into a powerful industrial country with a highly developed culture, the fact that the Soviet Union succeeded in scoring a great historic victory over nazi Germany and militarist Japan during the Second World War, prove that the experience of the Soviet Union and the course it has followed are correct and of universal importance for all. The experience of the Soviet Union is not only the first but the most brilliant example of the application of Marxism-Leninism. But, just as the enemies of Marxism-Leninism have always done, the present-day revisionists, too, with the Yugoslav leaders in the front rank, are trying in every way to negate the universal character of the Soviet experience. In this respect much is made of the specific conditions of each country, of "national communism". No Marxist pretends that everything from the Soviet experience must be applied absolutely and in a stereotyped way everywhere; nevertheless, the fundamentals of the Soviet experience have a universal character. The practice of the world communist movement and of the socialist construction in the countries of people's democracy confirms Vladimir Ilich Lenin's words, that

> *". . . certain fundamental features of our revolution have a significance that is not local or peculiarly national, or Russian alone, but international"*.*

In addition to negating the universal character of the Soviet experience, the Yugoslav leaders try to discredit this experience and present "the experience of Yugoslav socialism" as the only correct, and even indispensable, way for all countries.

c) The Soviet Union today is a major economic and military power enjoying great international authority. It is the country in the socialist camp which is able to pro-

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 5 (Alb. ed.).

vide the most help, both through its experience and its material resources, for all the socialist countries and even for the countries which are freeing themselves of the colonial yoke. This role of the Soviet Union is the natural objective result of historical development. It is not an arbitrary decision of the "Stalinists", nor can it be cancelled to satisfy the wishes of the revisionists. This role of the Soviet Union is acknowledged by all the Marxist-Leninist parties, by every communist. An article under the heading "Again on the Historic Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat", which was published in the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China "Renminribao", we read: "In the interests of the common cause of the proletariat of different countries, of the joint resistance to the attack launched by the imperialist camp led by the United States against the cause of socialism, and of the economic and cultural drive common to all socialist countries, we must continue to strengthen international proletarian solidarity with the Soviet Union as its centre"*

From the time it came into being, our Party, too, has viewed this fundamental issue correctly and has implanted it deep in the hearts of its members and its people.

2. — On the relations among socialist countries, among Marxist-Leninist parties, and on proletarian internationalism

The imperialists and the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism have launched an unbridled campaign of slanders againt the relations of the socialist countries and communist parties with the Soviet Union. Both the imperialists and the opportunist elements accused the Soviet Union of having allegedly established incorrect relations with

* Published in the newspaper "Zëri i popullit", December 30, 1956.

the socialist countries, of having allegedly enslaved these countries, and consequently, of having deprived them of their independence. They systematically incited nationalistic and anti-Soviet feelings. They launched demagogic slogans urging these countries to regain their "independence" from the Soviet Union, to establish their "sovereignty", and so on. The Yugoslav leadership went so far that Josip Broz Tito, in his speech at Pula, declared that the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary were provoked principally by the incorrect relations which had been established between the Soviet Union and Hungary. Hence, according to Tito the blame falls not on imperialism but on the Soviet Union.

But, comrades, it is known that the relations of the socialist countries with the Soviet Union are relations of a new type never seen before in history. Our relations with the Soviet Union, too, are based on the Leninist principles of complete equality between the two sides, of mutual comradely assistance, of respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs, on the principles of proletarian internationalism, on the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Our country, which is the smallest of the socialist camp, can testify, better than any other, to the correctness of the relations that have existed among socialist countries. Our Party has declared that our relations with the Soviet Union have been correct. On the contrary, the imperialists and the Yugoslav leaders, who have "advised" us to free ourselves from the Soviet Union, have behaved as chauvinists, colonialists and enemies towards our country.

The sincere friendship of our people towards the Soviet Union, the fraternal aid it has given Albania, have not only changed the appearance of our country from the economic and cultural point of view, but have also strengthened the confidence of our people in their own resources,

and consolidated the independence and sovereignty of our homeland. During the grave and difficult postwar days, when our country and our people were in great straits, lacking food to eat and clothes to wear, and when the independence and sovereignty of our country, won with so much bloodshed and sacrifice, were being menaced by the Yugoslavs, the comrades of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and J.V. Stalin said to the delegates of the Central Committee of our Party, *"All this will be overcome. We will help you build your industry, put agriculture on its feet again, develop your national education and culture"*. They said to us, *"You should develop your national cadres keeping in mind that the specialists whom we shall send should soon return. Albania must stand on its own feet"*. The will of our Party and of our people and the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union became a reality. Combines and factories were set up, schools and institutes were opened, railways were built, Machine and Tractor Stations, transport and other enterprises were organized. Many gifted Soviet cadres came to the assistance of our people and trained our cadres. Now, thousands of our own cadres run combines, factories, mines, schools and institutes. We acted on the advice of the Bolshevik Party. The experience of the Soviet Union has always guided our people. We shall profit from any valuable experience of other countries.

The Yugoslav leaders have declared that Yugoslavia is the first country which has been able to establish "correct" relations with the Soviet Union, and that these relations are the "pattern" which other countries should follow if they don't want to give rise to "disturbances" like those in Hungary. Our Party and our people as a whole have rejected this "advice" because in fact it seeks to tear us away from the Soviet Union and from the socialist camp, just as has been done with Yugoslavia.

It is known that the imperialists, who have set up a whole system of international pacts, blocs, and alliances, like NATO, SEATO, the Baghdad Pact and others, are keenly interested in splitting the socialist camp with a view to realizing their plans more easily. Therefore, the vital duty of our Party is to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, to strengthen the economic and military potential of this camp, to strengthen the Warsaw Treaty.

Although it is a member of the Balkan Pact and, through Greece and Turkey, is connected with the aggressive NATO treaty and with that of Baghdad, Yugoslavia says that it is opposed to blocs. In short, the Yugoslav leaders advise us to disarm.

Great Lenin teaches us that the forms of ties and international collaboration between communist and workers' parties differ according to the historical conditions, according to the new situation and tasks which emerge before the international workers' movement. Under the present conditions, it is essential that the ties and collaboration between the communist and workers' parties should be even further strengthened, finding the most suitable ways and forms. Our parties are now concerned to find these forms to ensure as close and effective collaboration and co-ordination as possible. The Yugoslav leaders, on their part, have built up a "whole theoretical system" in order "to prove" that the communist parties should live separately and each go its own way.

If we view it in the context of their theories and claims about "the great international role of Yugoslavia" and "the Yugoslav way to socialism", it boils down to this: for the time being the communist parties should sever their internationalist ties with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and start building ties with Yugoslavia and later set up the International headed by Tito. These views

are in opposition to proletarian internationalism and aim at splitting the international communist movement.

The duty of our Party, like that of all the fraternal parties, is to combat these views as well as all enemy attempts to split the socialist camp. It is our duty to fight with all our might to consolidate the unity of the socialist countries and of the fraternal communist and workers' parties. Our strength lies in unity.

II. ON THE NEED FOR IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE TO DEFEND MARXISM-LENINISM FROM THE HOSTILE ATTEMPTS OF THE OPPORTUNISTS AND REVISIONISTS

The offensive which has been launched against Marxist-Leninist ideology is being waged on two parallel, if not co-ordinated, fronts, by the forces of imperialism and reaction, and by the opportunist and revisionist elements headed by the Yugoslav leaders. Their objective is to disrupt the ranks of the communist parties and turn them from the right course, to divide the socialist countries and the communist parties, to discredit Marxism-Leninism, and to deprive the working class of this compass, this essential weapon for the construction of socialism. The characteristic of this campaign is that it is waged under "Left" slogans, under the banner of revising Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism in the workers' movement came into being when Marxism scored complete theoretical victory over its open enemies, who therefore began to fight Marxism disguised with the cloak of Marxism, under the banner of Marxism. Speaking about the essence of revisionism, Lenin says that it tries to turn Marxism into a sacred icon,

> *". . . in order to take from Marxism all that is acceptable to the liberal bourgeoisie, including the*

struggle for reforms, the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), the 'general' recognition of 'socialist ideals' and the substitution of 'a new order' for capitalism, and to cast aside 'only' the living soul of Marxism, 'only' its revolutionary content".*

This banner of revising Marxism-Leninism has now been taken up by the Yugoslav leaders, and that is why the imperialists consider them as a principal tool to fight communism. At the recent meeting of the Council of NATO, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the German Federal Republic, Von Brentano, put forward that NATO should support the development of "Titoism in the countries of peoples' democracy" because, according to him, "this method is more fruitful than the direct encouragement of uprisings". All the Western radios continue to call on the peoples of the socialist camp to overthrow the leaders of the party and the state and replace them with "anti-Stalinist" elements, to give up building "Stalinist" socialism and adopt the Yugoslav "national and specific" way to socialism. The enemy sends out proclamations signed by the fascist criminal Sadik Premte (now self-styled chief of the Albanian section of the 4th "communist" International), calling on our people to overthrow "bureaucratic" socialism and to follow the course of Tito and Imre Nagy.

The Yugoslav leaders present their "theories" as a "major discovery" in the service of the workers' movement and mankind in general, but objectively their "theories" and activities serve imperialism to fight Marxism-Leninism, the communist parties, and the socialist camp.

The Yugoslav leaders present their "theories" as the last word of Marxism, but in fact their "theoretical system"

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 21, p. 233 (Alb. ed.).

is a mixture of the rotten theories of the various anti-Marxist trends ranging from the anarchism of Proudhon and Bakunin to Trotsky, Bukharin, and the "workers' opposition".

The struggle to revise Marxism-Leninism is now disguised under three main demagogic slogans:

1) Great play is made with the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis about the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against dogmatism.

Marxist-Leninists interpret the creative development of Marxism-Leninism not as a negation of its foundations, but as an enrichment of its theory with new conclusions and theses drawn from the experience of the struggle of the working class and of the development of the sciences. Whereas the revisionists, as we shall see presently, negate the basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, as for instance, the class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leading role of the party, and so on. But Marxism is a science, and the objective laws discovered by it are absolute truth, like the laws discovered by chemistry, physics, and other sciences. Therefore, they cannot become obsolete, or be discarded. Nevertheless, Vlahovich, Member of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, describes Marxism as "Marx's outdated theory", and the newspaper "Borba" writes that, besides "Stalinism" there is also the danger of outdated "dogmatic Leninism".

2) Great play is made also with the correct Marxist-Leninist thesis that Marxism should be applied in a creative way under the specific conditions of each country.

Marxism-Leninism teaches that in spite of the community of features and the fundamental general laws, the forms, methods and speed of transition of different countries to socialism may vary according to the concrete conditions of their development. Seizing on this, and under

the slogan of "specific and national socialism", the revisionists are trying to divert us from the general Marxist-Leninist course of the construction of socialism and from the experience of the Soviet Union. Marxism teaches that the fundamental problems of the construction of socialism are common problems and that the laws of development of society have no national limits. Historical experience indicates that such common issues are: the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, the establishment of the political power of the working class under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party, the consolidation in every way of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with the other working strata, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of socialist ownership on the principal means of production, the socialist organization of agriculture, the planned development of the economy, guidance by the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, the determined defence of the victories of the socialist revolution from the attacks of the former exploiting classes and the imperialist states. The general course of the construction of socialism is the main road, it is, so to say, the boulevard. The specific features of this or that country are like side-streets branching off this boulevard. Not to follow this main road, the general Marxist-Leninist road, means to enter a blind alley. And the experience of Yugoslavia verifies this.

It is clear that the enemies of the working class view "national communism" as the main lever by means of which they want to take the socialist countries and the communist parties off the rails, and thus turn the wheel of history backward. . .

3) The whole frenzied campaign the imperialists and revisionists have launched against Marxism-Leninism, against communism, is carried on under the guise of the struggle against "Stalinism". Immediately following the

20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the enemies grossly exaggerated Stalin's "mistakes" and blazened them abroad in order to discredit the socialist states, the communist parties, and their leaders, in order to sow ideological confusion and discord in the international communist movement. Under the pressure of this campaign, the opportunist and wavering elements raised their heads everywhere and set to work zealously against the revolutionary parties under false and anti-Marxist slogans (like "democratization", "de-Stalinization", "independence", "the people's well-being", and so on) in order to fight the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the parties and their correct line. Confronted by this situation, our Party acted correctly. It took steps to fight those elements who, under the banner of the struggle against the "cult of the individual", wanted to throw our Party off its track.

In the light of recent events it has been verified once again how appropriate was the stand of the Central Committee of the Party, which was unanimously approved by the 3rd Congress, in connection with the correct struggle waged against various opportunist, Trotskyite, revisionist, and traitor elements who, in their open and disguised activities, had striven to turn our Party away from the course of Marxism-Leninism, to deal a hard blow at the heart of our Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus pave the way to the establishment of capitalism and the imperialist yoke.

This was the aim of the enemies of the Party, of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu, the precursors of the other enemies who pricked up their ears at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana and whose treachery found a source of nourishment in the Yugoslav legation. The regrettable development in Hungary where the counter-revolution broke out fully confirmed the correctness of the

line of our Party and its correct and farsighted course of action.

a) We do not agree with any of those who negate all the revolutionary activity of Stalin and see in it only the dark side. We think that Stalin should be appreciated correctly. J.V. Stalin, as we all know, is a great Marxist because, next to Lenin, he defended Marxism-Leninism from all the enemies and revisionists, and rendered a valuable contribution to the further development of this science. He has great merits in the preparation and conduct of the October Revolution, in the building of the first socialist state, in the historic victory over the fascist invaders, in the progress of the international communist and workers' movement. For all these things, Stalin enjoyed great authority, not only in the Soviet Union but throughout the world. On the main issues, in defending the interests of the working class and the Marxist-Leninist theory, in the struggle against imperialism and other enemies of socialism, Stalin made no mistakes, but was and remains an example.

I want to emphasize that the Yugoslav leaders, who are making such hue and cry about the cult of the individual in regard to Stalin, have this cult with beard on in their own country. In an article on the occasion of Tito's birthday, Bakarich, Member of the Executive Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, went so far as to say that the "Marxist" works of Tito are comparable only with best works of Marx, Engels and Lenin; this is to say that Tito ranks higher than Marx, Engels, and Lenin! Therefore we say that the clamour of the Yugoslav leaders and press against Stalin's "cult of the individual" is not intended to defend Marxist-Leninist principles, but to discredit the socialist system, to discredit the Marxist-Ieninist leaders of the communist

parties, for the purpose of revising Marxism-Leninism, and paving the way to "Yugoslav socialism".

b) The correct assessment of Stalin's activity is important because for 30 years after Lenin he was at the head of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and led the Soviet Union and the international workers' movement. In blackening Stalin, the enemies are not concerned about him as a person, but their aim is to discredit the Soviet Union, the socialist system, and the international communist movement, consequently, to undermine the workers' faith in socialism.

In a speech he delivered at Pula in November last year, Tito said, "Right from the start we have said that it is not just a question of the cult of the individual, but of the system which made it possible for the cult of the individual to be created, because here lie its roots, because this is what should be attacked constantly and persistently".

Thus, according to the Yugoslav leaders, the cult of the individual is the offspring of the Soviet system, therefore, this system should be revised (if not overthrown) and should be replaced by the "democratic Yugoslav" system. It is obvious which mill this is grist to. The ideologists of the bourgeoisie are doing their utmost to prove that Stalin's "mistakes" are the natural outcome of the Soviet system, that this system is "a mistake", "an abortive experiment", therefore the workers should give up socialism and work for "people's capitalism". These distorted claims have been refuted by the whole history of the development of the Soviet system which has ensured colossal successes for the Soviet Union, which has emerged triumphant from the most difficult historical tests and has set a brilliant example for all the workers who are fighting to free themselves and build a better life.

c) The banner of the struggle against "Stalinism" serves the Yugoslav leaders and all the revisionists as a mask to settle accounts with all their opponents. This is the way they go about it: they describe the correct Marxist-Leninist theses as "Stalinist dogmatism", the communist parties and their leaders, who are loyal to Marxism-Leninism, as "Stalinists", our state and economic systems as "Stalinist bureaucratism," and according to them, everything "Stalinist" should be wiped out and replaced by "anti-Stalinist". The division of parties and communists into "Stalinist" and "anti-Stalinist", and the declaration of war against the "Stalinists", as the Yugoslav leaders have done, only serves to split the workers' movement.

Seizing on the mistakes and shortcomings which they attribute to Stalin, they deny all the results which the Soviet Union, the people's democracies, and the communist parties have achieved during these years. They say that the socialist states and the international communist movement are in crisis because they are suffering from "Stalinism". They propose as a way out "the Yugoslav road to the construction of socialism". They say that Yugoslavia has managed to steer clear of "Stalinism" because it severed relations with the socialist camp in 1948, and therefore, Yugoslavia alone has found the right road for the building of socialism, which should now serve as a model for all countries. A lot of propaganda is made to present "Yugoslav socialism" as flawless and as the only correct model, even as the only possible model for the construction of socialism by all countries.

But how do things stand in reality? Has the "Yugoslav way" shown any superiority? On the contrary, the Yugoslav leaders themselves admit serious weaknesses in the social order, and especially in the economy of their

country. We know what "democracy" the UDB[5] ensures the Yugoslav workers. The Yugoslav leaders themselves have confirmed the great disintegration in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia since the directive was issued for their Party to play merely an educative role.

It is known that the main thing is to re-organize the economy which is the base of the whole society. The Yugoslav leaders have a great deal to say about the re-organization of the Yugoslav economy, but what results has it yielded? According to Yugoslav statistics, the productivity of labour in Yugoslavia is lower than in 1939. In 1955 the general retail price index was 27 per cent above that of 1952. Individual economies prevail in the Yugoslav countryside. After the re-organization of the agricultural cooperatives during 1953-55, of the 4,192 agricultural cooperatives which had been set up, only 896 have survived. In the period from 1952 to 1953, an area of 358,000 ha of land was left unworked, while in 1955-56 there were 575,000 ha unworked. Production of grain has not reached the prewar level, and the deficit of grain amounts to from 600,000 to 650,000 tons each year. The Yugoslav economy depends heavily on the aid of the United States of America, which has provided it with aid amounting to 1,200 million US dollars. It goes without saying that the US imperialists have not given Yugoslavia this colossal aid out of their desire to help build socialism. Is it conceivable that imperialism would help you build socialism so that you can dig its grave as soon as possible? And even less can this be presented as "the model of the best way of building socialism".

Anyway, it is up to the Yugoslav "communists" and workers to go one way or another, to preserve the forms they think best. Regardless of the fact that such matters

[5] The Yugoslav secret service.

may not be to our liking, we do not interfere in their internal affairs. But Tito and the Yugoslav press, who have declared themselves to be ardent partisans of "the different ways to build socialism" and of not "interfering" in internal affairs, not only do their utmost to advertise "the Yugoslav way" as the only "good recipe", but present "theoretical" arguments to show that this way is objectively essential for all our countries. They claim that our "Stalinist" systems are at variance with objective laws, and therefore must be replaced by the Yugoslav system, because, otherwise, we shall be doomed to suffer the same fate as Hungary. Consistent with this, Tito and Kardelj called the fascist counter-revolution in Hungary a revolution to overthrow "the Stalinist regime", and Maria Vilfan, Secretary of the Foreign Commission of the Socialist Union of the Workers of Yugoslavia, terms it "the beginning of the revival of Eastern Europe". The Yugoslav leaders have openly declared they have taken upon themselves the task of imposing their way on the other parties even "through a protracted and arduous struggle". And those who do not accept the Yugoslav way the Yugoslav leaders and press describe as "Stalinists," and they appeal to the communists to overthrow them and replace them with supporters of the "new course". In Pula, Tito said that the future development of the workers' movement depends on "whether the new course begun in Yugoslavia will triumph in the communist parties . . . or whether the Stalinist course will triumph again", and he added, "Yugoslavia dare not withdraw into its own shell, it should strive in all directions . . . so that the new spirit may triumph".

Taking all this into account, the claims of the Yugoslav leadership and of the "Borba", that they have no intention of imposing their way on others, that they are unjustly "accused" of this, sound very strange indeed!

You see, comrades, what dangers revisionism represents today! This is why our Party and all other Marxist-Leninist parties should sharpen their vigilance, and resolutely and unhesitatingly attack all the revisionists and renegades from Marxism-Leninism.

I want to dwell also on certain other fundamental issues of Marxist-Leninist theory about which the revisionists strive to spread ideological confusion.

1. — On the role of the party of the working class in the socialist revolution and in socialist construction

In Hungary, the reactionaries, and the anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist elements concentrated all their batteries on the Hungarian Workers' Party, exploited the mistakes and weaknesses of the Party in order to defame its Central Committee and to disintegrate and split the Party, strove to discredit the Party before the masses and turn the wavering elements and all the enemies against it, to remove the Party from the leadership of the state, and with the setting up of Imre Nagy's "coalition" government, power was in fact turned over to the reactionary parties and the counter-revolutionary councils which tried to exterminate the communists through terror and massacres. Thus, at the most tragic moments, the Hungarian people were left without leadership, and were unable to close the door to the fascist counter-revolution in time and with the necessary force. It was proved once again that the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot exist without the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party.

But precisely at this moment the Yugoslav leaders are spreading opportunist views regarding the negation of the leading role of the party. Mihalko Todorovich writes, ". . . socialism has gained a much broader political and social basis. This is not a matter of certain specific parties nor of the working class alone, it is the concern of the

overwhelming majority of the people, a national question of many countries and of nearly every country".

Kardelj says, "The role of the party is confined more and more to an educative role, thus its connection with the apparatus of the state administration is broken".

In Poland, too, both the reactionaries and the opportunist elements are speaking against the leadership of the party under the slogan of democratization, and similar views are appearing in their press, too, while at the trade union plenum and at the national conference of youth a great deal was said about the independence of the mass organizations from the party.

All the experience of history shows how dangerous it is to deny the leading role of the party of the working class, which, in fact, amounts to depriving the working class of its own party. The leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party is a vital necessity to the carrying out of the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism and communism, because only the party is equipped with Marxist-Leninist science which enables it to recognize the objective laws of society, because the party alone is capable of directing and co-ordinating the activity of all the organizations of the working class. Combating the views of the "workers' opposition", Lenin wrote:

> *"Marxism teaches — and this tenet . . . has been confirmed . . . in practice by our revolution — that only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organizing a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass, and the inevitable traditions and relapses of narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the*

united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it the whole mass of the working people. Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

The wrong understanding of the role of the Communist Party in its relations to the non-party proletariat and in the relation of the first and second factors to the whole mass of the working people is a radical theoretical departure from communism and a deviation towards syndicalism and anarchism, and this deviation permeates all the views of the 'Workers' Opposition' group".*

You see, comrades, to deny the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party implies to deprive the working class of its leading staff, to completely disarm the working class in the interests of the bourgeoisie, to betray the working class.

Kardelj justifies his erroneous thesis regarding the role of the party with the absurd pretext that the leadership of the party "is incompatible with the truly decisive role of the masses of producers . . . ", and explains the desire of the communists to strengthen their party by saying that they have been taught "to have no faith in the masses". But the classics of Marxism-Leninism and experience have proven that not only does the existence of the party not hinder the role of the masses as makers of history, but only under the leadership of the Communist Party can the working class and all the working people play this role successfully.

". . . the proletariat", says Engels, *"becomes a force from the moment it creates an independent workers' party"**.

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, pp. 283-284 (Alb. ed.).

** K. Marx-F. Engels, Works, 2nd Rus. ed., vol. 16, p. 69.

The Yugoslav leaders cover up their distorted views on the role of the party under the banner of "de-Stalinization and democratization". Kardelj says that the working class and the working masses should exert a direct influence on the political system, not through the party or through its leadership, and considers the leadership of the party as the personification of bureaucratic despotism. This is, in fact, the old thesis of the German "principled opposition", of the Trotskyites, of the opportunists, as well as of the bourgeois ideologists who, with reference to the leading role of the party in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, have said that it is not the dictatorship of the working class that exists in the Soviet Union but the "dictatorship of the party", "the dictatorship of cadres"*. Their aim was to deny the democratic character of the socialist state and to put the masses in opposition to the leadership and the party. Every state, of whatever type it may be, is led by the ruling class through its respective party. No state is exempt from this "bureaucracy". Thus, to pretend to "democratize" the country by doing away with the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party means to turn over leadership to another party. All history, as well as the experience of recent events, confirms this.

2. — On the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism

The main question of every revolution is the question of power. From recent events, especially from these in Hungary, the communists drew important lessons for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists of Marxism-Leninism took advantage of these

* CF. V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 34 (Alb. ed.).

moments to disinter all the rotten slanders and "theories" against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Yugoslav leadership has raised the negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat to a "theoretical system". Kardelj's speech in Oslo and his more recent speech lead to one conclusion: do away with "the mechanism of the state of the transition period", that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this he seizes on anything, the events in Hungary, the struggle against "Stalinism" and "bureaucratism", the decentralism of the Yugoslav "direct democracy in production", he even curses the Jacobin dictatorship, although Lenin has said,

> *"The Jacobins of 1793 have gone down in history for the great example of a truly revolutionary struggle against the class of the exploiters by the class of the working people and the oppressed who have taken all state power into their own hands"*,*

Kardelj and Co. fight against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and call it a fight against "Stalinism". But, as is known, in his "Critique of the Gotha Program" Marx says that in the period of the transition from capitalism to communism *"the state can be nothing but the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."*** Marx and Lenin fought the anarchists and revisionists who wanted to deprive the working class of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the indispensable means for building communist society.

a) First of all, the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential in order to expropriate the exploiting classes, and then to suppress their attempts and those of the im-

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 54 (Alb. ed.).

** K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 2, p. 23 (Alb. ed.).

perialist states which jointly try in every way to re-establish capitalism.

The ideologists of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to discredit the dictatorship of the proletariat accusing it of being anti-democratic. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the only state which for the first time in history ensures real democracy, because it is the state power of the working class in alliance with the working peasantry to suppress the minority — the exploiting class — because it is based on the socialist ownership of the means of production and on freeing the masses from exploitation. Whereas, the most advanced bourgeois democracy is essentially anti-democratic, false, and deceptive, for it is the dictatorship of the minority, the weapon of the bourgeoisie to oppress and exploit the overwhelming majority of the population. Even during the period of the most severe class struggle, the socialist state is a thousand times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic; they cannot even be compared. This does not mean we reconcile ourselves to violations of democracy and the law. Such things must not be allowed, for otherwise the very foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat would be weakened and undermined, and the very existence of this dictatorship would be endangered. We must constantly struggle to develop socialist democracy, to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry and with the other working masses.

In connection with the events in Hungary, the enemies of socialism and the revisionists are preaching that the dictatorship of the proletariat should be liberalized by "moderating" its domination over the exploiting classes, by granting freedom to the enemies of socialism. The world outlook and views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu are identical with these preachings. The events in Hungary

demonstrated that such a policy would mean that the working class, with its own hands, would be opening the gates to the counter-revolution, to the overthrow of the state power of the working class, to the re-establishment of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Our Party has never trodden on the rotten planks where the revisionists want to lead it. Our Party has been guided by the teachings of Lenin who says:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat does not signify a cessation of the class struggle, but its continuation in a new form and with new weapons".*

*"The dictatorship of the proletariat means a most determined and most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by their overthrow. . ."**.

*"The dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle — bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions of the old society"***.*

During the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, freedom and democracy are guaranteed only to the broad masses of workers, while for the exploiting classes, which are overthrown but not wiped out, for the enemies of socialism, for the agents of imperialism, there is only domination, there is no freedom or democracy. Lenin bid the 1919 Hungarian proletarian regime to adopt:

". . . the ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force. . . Whoever does not understand this is not a

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 32, p. 553 (Alb. ed.).

** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 8 (Alb. ed.).

*** V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 33 (Alb. ed.).

revolutionary, and must be removed from the post of leader or adviser of the proletariat".*

The working class should use violence according to the degree of resistance of the exploiting classes, and without hesitation.

b) The dictatorship of the proletariat is indispensable to the construction of socialist and communist society. In opposition to this, the Yugoslav leaders advance the theory of the "system of direct democracy" which is based on the negation of the role of the state in building socialist society.

This "theory" of the Yugoslav leadership has been taken from the arsenal of theories of Proudhon and Bakunin, of decists[6] and the "workers' opposition", of Trotsky and Bukharin. In order to persuade us, Kardelj goes so far as to say, "after the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels, seeing the danger of bureaucracy, gave up the idea that the state is the main means of the proletariat to transform society economically". But in reality, Marx and Engels criticized the Paris Commune,

*". . . for not having used it freely enough"***,

that is, the force of the state power to solve the tasks of economic transformation.

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* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 430 (Alb. ed.).

[6] An anti-party group of "Democratic Centralism" which emerged in the period from 1919 to 1920 from the Bukharinite and anti-Leninist faction of the "Left Communists" who demanded freedom for factions and groups in the party with the intention of weakening it and its leading role. In 1927, the "Decists" were transformed into a counter-revolutionary organization and were expelled from the party by decision of the 15th Congress of the CPSU (B).

** K. Marx-F. Engels, Selected Works, vol. 1, p. 607 (Alb. ed.).

The centralized management of the economy is an objective necessity which the development of large-scale industrial production gives rise to. It is more than ever necessary in a socialist economy which is based on common ownership of the means of production, and in which the objective law of the proportional and planned development of the economy is in action.

Democratic centralism has stood the test of life. The economic development which has been achieved in the Soviet Union and in the people's democracies is the result of the planned management of the economy by the state. If it is not combined with democracy, the centralized management of the economy, gives rise to bureaucratic distortions and limits local initiative. But this does not lead to Kardelj's conclusion that the socialist state must give up the leading role in the management of the national economy. The decentralization which the Yugoslav leaders preach denies the leading role of the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, contains the danger of the spontaneity and anarchy of the market, undermines the planning of the economy, and deepens the class differentiation. This is borne out by the reality of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leaders praise to the heavens "the workers' councils of self-administration of the enterprise" as the means to solve everything, as the elixir of life. Two problems are involved here, namely, ownership and management. In order to fight the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Yugoslav leaders go so far as to say that state ownership in socialism is not socialism, but state capitalism, and M. Todorovich shamelessly draws the conclusion that "the socialist state robs the workers" ("Nasha Stvarnost", N° 7,8, 1956). They want the enterprises to be taken out of the hands of the socialist state which represents the interests of the whole society, and to be turned over to groups of producers, just as Proudhon

and the "workers' opposition" wanted. In the "Communist Manifesto", Marx and Engels said that the socialist state should centralize all the means of production in its hands.

As regards the "self-administration of enterprises", the workers' councils have not justified themselves. The Yugoslav press and even Tito and Kardelj themselves admit that this form of management has given rise to anarchist trends, competition, misuse of financial and material means for unnecessary things, to the spirit of speculation through manipulation of prices, and so on. The value of the various forms of economic administration is gauged by how much they help the development of the economy of the country. But the state of the Yugoslav economy (as we have already said) shows what results "the system of direct democracy" in Yugoslavia has yielded. The Yugoslav economy is crawling along on the charity of US imperialism.

Lenin has continually stressed that the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most essential part of Marxism, that acceptance or rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat constitutes the deepest difference between Marxism and the ideology of the usual petty- (and the big) bourgeoisie. Therefore, those who revise the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat under the banner of the struggle against "Stalinism" and "bureaucratism" reject Marxism-Leninism as a whole. They are really betraying the proletariat and defecting to the bourgeoisie.

We must not do away with the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Kardelj advocates, but must strengthen it as much as possible, we must not allow any weakening or liberalization of it, must not permit confusion and disorganization in its ranks for this is what our enemies want.

The Yugoslav leaders have a lot to say about the "withering away" of the state, but Marxism-Leninism teaches that this question arises only when the decisive world victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie has been achieved and the danger of the restoration of capitalism has disappeared. But today, on the contrary, the imperialists and the counter-revolutionary forces are trying in every way to overthrow the socialist states. To raise the question of "the withering away" of the state at present means to disarm the working class. On the other hand, we hear of no steps being taken in Yugoslavia to weaken the state. Then, what is the purpose of the preachings of Kardelj and Co.?

3. — On the class struggle in the stage of transition from capitalism to socialism

The political events of recent times, especially those of Hungary, marked a sharpening of the class struggle on a national and international scale. It should be realized, therefore, how dangerous it is to confuse the working class and the working people and lull them to sleep at this time with "theories" of the negation of the class struggle. The Yugoslav leaders are doing just this. In his latest speech, "assessing" the counter-revolutionary events in Hungary, Edward Kardelj said, "The concept of the process of socialist development only from the point of view of the socialist revolution, that is, from the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, is an ideological absurdity and a reactionary concept from the political point of view" (speech at the People's Skupshtina of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, on December 7, 1956). This means the rejection of the theory of the class struggle which teaches us that historical events should always be viewed from the angle of the conflict between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, from the an-

gle of the class struggle. In line with their negation of the class struggle, the Yugoslav leaders called the fascist counter-revolution in Hungary, the barbarity and reprisals of the Horthyite bands, "a people's revolution". Reading the Yugoslav leaders' speeches and the Yugoslav press, one gets the impression that imperialism, the American plans for the re-establishment of capitalism in our countries, the class struggle, are in general non-existent and are not a problem which should draw the attention of our parties. Not only this, but in their materials even the most ordinary terminology has undergone a metamorphosis. Thus, for instance, the word "imperialism" is replaced with such terms as "the western policy of blocs" or "the freedom of the western type", and the like. According to the Yugoslav leaders, the danger does not lie in imperialism at all, but in "the conservative and bureaucratic elements", as they call all those parties and leaders who do not agree with the anti-Marxist views of the Yugoslav leaders.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that during the transition period the class struggle is inevitable. This class struggle is an objective reality which is connected with the existence of the exploiting classes or their remnants, with the existence of agents of imperialism, with the existence of the broad sector of small-scale producers, with the capitalist survivals in people's thinking, and finally, with the very existence of imperialism, hence, of the class struggle on an international scale. Here is what Lenin says in this connection:

> *"The abolition of classes requires a long, difficult and stubborn struggle, which after the overthrow of capitalist rule, after the destruction of the bourgeois state, after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, does not disappear . . . but merely*

changes its forms, and in many respects becomes fiercer".*

Life has shown that by strengthening socialism, by increasing its strength, both within the country and on an international scale, the economic basis of the remnants of the exploiting classes is weakened, their political influence is reduced day by day, and even their numerical strength decreases, but the class struggle does not die out. . .

However, after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the opportunist and liberal elements in certain countries interpreted the problem of the class struggle in a dogmatic and opportunist way. This brought about a relaxation of vigilance, helping the enemies of socialism in those countries which failed to fight these views at the proper time. Our Party has understood and put forward the problem of the class struggle in the correct way. The Central Committee and the organizations of the Party have taken up the cudgels in time against the opportunist manifestations which appeared in some cases among unstable opportunist elements. Our Party put forward correctly that the tendency of the internal enemies of socialism to become weaker and of our own forces to grow stronger has nothing in common with the opportunist views which negate the class struggle, with the hostile views of the type of the Bukharinites who view the period of socialist construction as a period of "peace and harmony" between classes, as a period of "stable equilibrium" in which the class struggle disappears. The Central Committee explained that during this period the class struggle is not always developed in a straight line, it has its turns and zigzags. This is best confirmed by the events of these

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 29, p. 432 (Alb. ed.).

years, namely, the Berlin provocation in 1953,[7] that of Poznan in 1956 and, especially, the fascist counter-revolution in Hungary.

III. ON OUR RELATIONS WITH YUGOSLAVIA

Albania's experience in its relations with Yugoslavia shows better than the experience of any other country the real attitude of the Yugoslav leaders towards Marxism-Leninism, for in no other country have they interfered so brutally as in Albania. The Yugoslav leadership has maintained an anti-Marxist and chauvinistic attitude towards our Party, our state, and our people. The aim of the Yugoslav leadership has been to turn our Party from a Marxist-Leninist Party into an opportunist one, and to make Albania a republic of the Yugoslav state. This is verified by historical facts which I am listing here briefly:

a) In 1944, on the eve of the liberation of Albania, the Yugoslav leadership, through Velimir Stoinich, interfered in the affairs of our Party and at Berat organized a dangerous faction in order to turn our Party away from the correct Marxist-Leninist line and to overthrow its leadership. The Yugoslav leadership accused the leadership of our Party of having pursued an incorrect, sectarian line of action. But on the basis of this line our people achieved the historic victory over the occupiers and the local reactionaries. The Yugoslav line which Velimir Stoinich sought to impose on us obscured the leading role of the Soviet Union, the leading role of the Party, negated the class struggle, and opened the way to opportunist trends.

After the Berat Plenum, the positions in the party leadership of the anti-party elements like Koçi Xoxe and

[7] It was carried out by imperialism on June 17, 1953, in order to jeopardize the achievements of socialism and the cause of peace.

Sejfulla Malëshova, who supported the move to introduce the Yugoslav "experience", were strengthened. The Yugoslav leadership charged our Party with having unjustly condemned Koçi Xoxe, calling him "a patriot" and "a Marxist". But what had Koçi Xoxe done? He had tried to eliminate the Party, by hiding it and dissolving it in the Front. He had trampled on the most elementary Leninist principles of the structure of the Party. He placed the Party under the control of the organs of State Security: fifteen thousand files on the party members were found in the archives of State Security. The network of State Security organs covered every basic party organization. He had collected compromising material and was preparing a plot for the physical elimination of the members of the leadership of the Party and the state. As Minister for Internal Affairs he violated socialist law in the most brutal manner. He was in agreement with the plans of the Yugoslav leaders to turn Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia and worked in this direction. If he were alive, far from being rehabilitated, Koçi Xoxe should have been hanged for all these crimes.

The Yugoslav leadership is responsible for Nako Spiru's suicide. In Berat he was involved with Koçi Xoxe and Co. but later he understood what the Yugoslavs were up to and put himself on the right course. Nako lacked the courage to tell the Party the truth, so he killed himself. You know that Nako's suicide complicated matters, and the intrigues of the Yugoslavs and Koçi Xoxe and Co. led to the 8th Plenum[8]. After this Plenum the doors were flung wide open to the Yugoslav interference.

[8] This refers to the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in February 1948. The Plenum was prepared jointly by the Koçi Xoxe group and the Yugoslav revisionist leaders with the aim of defeating the CPA and preparing the ground for the colonization of Albania.

b) Yugoslavia had established its economic relations with our country on anti-Marxist and colonialist foundations. They were in violation of even the most elementary rules of relations between sovereign countries. In 1946 six Albanian-Yugoslav companies were set up, but the Yugoslav side did not make the investments which they should have done, and simply took the profits from the exploitation of the existing Albanian investments. Establishing the parity of the Albanian currency with the Yugoslav dinar meant a big devaluation of the Albanian franc, which lost at least 3.5 leks for each franc. The customs union paved the way for Yugoslav commercial organizations and private merchants to plunder the stocks of goods in our market. The exchange of goods on the basis of internal prices, and not at international market prices, severely damaged our economy.

A joint commission to co-ordinate plans was set up under the chairmanship of Krajger, a commission which was, in fact, a government above the government of the Albanian state. We have in our possession a document signed by Kidrich, former Chairman of the Planning Commission of Yugoslavia, in which Albania figures as the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav leadership raises a hue and cry about the economic aid Yugoslavia has given Albania, but the figures of this aid are inflated by the high prices of imports. The aid for "the industrialization of Albania" were: the worn-out machinery of the "Ali Kelmendi" sugar refinery in Korça which had been discarded in Yugoslavia, the primitive rope plant in Rogozhina of which nothing remains, and the railway which our heroic youth built. If we draw up a balance of how much the Yugoslavs have taken from us, and we from them, no one knows who will be in debt to whom. But why do the Yugoslavs

not utter a single word about the heroic fight of our two divisions which helped liberate Yugoslavia?

c) In 1948 the Yugoslav leadership asked us to allow a number of their divisions to enter Albania, allegedly in order to protect Albania from the aggression of the Greek monarcho-fascists. In reality they wanted to make the occupation of Albania an accomplished fact.

The Yugoslavs' supporters whispered far and wide in favour of the union of Albania with Yugoslavia as its 7th Republic. At the same time, talk began about the Balkan Federation. We wrote to the Yugoslav leadership asking them to explain their stand in connection with this problem but never received a reply.

d) During this period, the Yugoslav leaders tried to isolate our country from the Soviet Union, claiming that Albania should receive Soviet aid and experience only through Yugoslavia, that the Yugoslav experience was valuable in the conditions of Albania while that of the Soviet Union was not suitable, that the Soviet advisers should leave. Especially after the 8th Plenum, the Yugoslav advisers pushed themselves in everywhere and worked against the development of our economy with a view to making it directly dependent on Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav leaders sought to isolate Albania from all the world. In fact, we did not have economic relations with any other country except Yugoslavia — even with the Soviet Union they were limited. Up to 1948 we had diplomatic relations only with the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and France.

The letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 1948 Resolution of the Information Bureau helped our Party see through the intentions of the Yugoslav leadership towards our Party and our country.

The principled criticism of the Yugoslav leaders has been correct. Even the present views of the Yugoslav leaders prove this.

During the period from 1948 to 1953 we wrote and acted against each other, both they and we. It is not right to conclude from this that during this period we were in the wrong. They were acting against our Republic in every way. They sent in hundreds of diversionists and armed groups, apart from the 1949 Greek provocations[9]. No enemy state has carried out activity more furiously against our country than that which the Yugoslav leaders undertook after 1948.

As we all know, the leadership of the Soviet Union took the initiative to improve relations[10] with Yugoslavia and made every effort to this end. At that time we proposed that, before they commenced the Belgrade talks, a meeting should be held of the Information Bureau which in 1948 had decided to expel Yugoslavia, and that the Yugoslav issue should be analysed, pointing out the merits and defects, both theirs and those of the Information Bureau. We think that this would have been correct because it would not have allowed the Yugoslav leaders

[9] At the time when the Greek armed forces violated the Albanian border (August 2, 1949), the Tito clique started a threatening manoeuvre of troops on the Northen border of Albania in the Struga and Ochrid regions, and undertook the arming of the Albanian reactionary elements who had been trained to take to the mountains for the organization of an "uprising". Their activity failed.

[10] This refers to the talks between the government delegation of the USSR and the Yugoslav government, held in Belgrade from the 27th of May to the 2nd of June 1955. These talks resulted in the Belgrade Declaration which served to rehabilitate the Tito clique, rejecting the decision of the Information Bureau and the assessments made by all the communist and workers' parties regarding this clique's betrayal.

to cover up their mistakes and throw all the blame on our countries and emerge as the standard-bearers of the situation.

As a matter of fact they abused the initiative of the Soviet Union. They made no self-criticism at all, because allegedly they were Marxists. They should have made self-criticism, and this should have been demanded of them. They took advantage of the new situation in order to undertake divisive and undermining activities against the parties and states of people's democracy. The Yugoslav legations in the people's democracies became centres of espionage; they began to gather up anti-party, opportunist, and wavering elements, and under the banner of "de-Stalinization" turned them loose against the parties to overthrow the Marxist-Leninist leaders of our parties and replace them with their supporters, to replace the correct line with the Titoite line. They also collaborated with enemy elements, as for instance, in Bulgaria, with the former Minister of Interior of the pre-liberation Bulgarian bourgeois government. After the Hungarian events, the features of the Yugoslav leaders emerged much more clearly.

Our Party maintained a correct stand. We declared we were ready to improve our relations on a Marxist-Leninist basis, not on the old anti-Marxist basis (let bygones be bygones). But our attitude was not to the liking of the Yugoslav leaders because they sought to repeat the 1948 situation; they demanded that we make concessions in principles: 1) that we should say that the Yugoslavs had made no mistakes; 2) that we should rehabilitate Koçi Xoxe, and so on. We could never do this. This would not have been Marxist, this would have been betrayal of our Party and our homeland.

Meanwhile, the Yugoslav leaders have carried on their feverish efforts against our Party and our state. They

can never reconcile themselves to the leadership of our Party and our state. They want to replace this leadership, which courageously defends Marxism-Leninism, the Party, and the independence of our country, with some clique of opportunist adventurers, to force on our Party "the Yugoslav line" and to turn Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

They are continuing their campaign of wild propapaganda in the press and on the radio against our country, describing the situation in Albania as a hell in which terror and poverty reign.

The Yugoslav legation in Tirana has tried and continues to try to recruit agents, to rake up anti-Party elements and to organize the struggle against our Party. In the spring of 1956, through its legation in Tirana, the Yugoslav leadership gathered up the enemies of the Party, Dali Ndreu, Liri Gega, and others, and prepared a plot aimed at overthrowing the leadership of our Party and of our state and replacing them with the enemies of the Party. They organized the hostile work at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, but the Party detected this hostile activity and immediately took the necessary measures.

The Yugoslav Minister in Tirana himself, Arso Milatovich, conducts propaganda and speaks against the policy and the situation of the People's Republic of Albania and our state, against the leadership of our Party, incites weak elements into hostile anti-state and anti-party activity, and engages in activities of espionage. For this purpose he has tried, through pressure or other means, to use the Yugoslav citizens who have long been settled in Albania, with whom he maintains active contact, elements hostile to the Party and the people's power, various individuals who go to the Yugoslav legation on official business, or whom he picks up in his car while travelling

through Albania. Contrary to the official regulations governing the circulation of foreign diplomats in our country, he has gone to Vlora without the corresponding permit, where, abusing the hospitality of a patriot family, he tried to extract information of a political and military character on the naval base on Sazan island. Likewise, he has gone to Berat and photographed prohibited military installations and has asked to meet Tuk Jakova.

A serious matter is the fact that more than 3,000 Albanian fugitives, including many fascist criminals, have found refuge in Yugoslavia. Taking into account the development of events in Hungary, we have the right to think that by means of them provocations may be organized for the purpose of finding a pretext to attack Albania. During the most tragic moments in Hungary, Vidich, Under-secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, said to the press attaches of Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and others, "Wait a little. What happened in Hungary will certainly happen to you, too". Therefore, our Party is obliged to be very vigilant towards the Yugoslav leadership.

The Yugoslav leaders maintain a chauvinist and inhuman attitude towards the population of Kosova. The situation in that province is deplorable; the Yugoslav leaders are pursuing a policy of extermination there. Tens of thousands of Kosova people are compelled to leave their land and homes and emigrate to Turkey. Not even the Kings of Serbia pursued such a policy. They are doing their utmost to turn Kosova into a base against Albania, into a base to unite Albania with Yugoslavia through Kosova.

Day by day the Yugoslav press in Kosova and Metohia carry on vile, slanderous propaganda against our Party and our People's Republic, which even "the Voice of America" might envy. We pose the question:

Why this vicious propaganda, especially in Kosova and Metohia, against the people's power in Albania? How long will such filth continue to flow in the sewers of the Yugoslav press? It is clear to us what the Yugoslav leaders are after. They think they can deceive the Albanians in Kosova about the reality of our country, but even if there are such deceived people, our press has the internationalist duty to enlighten those who have been deceived by filthy nationalist, chauvinist, and fascist propaganda.

Our Party has always maintained a correct attitude to the question of Kosova, a Marxist, internationalist attitude. But we cannot fail to point out the chauvinist attitude of the Yugoslav leadership in Kosova in order to confirm once again that it is in an anti-Marxist and inhuman position towards the Albanians of Kosova.

Comrades, in conclusion, we can say that the attitude of the Yugoslav leaders towards our country is blatantly anti-Marxist and chauvinist, that during these 13 years they have systematically interfered in the internal affairs of our Party and our state for the purpose of carrying out their colonialist schemes towards our country. These schemes have failed, thanks to the determined stand of our Party. This is what makes the Yugoslav leaders attack Albania more furiously than they do the other countries. One other reason why the Yugoslav leaders fight our Party so fiercely is because Albania is the proof of their anti-Marxist and chauvinistic stand, which confirms that all their theses on non-intervention, equality, and so on, are sheer demagogy. And they want to eliminate witnesses which bear this out, just as the murderer tries to wipe out the traces of his crime.

The report showed what the present Yugoslav leaders represent. They are in an anti-Marxist position, trying to revise Marxism-Leninism, playing a splitting

role within the ranks of the international communist movement and the socialist camp, interfering in the internal affairs of the parties to do away with their leaders, in order to undermine the communist and workers' parties and to impose the socalled Yugoslav line. Just how dangerous the dissemination of their poisonous "theories" and their hostile activity have become is attested by the many facts we have mentioned, including their hostile activity towards our country and their role in the development of events in Hungary. They are trying to incite the revisionist elements in Poland, to activize the opportunist elements of the Italian Communist Party, and to penetrate wherever they find a loophole. They are very active.

The anti-Marxist, disruptive, and hostile activity, which the Yugoslav leaders are pursuing, parallel with the aggressive activity of the imperialists against the socialist camp, constitutes a major peril for the whole workers' movement. Objectively, this activity serves the schemes of imperialism. It is a known fact that the US imperialists have given Yugoslavia 1,200 million US dollars, not prompted by their desire to help the construction of socialism, but because they hope to use Yugoslavia against the socialist camp. The ideological degeneration of the Yugoslav leadership has been going on ever since 1948, and a generation of cadres has grown up there with an attitude hostile towards the Soviet Union and our socialist camp.

It would be a great mistake to underestimate the damage the divisive work of the Yugoslav leaders can cause, thinking that they are not very strong. Their strength lies in the fact that they are anti-Marxists, therefore, their "theories" and "activities" are supported by all the opportunist and wavering elements, by all the enemies of socialism. In a way they have achieved some

results which, although temporary, have done a lot of damage to the cause of socialism, as in Hungary.

What stand should we maintain towards them? We think they will not return to the Marxist-Leninist course. We say this with full conviction because the lessons we have drawn these last thirteen years have taught us not to believe their lies and demagogy which have aimed at destroying our Marxist Party and our people's power. Marxists may make mistakes, but when they recognize their mistakes they turn about and follow the right course. The present Yugoslav leaders are not Marxists, because, far from making any turn, they are intensifying their anti-Marxist activity. You only have to read in the "Borba" the article on their coming Congress to draw the conclusion that this congress will sum up the anti-Marxist and revisionist theory of a party in power to lay down a line which, according to them, should be followed by all parties and all countries. Time and the activities of the Yugoslav leaders so far have not proven that we have been mistaken in our opinions. Let time and their future activities prove that these views have been wrong, and as Marxists we shall be ready, as always, to admit that our judgment on the Yugoslavs has not been correct.

While taking all these things into account in our stand towards the Yugoslav leadership, we should always be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles, making no concessions, and not allowing any violation of them, while always having in mind the general interests of the international communist movement and of our country.

We do not wish to have party relations with them on these terms, but we shall strive to guard and strengthen the sentiments of sincere friendship with the Yugoslav peoples; we shall continue our course of normalizing and improving state relations between our country and Yugo-

slavia, on the principles of equality and non-interference in our internal affairs.

We should be on our guard against the Yugoslav leaders and all their attempts. Far from toning down our ideological struggle against their revisionist views, we shall further intensify it, with a view to tearing off the mask of demagogy and stopping the destructive work of the anti-Marxist elements who are trying to poison our parties and countries with alien theories, to turn us away from the correct Marxist-Leninist course, to split the socialist camp and the international communist movement. Therefore, the stand against them should be firm, principled, unwavering, without any illusions, because concessions and liberalism can bring nothing but damage to our cause.

On the other hand, we should always be coolheaded in our relations with Yugoslavia, not descend to provocations, but we must criticize the Yugoslav leadership in a principled way, wage an ideological and political campaign against them and inform our Party and our people about the real situation in Yugoslavia and the disastrous consequence of the socalled Yugoslav line.

Comrades,

The campaign which imperialism launched in order to change the way events are developing and improve its position has failed.

This has been a difficult period for the international workers' movement. Lenin said that the revolutionary movement is not the Nevski Prospect. The aim of the combined assault of the imperialists, the fascist reactionary forces, and the revisionists, was to split the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

We have been going through critical moments, with rapid and unexpected developments. This period has been a hard test for every party, for every communist. Our Party passed this test with success; it maintained a completely correct, unwavering Marxist-Leninist stand. The Political Bureau and the government have measured up to the situation. The necessary political, military, security, and economic measures were taken to consolidate the internal situation, the defence potential, and to further improve the wellbeing of the people. The Political Bureau took the necessary steps to explain to the Party and to combat the revisionist views of the Yugoslav leaders and others. The whole Party and the people firmly denounced the enemy activities and views, and backed the policy of the Party with unprecedented enthusiasm. The unity of the Party, its bonds with the masses, the readiness, enthusiasm and mobilization of the communists, of the people, and of youth have never been so strong. At those moments when the imperialists were threatening the independence of new Albania, even wavering intellectual or middle class elements came closer to the Party, because they saw it as the resolute and loyal defender of the most vital interests of our people. The great enthusiasm with which the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania was celebrated and the brilliant results of the elections of the people's councils, are undeniable proof of the love and unwavering confidence of the masses for the Party and the people's power.

The correct stand maintained by our Party, the unwavering correct stand of our people at these moments, are a major victory for us and certainly are a source of rejoicing for us and all our friends. Our Party is relatively young and of not a very high cultural and theoretical level. The Party has made real mistakes, as for instance, in economic and other problems, and there may be

mistakes of this nature in the future. But the various deviationists have not been able to turn our Party off its tracks. They have been discovered in time and have been fought with determination. On the main questions, on the questions of the defence of Marxism-Leninism, of the Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the interests of the working masses and the independence of our country, and in the struggle against our enemies, we have not made mistakes and we will not do so. And this is due to our Party's unbounded loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its steel-like unity.

From the development of these events, comrades, our Party should draw great lessons. What are our tasks?

In the first place, we should strive to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp under the banner of proletarian internationalism, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. We should fight with determination against any attempt to divide the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

In our attitude towards capitalist states, we should bear in mind, first, that the states of the socialist camp should enhance their vigilance and preparedness, their economic and military strength in the struggle against the aggressive plans of imperialism. This does not mean that we shall give up the policy of easing international tension. If need be we shall also respond to the imperialists with weapons (we should always be strong and ready for this), but we should resolutely press on with the easing of international tension, and must try to defend the peace. The objective situation of the ratio of forces in the world makes this possible. The vital interests of our peoples who have taken upon themselves to build socialism, the interests of all the peoples of the world demand this. But we shall succeed in carrying out this policy only if we are strong and united to a man. The strength and unity of

the socialist camp is the principal factor defending the peace, the freedom of peoples, and the progress of mankind. It is our duty to sharpen our vigilance against the class enemy who is working in every way against the order of people's democracy and awaiting the chance to strike at it. Increasing the Party's vigilance, strengthening its links with the masses, are powerful means of combating the enemies, of preventing them from harming the people's democratic order in the least. Any weakening of our democratic order is a concession made to the enemy. Therefore, the consolidation of our people's power, which plays the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is the present main task.

The principal task of the Party is to strengthen its ideological, organizational, and political unity, to strengthen and raise to a higher level its leading role in the struggle to build the new socialist society. The unity of our Party should be strengthened and guarded like the apple of our eye, because that is the foundation of its power. Unity in the leadership of the Party, unity in the whole Party, has always been steel-like. All the deviationists and enemies of the Party who have attempted to weaken this steel-like unity have been immediately and unanimously eliminated like mangy goats. The strength of this unity has constantly increased. During the turbulent and perilous moments of recent times, the unity of the whole Party round the Central Committee and its Political Bureau has been brilliant, steel-like and invincible. We must preserve and strengthen this steel-like unity, the genuine guarantee of the victories of the Party and of the people in a Marxist way.

In the present circumstances, the stepping-up of the ideological struggle against revisionist and anti-Marxist views, the intensification of the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism, are of primary importance. In the

struggle against socialism the anti-Marxist, opportunist and revisionist elements play a major role. It is a known fact that, under given conditions and at different moments, priority is given to one form of the class struggle or another. Under the present conditions, it is the ideological struggle that must take precedence. Therefore, the work of the Party for the political and ideological education of the members of the Party and of all the masses assumes primary importance, of course, without neglecting its work in other directions. In our days, the enemies of Marxism usually work under false colours; they dress up their revisionist and opportunist activity with Left phraseology, with "Marxist" slogans. Therefore our vigilance, too, must be even more keen. Let us always keep in mind the immortal words of Lenin:

". . . put no faith in phrase-mongering, it is better to see who stands to gain".*

The defence of Marxism-Leninism today demands, first of all, that the anti-Marxist and revisionist propaganda of the Yugoslav leaders must be exposed and combated. The ideological struggle should in no way be underestimated, because the poison of alien ideology is employed by the enemies of socialism to disarm the working class. Recent events confirm what great damage the working class can suffer when the ideological battle is slackened in the slightest, what great advantage the enemy takes from the impermissible negligence in this field.

All the forces of the Party and the masses should be mobilized to accomplish the state plan, for in this way we are also consolidating the internal political situation and increasing the strength of our country. Our people's

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 19, p. 37 (Alb. ed.).

economy is developing from day to day. Last year saw important successes. Total industrial production was realized 102.2 por cent, and the construction sector realized its plan 105 per cent. In state and cooperative trade, as well as in the transport sector which did not realize the plan, the results must be considered unsatisfactory. Agriculture, which occupies an important place in our economy, marked a significant turning point as regards collectivization, but it must be admitted that production, in spite of the increase over that of the previous agricultural year, did not achieve the planned level. This creates serious difficulties for our economy. Thus, this year we are obliged to import more grain, cotton and fats than ever before. Last year was not a good one for agriculture, but the pronounced weaknesses in this sector are also due to the fact that this important branch of our economy is still managed in a superficial and bureaucratic way. Our tasks for the realization of the 1957 plan are great and important. We should resolutely reject the method of management in general and tackle the cardinal problems of our economy, strengthen our state apparatus, fight bureaucracy and all other shortcomings. The political-organizational work of the Party and mass organizations must be strengthened as well as that of all the organs of propaganda in order to ensure the effective mobilization of all the working masses for the realization of the plan.

Our Party will fight with all its strength to fulfil these major tasks. Loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, it will continue to march ahead along the road to socialism.

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Works, vol. 14

ON THE INTELLECTUALS[1]

[March] 1958

The early forms of division of labour in Greek Antiquity:

Plato and his ideal "Republic"[2].

Manual work and mental activity.

Mental activity — the privilege of the archons, the ruling classes.

Placing the question of society on such a basis must lead to idealism, which creates the idea of the independence of thought, that thought "predominates" over material and practical reality, that thought is prior to matter.

The feudal regime preserved the philosophical idealist concepts and consolidated the division of mental labour from manual labour.

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[1] Theses drafted for discussion at the meeting of the Bureau of the Party Committee for the city of Tirana which, on March 21, 1958, was to take up for consideration the report "On the work for the education of intellectuals". Comrade Enver Hoxha did not deal exhaustively with all these theses at that meeting.

[2] In his treatise "The Republic", Plato described an "ideal state" based on the division of work among castes of free citizens: 1) leaders (philosophers), 2) fighters, 3) artisans and farmers. Each caste, according to Plato, should carry out only its specific tasks without interferring with those of the others; the fighters were denied the right of private ownership and of creating a family so that they might deal exclusively with the defence of the state.

The nobles, the men of the sword, commanders, leaders. The clerks, the intelligentsia of that time, the representatives of philosophical and scientific thought.

Serfs and artisans, manual workers.

The capitalist regime caused the intellectuals to form a more homogeneous stratum, and the functions of the intellectual began to expand.

Various categories of intellectuals in the service of capital, like technicians, engineers, economists, judges, teachers, professors, and others, develop along with capital, not only because needs for them increase but because the capitalists, to make life easier for themselves, drop their technical functions.

The greater the number of intellectuals the more they become dependent on the capitalist economy.

From the economic standpoint, the intellectuals can be grouped into these categories: functionaries, salary-earners in capitalist enterprises, judges, officers, and others of this kind; teachers, professors, and philosophers, whom the capitalists utilize to spread bourgeois ideology, but:

1) the decadence of the bourgeoisie;
2) Malthus's economic theory[3] which characterizes decadence;
3) the critical spirit of the latter category of intellectuals, which makes the bourgeoisie sacrifice culture to the interests of the army, the police,

aggravate the situation of the intellectual, causing him to

[3] According to the anti-scientific and reactionary theory developed by Malthus (1766-1834), the impoverishment of the workers does not result from their oppression and exploitation by the rich classes, but is allegedly the consequence of the permanent disproportion between the arithmetical progress of the growth of the means of subsistence and the geometrical progress of the growth of the population.

reject the capitalist yoke, and the bourgeois state to violate the traditions of alleged "university freedoms".

The decadent bourgeoisie and its ideology reject rationalism, and trample the national honour underfoot. This makes the conscientious intellectual understand more clearly that the bourgeoisie can no longer be the sole leader of the nation and its culture.

The characteristics of the engineers and technicians:

The bourgeoisie leaves in their hands the management of equipment and the management of cadres, that is, direction and command of part of the workers. Although they enjoy better material conditions, spiritually they are close to the workers, living nearly the same way as they do.

The technicians of medium training live under poorer material conditions, they are in daily contact with the proletariat at work, hence they are in still closer spiritual contact with them.

The allegedly independent work of the artisan intellectuals, artists, and others, brings them closer to the bourgeoisie, but the sale of their works, which is subject to speculation, turns them towards the working class.

What is typical about the doctors is that they do not owe their existence to capitalist development. They try to maintain their traditional status quo, their individual character. This turns them into a closed caste, reluctant to admit elements from the proletariat into their ranks. But contact with the deplorable conditions of the working class makes them gradually aware of the actual situation of the decadence of the bourgeoisie and brings them closer to the working class.

Hence the intellectuals, who until yesterday were with the bourgeoisie and were used as its tools, begin to gain a better understanding of things.

Certain subjective considerations prevent the intellectual from becoming conscious quickly:

1) The vacillations which are typical of the middle and petty-bourgeois classes from which he comes.

2) Certain special illusions.

The abstraction, the division of mental from manual work means that he is not in conctact with things but with their symbols. This brings about idealist illusions.

His position between the classes makes him think that he is not prompted by any class interest and that everything is subject only to his judgment and knowledge. That is why he thinks that the "ideas" that set the intellectual in motion are independent of the class relationships. He thinks he stands above the classes, and represents a morality independent of the economic forces and class antagonisms.

This idea, detached from manual work, from life, makes him think that he is the supreme power of the world order. This takes the intellectual out of the sphere of reality and makes him think that all the contradictions should be solved not by violence but by intellectual conciliation, by peaceful evolution.

These views predispose him to opportunism.

Herein lies the source of his reluctance to accept communism, because the concept of morality independent of class relationships and the abstract objectivity are diametrically opposed to historical materialism, and that conciliatory opportunism is in flagrant contradiction to the revolutionary concept of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another illusion is his individualism. The intellectual is not opposed to the proletariat. He is not a capitalist. He has no work implements like the medium bourgeois or handicraftsman. He is obliged to sell the product of his labour, and therefore, capitalist exploitation weighs

heavy on him. But with regard to his living conditions he is nearer to the bourgeoisie than the proletariat.

The intellectual does not fight with physical force but with arguments. His means of production are his personal knowledge, his personal convictions, and he cannot create a position for himself except through his personal qualities. Therefore, he thinks he can achieve his ends only by expressing his individuality.

He does not accept discipline for himself but only for the masses. He places himself among the "élite", "above the common man", Nietzsche's theory[4].

Lenin says that the stratum of intellectuals is characterized by its individualism, by its inability to organize itself, and by instability. The proletariat should take them by the hand, and teach them the dangers of anarchic individualism, because individualism makes them hesitate, vacillate, and so on.

It is necessary for the intellectuals to shake off bourgeois ideology and become imbued with Marxist-Leninist ideology.

When a worker becomes a communist, he feels that something that had been latent in him is now flourishing, he discovers a culture which enlightens him on what he had been dimly aware of, he finds in Marxism the clear assertion of himself, becoming aware of what had existed in his subconscience. Hence when a worker becomes a communist, he builds and consolidates himself.

When an intellectual becomes a communist, events do not develop as in the former case. At every step of the

[4] From F. Nietzsche (1844-1900), bourgeois reactionary theoretician of the transitory stage from capitalism to imperialism, on which fascism was founded. According to this theory, will is the determining factor in society because the development of history depends on the will of the individual aspiring to power, while the masses are only "serfs", the "mob", destined to obey and submit to the ruling classes for ever.

triumph of socialist consciousness, the intellectual is compelled to destroy something from his past. Thus, he destroys and builds, and in the first steps he takes he has the impression not of creating but of a struggle against himself.

When the worker becomes a communist, he knows that he will fight, that he will go on strike, come into conflict with capitalism, and may even be killed, but he has only one enemy and this enemy is an external one, capitalism, while the intellectual must wage a battle on two fronts, against himself, that is, against his petty-bourgeois hangovers and against the external enemy, capitalism.

For an intellectual to acquire socialist consciousness he must be guided, tempered in practical work, re-educated and imbued with Marxist-Leninist theory. This constant work with him will be done by the working class and its Party.

Our National Liberation War and the struggle to build socialism have brought about a major transformation among our old intellectuals and have created a new intelligentsia, from the working class and the working peasantry, loyal to the working class and to socialism. We have created, kept up, and developed this process. We are successfully developing it even further.

But it would be mistaken self-satisfaction for us to say that our old and new intelligentsia have escaped from, or have been cleansed of, all the petty-bourgeois survivals, views which hinder them from linking themselves completely with, or from finding, the road to the complete formation of socialist consciousness.

First of all, our intelligentsia escaped from the capitalist yoke, escaped from exploitation. Our country won its freedom, independence, sovereignty and national

dignity, and is guided by the progressive class, the working class. Entirely favourable conditions have been created for the development and flowering of culture, education, and so on, in the service of the working people. Thus, all the basic objective conditions have been created for the education of our intelligentsia along correct lines and for the elimination of the petty-bourgeois survivals from their consciousness.

This is the aim of the Marxist-Leninist education of our Party.

The capitalist countries are ruled by capital, the capitalists, the bourgeoisie; the state' is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, whereas in our country the dictatorship of people's democracy, the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been established, the state is led by the Party of Labour, state power is in the hands of the working people, in the hands of the majority. In our country there are the state, the weapons of the dictatorship, the friendly classes of workers and peasants, there are officials, engineers, technicians, teachers, professors, artists, students, there are limited strata of medium and petty-bourgeoisie in the cities, new and old intellectuals, there are kulaks and remnants of the reactionary bourgeoisie, as well as elements of the expropriated feudal class.

But our new state is quite different from the state of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie, and the economic, moral, and political situation of all these strata has radically changed. Our duty is to educate the intellectuals, not only to grasp how this revolution has been effected, but also to feel for it and fight to strengthen it.

But we must pose the question: has the raising of people's consciousness and the purge of petty-bourgeois remnants kept pace with the major reforms made in our country? Of course, the answer must be, no! But the changes are immense as compared with the countries do-

minanted by capitalism, especially among the intellectuals and the petty-bourgeoisie. The changes are very positive in the uplift of socialist consciousness, first and foremost, among the working class, which is being tempered day by day, because it becomes conscious more rapidly than the other classes and strata, and it influences and immeasurably assists the other strata through its leading role in the state. On the other hand, it is true that in our country there has never really been the influence, in the true sense of the word, of an organized bourgeoisie, with its roots deep among the people, which would have systematically created an extensive caste of intellectuals to serve it efficiently in all directions, as has occurred in the capitalist countries. In our country the existing semi-intelligentsia, in certain given directions, had just taken the first steps in life, and these in daily struggle against the survivals of feudalism and semi-feudalism. Most of the officials of the old regimes were either without schooling or trained in the old Turkish schools, and very few of them in western bourgeois schools. Cadres had just begun to come from the western bourgeois schools, specialized in a few professions, especially in law and medicine, and very few in industry (for there was no industry and not even the prospect of it). Agriculture, of course, was considered a sector of slave workers by the feudal regime and despised by our commercial and intellectual bourgeoisie. Very rarely were boys of the bourgeoisie sent to higher agricultural or technical schools. Cadres trained for studies in natural or social sciences could be counted on the fingers of one hand. Hence these few intellectuals of higher training were destined to serve the regimes as state officials. Many of the doctors, sons of the bourgeoisie, formed, so to say, a caste of speculators. The teachers and professors formed a good group of intellectuals who, to a certain extent, served the require-

ments of the old regime. With the exception of a certain number of old professors, the teachers lived very much closer to the people, and their living conditions, although not very low, still left a lot to be desired. As to artists, they were very few, and I am speaking about painters; as to professional actors and musicians, they were either non-existent or extremely few, and they had become school teachers, so that there can be no talk of their free profession. As you see, this was the intelligentsia we inherited from the past, and such was their economic and social standing.

Our people's revolution changed the form and substance of the regime and undertook the great task of developing the national economy on a new basis, it began building socialism. Parallel with this the cultural revolution also began. We started and will continue to work in two directions, namely, to train new cadres for all sectors, and to educate the old cadres in the socialist spirit and socialist consciousness. The formation of the young cadres of the socialist intelligentsia is going ahead at a rapid and satisfactory rate in all the fields of human activity, and the re-education of old cadres is not doing badly either.

But we must always keep in mind that neither the new people's intelligentsia nor the old are immune from the old bourgeois and petty-bourgeois survivals, or from the influence of the propaganda of the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology. These survivals show up in the life and work of both the new cadres and the cadres of the old intelligentsia. They appear, first and foremost, in their method and style of work, in their way of family life, in their attitude towards common socialist property, in collective work, in their lack of proletarian discipline and morality, in individualism, self-importance and haughtiness, in arrogance and pseudo-independence, in

stereotyped work, in their lack of perspective and creativeness, and in many other manifestations.

Hence, while recognizing such a situation, knowing these difficulties of growth and of training, it is impermissible for us to underestimate or belittle them, either to be content with what we have achieved so far, or to become alarmed, but we should build such a program of work and education for our people's intelligentsia which will always bring up young and sound cadres, and will cure the others, too, as well as to continually purge young and old of bourgeois vestiges.

He who should be considered a good educator, a good propagandist, is not the one who is satisfied to deliver a theoretical lecture on Marxism-Leninism, copying phrases from the texts of the classics and reading them to the listeners, but the one who makes his lecture on Marxism-Leninism alive and concrete, who gives it vitality, choosing words and examples suitable to the different categories of the people of his audience. To deliver dry Marxist lectures is of little use, and it is a fact that few people come to listen, not because they do not want to, but because they fail to understand them. But to me, he who delivers such lectures is an ignoramus, a semi-intellectual divorced from practical life. He does nothing but repeat phrases from the classics of Marxism which, after all, the listeners can read for themselves. The main thing which our propagandist of Marxism-Leninism is ignorant of, and without which he cannot give a stimulating lecture, is that he doesn't know the make-up of his audience, what sort of people they are, where they work, what they think about, what outlooks they have in their heads, what they have grasped clearly, dimly, or wrongly. Both sides are afraid of each others' questions, and of free discussion. One fears lest he cannot answer, the other that his question may be taken amiss.

Thus, both parties work automatically. The listener often abandons the course because he fails to find in it what he wants, while the educator or propagandist thinks and pretends that he is in order, because he has his lecture prepared, as we have already said, in his pocket, goes to read it, but the course fails.

For cultured people the study of Marxist-Leninist theory may be easier, it may also be hard, and it may even become incomprehensible.

We must strive to have our propagandists cultured, or to have them acquire culture. Those who are cultured should weed out whatever is rotten in their old culture, that is, they should apply the thermometer of Marxism-Leninism to everything they have learned and when they see their temperature rise, when they have fevers, so to speak, about certain views, they should cure them. There are some who cure them, and Marxism-Leninism becomes a real guide. They are not easily misled and know how to teach this unerring method to other people. Those who do not act in this way, who have rubbish left in their heads, pose as if they understand Marxism, deliver stereotyped lectures, and often, although they speak about Marxism, they themselves do not accept it. Of course, in this case they are dangerous or harmful.

But not all our propagandists are cultured people. We are far from what is required. Then what is to be done, should we have fewer courses of education? No! but we must train propagandists, we must teach them the fundamental principles of Marxist philosophy, linking them closely with life, with practice. They themselves should realize that these principles of philosophy are not "bogies" but things that can be learned. Who will make these principles clear to these propagandists? First and foremost, life, struggle and their daily work.

Along with the courses of Marxist-Leninist education, a large number of lectures and discussions are conducted dealing with politics, technological problems, ethics, and so on. These are conducted wherever people work, create, strive. Though these lectures and conferences are a bit watery, it is here that the Marxist-Leninist education of the people and the intellectuals should begin. It is here we should link the process of daily work, of teaching at school, operating on a patient, diagnosing his ailment, rationalization, norms, pay, playing a role on the stage, and so on and so forth, with the principles of our Marxist-Leninist philosophy. If we link these problems properly, then the education courses will be much easier for the audience as well as for the lecturer. But the Party fails to attach the necessary importance to this problem. The party cabinets stand quite aloof from these problems, thinking that the education courses will solve everything, and finally they issue a statistical report. Likewise, the propagandists are not as interested as they should be in this preliminary and fundamental kind of education, and are not interested to test in life, in the practice of socialist construction, the Marxist formulae they have managed to remember. This is extremely serious. People say that these meetings become boring, and this may well be so. Hence, their nature must be changed. From boring they must become interesting. Who will do this? Of course, the Party. Not only those of little or no culture, but also the cultured ones will find it hard at first to grasp the Marxist-Leninist philosophy. But if theory is linked with practice, with life, then this is not difficult. There are very few among us who have a thorough knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and of the formulae as Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and others stated them, but there are many who work, apply, create and do not make mistakes because they are guided by Marxism-Leninism. What does this

mean? This means that the Party has taught the cadres Marxism-Leninism, that it has made it their sole means, their glorious weapon for leadership and action. This means that these hundreds and thousands of people in Albania are no strangers to Marxism-Leninism. They know it, they are guided by it in whatever they do, they cannot live, build or create without it. It is a fact that colossal things have been done, that we have a strong, a very strong Marxist-Leninist Party of the new type, that we have a Party that had a correct line and which stands loyal to Marxism-Leninism. The Party is made up of people, of vanguard people who are no strangers to Marxism-Leninism. Thus, the Marxist-Leninist education of our cadres, of our intelligentsia, must be strengthened even more, and we must not have a narrow view of this, that is, reducing it to the party courses, because if we think of it like this, we would be forgetting life, the struggle, the realization of our aim, and deal only with its theoretical aspect. This must be well understood by those who are engaged in agitation and propaganda in the Party, by the leaders of the Party in factories, cooperatives, schools, and hospitals; this must be well understood by the leaders of youth wherever people work, strive, and create. It is there that theory will be tested, it is there that the greatest aid will be given to the cadres to arm themselves with Marxist-Leninist theory.

There is a great possibility that neither the doctor nor the professor, both cultured persons, will understand a theoretical lecture on dialectical and historical materialism. Speak to them first about their own practice, about their own science, link certain fundamental principles of materialism with this practice, and they will understand very quickly. Then deliver a purely theoretical lecture, and they will certainly understand it this time.

This is also the case with the factory worker who is well aware of wages, prices, norms, and so on and so forth, with which and for which he wages a daily struggle and fights along Marxist lines. When you give a lecture about these things, don't forget to link certain principles of Marxist philosophy with these problems, and they will understand it better. Then, speak to them later on the theory of surplus value, and you can be certain that this time they will understand, and understand so well that one might even say better than the agitator or propagandist. And this holds for all things and in all sectors.

We have comrades who, when theoretical matters are mentioned, hold up their hands and never fail to say, "These are difficult matters, political economy is difficult, this and the other are difficult!" But in reality this is not so. These are comrades of great seniority in leadership, they have colossal experience in economic problems. They know political economy in life and practice better than in books, and can even leave the teacher behind. But they are scared by both the book and the teacher; or better, they are scared of phrases. Elegant phrases overwhelm them. It is enough for the Party that the people know the essence, to know how to use it correctly and well in life. Let the teacher keep his phrases. Let him keep well in mind the sequence of things, as he should, for that is his business, but he must not forget that it is also his business to make the theory understandable, simple, related to life, to practice, and not frighten people off with heavy philosophical phrases. I do not say that philosophy is an easy thing but neither is it a "bogy". For us communists everything is understandable, but efforts are called for in this as in everything else.

ON THE ANTI-MARXIST AND ANTI-SOCIALIST VIEWS ONCE MORE EXPRESSED AT THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS OF YUGOSLAVIA AND IN ITS PROGRAM, AND ON THE UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE WHICH MUST BE WAGED TO EXPOSE AND DESTROY MODERN REVISIONISM POLITICALLY AND THEORETICALLY

Report to the 10th Plenum of the CC of the PLA

June 20, 1958

The Central Committee is aware of all the various materials published in our press and in that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Communist Party of China, and of all the other fraternal parties, on the hostile, treacherous activity of the Trotskyite group of the leadership of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

There is no need to dwell on this and say how thoroughly correct and Marxist-Leninist the line of the Central Committee and of our Party towards these traitors has always been. Our Party has always been vigilant towards them, has never vacillated in its stand towards the Belgrade traitors, and has fought them mercilessly. Our Party is clear about the merciless struggle we should wage for the exposure and total annihilation of modern revisionism led by the Belgrade traitor group.

In the light of the recent events, it is not out of place to speak about the Yugoslav Trotskyites once again, though

we were already one hundred per cent convinced that they were waiting the opportune moment to harm us. It is up to us now to formulate what danger modern revisionism represents, i.e., the hostile work of the LCY, reflected both in its draft-program and in its 7th Congress[1].

As is known, the CC of the CPSU, in conformity with the situation created, in 1954 adopted a decision to improve relations with the Belgrade clique.

But even after these efforts, the Yugoslav Trotskyites demonstrated once again, and more clearly than ever, what they stood for.

The Belgrade Trotskyite leaders invited us to send a delegation to participate in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the LCY. The Political Bureau did not hurry to reply, because it was well aware of what they were and what they would do. In addition to that, the Political Bureau assessed things correctly in thinking that they would take advantage of the situation our Party had created for improvement of relations with them, to play one of their dirty tricks, as they did in 1956[2].

While not hurrying to respond to this invitation, the Political Bureau intended to see what the other fraternal parties would do, and then to make a decision. But, at the same time, our Party would not be influenced by the other fraternal parties in taking its decision, for our Party has its own opinions, and our opinion from the very

[1] The 7th Congress of the LCY, which was held from the 22nd to the 26th of April 1958 in Ljubljana, approved an out-and-out anti-Marxist revisionist program serving as an ideological basis for international revisionism and directed against Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary forces in the world, and opposing the historic documents of the Moscow Meeting in 1957.

[2] This refers to the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, and the hostile activity of Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and others.

first was to reject the invitation to participate in the proceedings of the 7th Congress of the LCY. Later, when the draft-program of the LCY was published, we finally decided that we would certainly not send a delegation to that congress, even if the other parties did so. However, all the other fraternal parties thought and acted as we did in connection with the 7th Congress of the LCY.

Now all the fraternal parties are waging a fierce struggle against the traitorous Belgrade clique. Our Party, too, is fighting to defend the revolutionary purity of Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of the imperialists through the revisionists, and especially through the traitor group of the LCY.

Our Party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, has been, is, and will be fighting to the end, side by side with all the other parties, for the exposure of revisionism and the preservation of the ideological purity of the Party. Through materials that have been and are being published, and which should be increased, the Party has informed its organizations, its members, and the entire people, about the struggle of the communist and workers' parties against revisionism.

The emergence of present-day revisionism is not accidental. It is dictated by certain objective historical circumstances. As we know, the fundamental contradiction today is that between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, it is the struggle between socialism, which is growing and developing rapidly, and capitalism, which is becoming ever weaker. In this situation, imperialism refuses to give up its arms. On the contrary, it strives to hinder the growth of the forces of socialism, and to prolong its existence at all costs. Historical experience shows that in order to attain this aim, imperialism resorts to two methods: a) the method of violence, of the suppression of the revolutionary movement in capitalist countries by the use of force, the

method of diversion and of the overt preparation of war against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist camp; and b) the methods of deception and slander, of the spiritual enslavement of the masses. Imperialism carries out its first method through the police, the courts, and its dictatorship, and its second method through its propagandists, the bourgeois ideologists and various agents in the ranks of the workers' movement, such as the workers' aristocracy, the Right socialists, and the various opportunists and revisionists. At present, when the ideas of Marxism-Leninism have been adopted by the masses and when the peoples are fighting under the banner of these ideas with confidence in their own future, the workers' aristocracy and the Right socialists, who have continually sided with the bourgeoisie, have been exposed. They cannot hoodwink the peoples any longer. Thus, for instance, nobody trusts the socialists in France, or the Labourites in Britain as earlier. For this reason, the imperialists have entrusted the main role in the deception of the working class and the various peoples to present-day revisionism, and in the first place, to the Yugoslav revisionists, who are the centre of present-day revisionism. Therefore, day by day we see the Yugoslav revisionists stepping up their anti-socialist, anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist activity according to the instructions of imperialism, and mainly of US imperialism, and this reached its climax at the 7th Congress of the LCY.

The ideological foundations of present-day revisionism, and therefore also of Yugoslav revisionism, are the old revisionist theories of Bernstein, Kautsky, etc., the anti-Marxist theories of all the opportunists and enemies of socialism, of the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, of the workers' opposition, etc., and the false theories of the social-democracy. This is clearly expressed in the program of the LCY. But the Yugoslav revisionists try to peddle these

"theories" as Marxist theories, they speak as "Marxists", as "fighters for socialism", therefore, they camouflage their real features.

> *"The dialectics of history were such,"* Lenin wrote, *"that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to disguise themselves as Marxists."**

In order to deceive the peoples and the working class even more thoroughly, the Yugoslav revisionists represent their country as "socialist", and their party as "communist", etc. But how does the matter stand in reality? Marxism-Leninism teaches that political parties are not judged from the declarations they make and the titles they assume, but from their concrete actions, from the place they occupy in the class struggle carried out between the working class and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism. For a long time now, and especially in recent times, the entire world is seeing clearly that objectively, in the struggle between the two camps, the Yugoslav state and the LCY have taken the side of the enemies of socialism, that they are undermining the communist and workers' parties, are trying to destroy the socialist states from within (and the Hungarian events prove this), and to split the socialist camp and the communist parties. Nobody can be so deceived by the fact that there are some socialist forms, which were established immediately after the liberation of Yugoslavia, and claim that the working class is allegedly in power there, that the enterprises are allegedly in the hands of workers, etc. All these forms are deliberately preserved by the Yugoslav revisionist leaders. They do not upset US imperialism, either. This is the best way for Titoism to hide its real features from the world and the Yugoslav people, thus making it easier to carry

* V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 18, p. 653 (Alb. ed.).

out its hostile activity. The form does not change the substance. Yugoslav reality proves this: the state is called a people's republic, but its policy and activity are against the people, against socialism; they are to the advantage of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Industrial enterprises are allegedly run by the workers themselves, and not by the capitalists, but this does not hinder the action of the capitalist laws of competition on the market and anarchy in production, the impoverishment of the masses, the enrichment of a small section of the population, hence, of the birth of a new capitalist element; the land is not in the hands of the big landowners, but agriculture is run on the basis of private property, the agricultural cooperatives have been disbanded, and everyone knows that small private property gives birth to new elements of capitalism day by day. All these facts prove that Yugoslavia is in the stage of the complete transition to the road of capitalist development, of the definitive repudiation of the aspirations and struggle of the Yugoslav people for socialism. Objectively, the Yugoslav state is being turned into a bourgeois state of "the working class," and the LCY is being transformed into a bourgeois party of "the working class" which, far from building socialism, is actually fighting against it. From all this it is clear that the Yugoslav revisionist leadership is nothing but a gang of shameless renegades who have betrayed socialism, and are working to the detriment of the vital interests of the Yugoslav peoples themselves. Hence the duty of all the communists to wage an irreconcilable struggle for the political and theoretical annihilation of revisionism as the main danger to the international communist and workers' movement, as the most rabid agency of imperialism, and especially of US imperialism.

It is common knowledge that the Yugoslav leaders had abandoned the fundamental principles of Marxism-

Leninism and fallen into the position of bourgeois nationalism long before the year 1948. At that time our country and our Party of Labour proved on their own backs the anti-Marxist line and intentions of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. In 1948 the anti-Marxist and revisionist views of the Yugoslav leadership were criticized in a principled manner in the well-known letters of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the Resolution of the Information Bureau of the communist and workers' parties "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia". All the communist parties, including our Party, supported this resolution. This principled criticism and its theses have been and remain absolutely correct, and life has proven that they are still valid today. Following 1948, the communist and workers' parties waged a stern struggle against the revisionist and hostile views of the Yugoslav leadership.

In 1954, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with comrade Khrushchev at the head, took the initiative of normalizing their relations with the Yugoslav state and the LCY.

However, not only did the Yugoslav leadership not abandon its previous course, but it continued to go further down the revisionist and anti-Marxist path. It continued its undermining activity against the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, it continued to activize its agents against the camp of socialism. Our country and our Party are well acquainted with this activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against our Party and our people. The Central Committee of the Party has more than once informed the party organizations about this. In this connection, we may refer to the hostile role the Yugoslavs played in hatching up the anti-party plot at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in 1956, to their efforts to organize disturbances against the Party and against the

people's state power by means of elements hostile to the Party and people, such as Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu, and others, and the active incitement and support they gave Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and others, enemies of the Party and the people. Our Party of Labour, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the vital interests of our people, vigilant towards the hostile activity organized against it and the people, crushed these plots with determination, and did not allow the slightest infringement of the line and the interests of the Party and the people. The Yugoslav revisionists found no room for their ideas in our country. They found it, and made the most of it, in Hungary, where they played a very active role in the organization of the counter-revolution. There the divisive and hostile anti-socialist role of the leading group of the LCY began to emerge even more blatantly. Tito's speech in Pula and Kardelj's speech in the Skupshtina of Yugoslavia at the end of 1956, their attacks on the Soviet Union, on the communist and workers' parties, and the socialist camp, showed that they are sworn enemies of socialism, who are acting on behalf and under the orders of imperialism, under the guise of "Marxism" and of the "Yugoslav road to socialism". At that time the communist and workers' parties responded to this hostile activity of the leading group of the LCY in the way they deserved.

In 1957 a meeting of the delegations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia was arranged in Rumania, with the aim of giving the Yugoslavs one more chance to change their course. But after this meeting the Yugoslavs went even further. They refused to sign the Moscow Declaration of the communist and workers' parties of November 1957, and in April 1958, at the 7th Congress of the LCY, after tidying up their revisionist and anti-Marxist views, they adopted the program of their future activity which aims

at splitting the international communist and workers' movement, at undermining the communist and workers' parties, at strangling the revolutionary drive of the working class, at opening the way for US imperialism to enslave the various peoples. At their congress, the leaders of the LCY came out openly before their people and before the peoples of the whole world, before the eyes of all the communists, as renegades from socialism, as agents and defenders of imperialism, and especially of US imperialism, as sworn enemies of socialism, of the Soviet Union and the socialist camp. The efforts of the communist and workers' parties to bring Yugoslavia back on to the correct path failed to give any result, but they made Titoism expose itself before the whole world. Now, the international communist and workers' movement faces the task of exposing and fighting Yugoslav revisionism to the finish, until it is destroyed politically and theoretically as the trend of a gang of shameless renegades, as an agency in the service of imperialism. The different parties are now fighting to accomplish this task, and it is the duty of our Party, too, which is loyal to Marxism-Leninism. It is the duty of all communists, who are members of the Party of Labour of Albania, while denouncing the revisionist group of the Yugoslav leaders as sworn enemies of our Party and people, as enemies of the socialist camp and the Soviet Union, as a dirty espionage agency in the service of US imperialism, to sharpen the revolutionary vigilance in the ranks of the Party and of the people against any hostile propaganda and activity the Yugoslav revisionists may try to carry out against us.

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It is common knowledge that up to now the imperialists have given Yugoslavia 3,000 million dollars worth of aid. The capitalists have not given this money without

a purpose. They want something in return. The revisionist leading group of the LCY is repaying imperialism by carrying on a propaganda campaign against socialism, and by striving to undermine the socialist countries and the communist parties. As we said earlier, the Yugoslav revisionists are playing their role also, by propagating their anti-Marxist theses formulated chiefly in the program of the LCY and adopted by its 7th Congress. The members of our Party have been informed of these theses through our press, and they now know how to combat them. We keep them well in mind and are always ready to combat them. In this report we shall briefly analyse some of them:

1. — The Yugoslav revisionists deny the existence of two opposing camps, the socialist camp and the imperialist camp. They purposely call them "military blocs", and in a base and slanderous way, they claim that the division of the world into military blocs and, as a consequence, into economic blocs, has been caused by the Soviet Union which has allegedly pursued a policy "from positions of strength", and that the creation of the Atlantic Alliance was a result of this policy of the Soviet Union. The aim of the Yugoslav revisionists is to confuse the peoples, to divert their attention from the real enemy of peace, from the real inciter and organizer of war, which, as the whole world knows and as Marxism-Leninism teaches us, is imperialism and, first and foremost, US imperialism.

2. — The Yugoslav revisionists claim that they follow an independent, neutral policy, that they do not take part in any camp, that they "stand above the blocs". In point of fact, the attitude adopted by Yugoslavia expresses in the clearest way the reactionary bourgeois nationalism of the leading group of the LCY, and as time and the steps taken by Yugoslavia itself have proven, the "neutral" position of the Yugoslav state is nothing but a disguise.

In reality, the whole policy pursued, and the activity carried out by the leaders of the LCY demonstrate that they are day by day adapting themselves to the policy of the imperialist camp, that their "neutral position" and "standing above the blocs" are simply the best way, from the viewpoint of imperialism, to defend the imperialist camp and oppose and slander the socialist camp.

3. — With their slanders against the Soviet Union, the revisionist Yugoslav leaders aim at decreasing the influence and the great love the first socialist state enjoy among all the peoples of the world, and they strive to arouse nationalist and chauvinistic feelings in, and divide, the socialist camp. At the same time, they try to advertize the relations existing in the capitalist world, praising to the skies the US "aid" through the Marshall Plan; accepting this "aid" themselves without reserve, they recommend it to the other countries as well.

4. — The Yugoslav revisionists have shown themselves up as sworn enemies of all the communist and workers' parties. Acting as an agency of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement, they attack the communist parties and slander the tested Marxist-Leninist leaders of the working class. In the opinion of the Titoite group, "the workers' movement has not advanced during the last decades", and the communist and workers' parties are not pursuing an "independent" policy, etc., etc. In this way, the leading group of the LCY strives to conceal and belittle the great achievements of the international communist movement from the October Revolution onwards, the people's revolutions in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, Asia, the revolution of the great Chinese people, and the transformation of socialism into a world system embracing over 950 million people. The Yugoslav revisionists assume an intolerably overbearing stand towards the communist parties in the capitalist countries which,

under conditions of great terror, are fighting heroically, are resisting the forces of reaction and fascism with great self-sacrifice and resolutely defending the cause of peace and socialism.

Implementing the instructions of the imperialist bourgeoisie, as a splitter of the communist and workers' movement, the leading group of the LCY seeks to alienate the communist parties from each other, from their internationalist solidarity, seeks to detach them from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But, led by the triumphant Marxist-Leninist science, the communist parties of the world are strengthening their unity, which is also the guarantee of the future triumphs of socialism, and are fighting with determination against any deviation from the principles of proletarian internationalism.

5. — The "theories" of the Yugoslav revisionists about present-day capitalism, the state and revolution, the class struggle and the party, socialism and communism, are nothing but a conglomeration of all the old and new revisionist "theories", a revival of the theses of the fathers of opportunism, Bernstein and Kautsky, of the opportunists of the 2nd International and the present-day Right socialists, of the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, that were buried by Marxism-Leninism long ago.

Marxism-Leninism has shown that imperialism is the final stage of capitalism. This has been verified, both by the triumph of the Great October Socialist Revolution and by the socialist revolutions in the countries of people's democracy. Nevertheless, with the aim of defending capitalism, the Yugoslav revisionists are trying to grossly distort the nature and reality of present-day capitalism. They claim that "socialism" has emerged within the capitalist system, because the state sector in the capitalist economy is allegedly "socialism". Therefore, present-day capitalism is allegedly being integrated into socialism in

a spontaneous manner. According to the Yugoslav revisionists, not only the working class, but all classes, both those that understand what socialism means and those who do not understand it, those who want it and those who hate it, are for "socialism". Therefore, the problem of the socialist revolution no longer exists. The Leninist theory on proletarian revolution, they claim, is "outdated". These theses are not new. They have been borrowed from Kautsky who says that an epoch of ultra-imperialism will come when capitalism will be spontaneously and automatically transformed into socialism. This is the thesis of the "theoreticians" of the present-day Right socialists, and others.

By identifying state monopoly capitalism with "socialism", the Yugoslav revisionists distort the essence of the present-day capitalist state and try to present it, not as a weapon in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie, but as if it stands above the classes. They do this to negate the necessity of the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the destruction of the old bourgeois state apparatus.

According to all these views, it emerges that the working class in capitalist countries should not organize itself and fight for its liberation, for socialism. Likewise, it emerges that there is no need for the working class to have its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary party, for, as the Yugoslav revisionists claim, even bourgeois parties and organizations, such as the trade unions, and here they include the reactionary US trade unions, would lead to socialism. This is what the Yugoslav revisionists have come to!

Everyone understands the substance and the aim of these anti-Marxist and anti-socialist views of the Yugoslav revisionists, which are utterly hostile to the working class. As all the other agents in the workers' movement, they

strive to enslave the working class spiritually, to alienate it from the real struggle for socialism, to defend and prolong the existence of capitalism. But the working class and the other labouring masses in the capitalist countries who feel the imperialist yoke and exploitation, the oppression and violence of the capitalist state machine on their backs every day, who experience unemployment and starvation, persecution and terror, cannot easily be deceived by the fables of the opportunists, revisionists, and other agents of imperialism. They embrace Marxism-Leninism and follow the communist parties, because only these parties express their fundamental interests, lead them correctly along the revolutionary road of their emancipation from capitalist enslavement.

6. — Since the Yugoslav revisionist leaders have assumed the role of the champions of capitalism, it is self-evident that they cannot fail to slander and attack the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system of our countries. According to the Yugoslav leadership, the dictatorship of the proletariat leads without fail to bureaucracy, "it curtails democracy" and so it should be abandoned, the more so as the class enemies have ceased to exist, and the transition to "direct democracy" should be made. It is evident that the Yugoslav leaders give such "advice" for the socialist countries only, because in their own country they are strengthening the dictatorship and all its organs, of course, not in struggle against imperialism and the enemies of socialism, but in order to preserve their domination, to suppress their opponents. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries are always on their guard, they always keep in mind the experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which crushed the Trotskyites and Bukharinites, who, likewise, demanded the weakening of the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to open the way for the restoration of

capitalism. They remember the teachings of the great Lenin that socialism cannot be built without a strong and stern dictatorship of the proletariat. They have fresh in their minds the experience of Hungary where the relaxation of the dictatorship of the working class endangered the cause of socialism in Hungary. Therefore, the communist parties of the socialist countries strengthen the socialist state and all its weapons in every way. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist state, ensures genuine democracy for the broad labouring masses, for the people, and it ruthlessly suppresses any resistance by the enemies of the people and socialism. The truly democratic character of our state is borne out also by all our achievements in the field of development of the economy and culture, by the constant improvement of our life, by the broad participation of the workers and peasants themselves in the administration of the country. Therefore, the people's state power is deeply rooted among the people, and enjoys their complete support. The results of the elections to the People's Assembly in our country were another brilliant demonstration of this fact.

7. — As for "direct democracy", about which the Yugoslav revisionists raise such a hue and cry, the thing is that they want to negate the economic role which the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat should play in the construction of socialism. In the opinion of the leading group of the LCY, the socialist state should not run the economy, plan its development, concern itself about investments, procuring machinery, or raw materials, should not carry on distribution, or exercise control over production and consumption. According to them, this should be done by each enterprise individually, by the workers of each work centre who have to draw up the plan, fix work quotas, wages, prices, etc. This is their "direct democracy". The aim of such "advice" from the Yugoslav revi-

sionists is to cause confusion in people's minds, to encourage disorganization in the economy, competition and anarchy in production, which are characteristic of capitalism. Yugoslavia, itself, has taken this road, and the results show it is the road of the restoration of capitalism.

In spite of the huge sums of dollars the Yugoslav revisionists have received from the countries of the imperialist camp, in a whole series of branches the Yugoslav economy has stagnated. Even that growth of industrial production which has been achieved in comparison with the prewar period, is not the result of increased labour productivity, but of the increase of the number of workers engaged in production. Agriculture is in a very bad state. In 1956 it produced about four million tons of grain less than in 1939. An exporter of cereals before the war, now Yugoslavia is obliged to import over a million tons of grain a year. The areas of land worked are diminishing from year to year. In 1952, 358 thousand ha of land remained uncultivated, whereas in 1956 this figure reached 575 thousand ha. Over 55 per cent of the peasant holdings lack agricultural implements. The number of poor and rich peasants is constantly increasing, which is characteristic for the capitalist development of agriculture. Hired labour is used on a wide scale in the Yugoslav village, the landless and land-poor peasants are exploited to the marrow. The standard of living of the people is low. Prices for consumer goods fluctuate according to the whim of trade enterprises, which, by means of various speculations, strive to draw maximum profits at the expense of the consumers. These are the fruits of the betrayal of the Yugoslav leaders. This is the "Yugoslav way" for the construction of socialism.

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Remaining loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, our Party of Labour has waged a determined

and principled struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The principled and correct stand of our Party, the realistic assessment of the danger which the leading group of the LCY represented to our country and our Party, the revolutionary vigilance of our communists and of the Central Committee, have made it impossible for the hostile views and plans of the Yugoslav revisionists to find a breeding ground and field of action among our people and in the ranks of our heroic Party. This fact has rejoiced our friends whose sympathy and love for the Party of Labour have increased, and has infuriated our enemies, the Yugoslav revisionists, who have always considered our people and our Party as a thorn in their flesh. In the future, too, we shall go on exposing Yugoslav revisionism and will fight to the end for its political and theoretical annihilation, while preserving the purity of Marxism-Leninism as the apple of our eye. This struggle is an internationalist duty that serves the strengthening of the unity of our socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, the cause of peace and socialism, and the interests of the peoples of Yugoslavia themselves.

In the context of the struggle against revisionism, our party organizations are faced with important tasks. The Central Committee draws the attention of the party organizations to the following tasks:

1. — The party organizations should do systematic work to raise the ideological level of the communists, to arm them as thoroughly as possible with the Marxist-Leninist science. It is only in this way that the party members will be completely able to combat the revisionist activity of the Yugoslavs not only in the field of practice, but also in that of ideology, to preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism and to strengthen and further steel the ideological unity of our Party.

2. — Experience to date shows that the struggle waged against our country and our Party constitutes one of the main objectives of the Yugoslav revisionists in their plans to undermine the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties. This is reflected in the attempts of the Yugoslavs to undermine our Party during the period of the National Liberation War, in their brutal interference in our internal affairs until 1948, which, as the communists and our people have been informed, aimed at enslaving our country, at turning Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia, at liquidating our country's political and economic independence. This is reflected in their encouragement and support for the traitor and enemy of our Party and people, Koçi Xoxe, and his henchmen, as well as, later, in the acts of diversion and espionage, in the incitement of the anti-party elements against the Marxist-Leninist line of our Party, as the hostile work carried out at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in 1956 demonstrated, in their espionage activities through the enemies to our Party and people, Liri Gega, Dali Ndreu, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu, Panajot Plaku, and others, who, carrying out the directives of the Yugoslav revisionists, strove to stab our Party and our people's state power in the back, in their continuous pressure and their propaganda by press and radio against our Party and our people's government, etc., etc. But all these attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists to subdue our Party and people have ended in failure and disgrace. The heroic and consistent Marxist-Leninist stand of our glorious Party, the correct orientation given by the congresses and the Central Committee of the Party, its unshakable loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the great Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union — all these factors have foiled the hostile plans of the Yugoslav revisionists against our Party and people.

But this should not lull our vigilance to sleep in the future. The example of Hungary shows clearly that the enemy is crafty and dangerous. Therefore, it is the duty of each communist, all the party organizations, to strengthen their revolutionary vigilance, and to educate the people in the same spirit. In future, too, the Yugoslav revisionists will try to harm our Party and state power. They will seek to incite our internal enemies, the kulaks, the former diversionists and the fugitives, or their bases and families, the anti-party elements, and those expelled from the ranks of the Party for political reasons, etc. The task of the party basic organizations is to increase their vigilance and be well informed of the activity carried out by these elements. If signs of hostile work are noticed, the communists should be ready to expose it and root it out. The communists should be vigilant, also, to protect the steel-like unity of the Party, which is the most precious thing to us, the guarantee of present and future victories.

3. — The party basic organizations should improve their work to clarify the masses politically, and utterly expose Yugoslav revisionism. The Yugoslav revisionists will strive to poison people's minds through their propaganda. The reactionary broadcasts, whether those of the West or those of Yugoslavia, continually peddle the ideas of revisionism in various ways, calling on the peoples to follow the Yugoslav example, and so on. The communists should always be ready and active to expose the slogans and the hostile propaganda of the enemy.

4. — In particular, the Central Committee of the Party draws the attention of the party organizations to the need for the further strengthening of their educational work, showing special concern for the education of our heroic youth and our intellectuals. It is common knowledge that the enemy seeks to disorientate the youth, encouraging alien manifestations and bourgeois views among them.

Likewise, the enemy also tries to stir up discontent in the ranks of intellectuals and lead them astray, to create ideological confusion. It must be said that, like our youth, the intellectuals, too, have always shown themselves to be worthy patriots, loyal to the cause of the people and the Party, resolute fighters against the enemies and revisionism. However, the party organizations should still improve their work, they should be as close as possible to the masses, never underrating the harm that the enemy's work may cause in these directions.

5. — The Yugoslav revisionists aim at splitting the camp of socialism and at discrediting the Soviet Union. As up to now, the task of the Party for the future is to strengthen our love for, and our great friendship with, the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp and the glorious Soviet Union, in the first place. The party organizations should publicize among the masses the achievements of the countries of the socialist camp, which are also an expression of the fraternal relations and the mutual aid they render each other, the achievements of the Soviet Union and its aid to the socialist countries. For this purpose, the Association of Friendship with the Soviet Union should be more active. The party organizations should take measures to celebrate the month of friendship with the Soviet Union this year better than in any previous year.

6. — In working to carry out the above-mentioned tasks the party organizations should mobilize all the communists and the broad masses of the working people to solve economic problems, to fulfil and overfulfil the state plan in all sectors. Our economic successes in all fields not only make our country stronger from every point of view, but are also the best expression of the unity of our people, of their close attachment to the Party, a clear triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism over bour-

geois and revisionist ideology. They constitute a heavy blow against the Yugoslav revisionists who want our Republic to be weakened economically.

These are the views which the Political Bureau thinks should be presented to the Central Committee. The ideas of socialism have great force. They are spreading more and more widely with every passing day throughout the world, and millions upon millions of people are embracing them every year. Thus our victory in the struggle against the enemies of socialism and communism is certain.

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OUR PARTY HAS BEEN TEMPERED IN STRUGGLE WITH DIFFICULTIES

From the conversation during the meeting with two comrades of the CP of Indonesia

October 30, 1958

Comrades, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of our Party has charged us to talk with you, therefore, if you will allow us, we shall acquaint you briefly with the history of our Party.

On what basis and how was the Communist Party of Albania formed?

Ours is a new Party, seventeen years old, formed during the Second World War. In the beginning it numbered about 200 members. The moments when our Party was founded were extremely difficult. The situation in which it was created had its favourable and unfavourable aspects. Among those favouring its creation we can mention:

First, the fighting tradition of our people. The Albanian people are a people with ancient traditions of fighting for the freedom, independence and sovereignty of their homeland. Our people have lived under foreign occupation for centuries on end, but they have never ceased their struggle against the occupiers. You have heard about the wars fought by our people under the leadership of our National Hero, Scanderbeg, and I believe you have seen the film "Scanderbeg" in which the struggle of our

people against the Osmanli Turks during the 15th century comes out clearly. In these wars our people showed themselves to be one of the most progressive and militant peoples of Europe, and they demonstrated this through their heroic efforts for the defence, not only of their own country, but also of European civilization, against the Ottoman hordes. The great French philosopher of the 16th century, Montaigne, opens his major philosophical work entitled "Essais" with the recommendation that our National Hero, Scanderbeg, should be taken as a paragon of lofty virtues. Thus, the history, valour, and struggle of the Albanian people were appreciated long ago.

Through the centuries the Albanian people have not only fought but they have also created their own culture. As an ancient people, they also have an ancient culture. Through the centuries the foreign invaders have oppressed and exploited our people economically, endeavouring as well to extinguish their ancient culture, and calling them a barbarous race without any culture at all. In connection with the antiquity of our culture, we are in the process of excavating many valuable archaeological monuments which verify the existence and development of the ancient culture of our people.

Our Party inherited and assimilated the fighting tradition, as one of the most brilliant virtues of our people and their traditional culture.

Second, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. On its difficult road, our Party had the theoretical and practical teachings of Marxism-Leninism as its guiding compass. These teachings had filtered into Albania prior to the creation of the Party, via the first communist groups. Our Party had the experience of the glorious struggle of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on which it relied strongly from the time of the merging of the first communist groups of Albania.

Third, the preparatory work of the communist groups. The communist movement in Albania did not commence in 1941. It had begun earlier, through the individuals and groups who fought against the feudal regime of Zog for democratic and trade union rights. But although we referred to a number of communist groups existing in Albania at that time, it should be understood that not all of these groups had a correct orientation. Amongst the communist groups in Albania, some held correct Marxist views, but there were others with distorted views. This was the state of our communist movement in the initial stage. Despite their shortcomings, these groups helped to establish contact with the masses, to spread communist ideas and knowledge of the new life in the Soviet Union, among the people. The existence of these first groups and the spreading of communist ideas among the masses constituted a sound basis that helped in the founding of our Party.

Fourth, the absence of other political parties prior to liberation. During the regime of Ahmet Zog, not a single political party existed in Albania. Zog prohibited the creation of parties, whether of bourgeois social-democratic or of any other such trend which would have been harmless to his regime. Thus, the resistance against the regime of Zog and against the preparations for the occupation of Albania by fascist Italy, was kept up only by the communist groups. The lack of other parties made it easier to propagate communist ideas, which were not hindered by confrontation with the ideas or theories of bourgeois parties. The Albanian communists faced the whip, bullet and rope of the Zog regime, especially during the preparations for the advent of fascism to power. When our country was occupied by Italy in 1939, the Albanian people, under the influence of their traditions of fighting for freedom and of the activity of the patriots under the

leadership of the communists, rose to their feet against the Italian occupiers, the feudal lords and the hangers-on of Ahmet Zog who were traitors. Thus, the communists and our people began the war against the traitors and the fascists in 1939. But, what kind of war did our people, led by the communists, wage? They waged a political and ideological struggle, combined with concrete attacks on spies and traitors and military actions, according to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Parallel with, and by means of, this war, the genuinely Marxist Albanian communists also aimed at, and worked for, another major objective, the formation of the Communist Party of Albania. Thus, even prior to the creation of our Party, i.e., from 1939 to 1941, following the example and under the leadership of the communists and patriots, many battles with the Italian occupiers took place.

The ideas of communism soon won the sympathy and support of the people, because, from the beginning, the communists relied on the people and showed themselves to be courageous leaders at the head of the people, in any situation, despite the fact that they were very young. Through their courageous deeds they won the respect and love of the people, because our people have great love and respect for the brave. But the people supported those ideas also because they understood that they and those who spread them were the genuine saviours of the people.

Fifth, although few in numbers, the working class played its vanguard role to the full. Albania did not have a large and developed working class because industry was almost totally absent, apart from few craftsmen. But it soon became conscious of its role.

Sixth, the patriotic and revolutionary spirit of our peasantry. We had a patriotic and revolutionary peasantry which united wholeheartedly with the Party of the proletariat, embraced its program, and accepted the leadership

of our Communist Party, i.e., it accepted the leadership of the working class. This was a very favourable aspect for our Party. Of course, the revolutionary forces existing in the ranks of our peasantry are to be found amongst other nations, too, but they have to be mobilized, orientated and led. It is a fact that although the peasantry of our country was backward from the cultural and economic aspect, it had a lofty patriotic spirit, and not only that, but it also saw in the communists its true liberators, and for this reason it accepted the leadership of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.

How did the Party organize and lead the National Liberation War?

The war of our people against the fascist occupiers began in 1939 and ended with the complete liberation of Albania. We may say that in the course of this war not only was the complete unity of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party achieved, but the differentiation between the people and their enemies was made, too.

Briefly, what were the main outlines of the program of our Party? The primary issue was the uncompromising fight to the end against the occupiers and their collaborators. The Party considered the armed uprising as the only road for the liberation of the country and seizure of power. This was to be attained by mobilizing the entire people, all those who were for war against the enemy, without distinction, regardless of their political opinions or beliefs. The objective of our Party was that, by considering all of them friends of the Party and of the people, it should mobilize them around itself to fight the occupiers and traitors to the country.

Next, our people's war was not isolated but linked closely with the war of the Soviet Union against the common enemy. Our Party's slogan was: war till victory against the enemies shoulder to shoulder with the USSR,

since we would gain freedom only through our own fight, assisted by the liberation war of the Soviet peoples.

From the ideological aspect also, our Party resolutely followed the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B).

Our Party also fought for a free, independent, and democratic Albania, for great political and economic reforms, and first among those of economic character for the Land Reform. These were the broad outlines of our program. With this program our Party fought, arms in hand.

In the war for freedom, besides numerous Italian and German divisions, our Party also fought against many internal enemies of the Party and the people. In the first place, the Party fought against the Trotskyite disrupters who carried out disguised activity even prior to the formation of the Party. When the time came for the founding of the Party, these elements regrouped themselves and sought to hinder it. But it was formed, and they failed in their attempts. Later, through factions, they strove to liquidate the Party and wreck its correct line, but it liquidated these enemies and came out victorious.

From the time it was founded, the Party issued a call to the entire people to fight, amongst them many elements who had formerly held progressive views, but now hesitated to fight the occupiers; even these it tried to win over and have them take part in the war against the occupiers. This refers to certain chieftains and elements who, in the past, had built up some sort of influence and recognition among the people, despite their vacillating stand in recent times. But the Party never dreamed of pinning its hopes on them, or maintaining its ties with the people through them. It strove to have these elements define their attitude: either they join the fight shoulder to shoulder with the people, or be pushed aside. Thus,

the Party attempted to draw these people to take part in the war, or at least, to neutralize them, otherwise, if they collaborated with the enemy, they would automatically lose their influence, and as a result people would see for themselves what they really were, and would fight them.

The Party did a great deal of work among the nationalists[1], too, in order to draw them into the war against the enemy. But, while aiming at sincere unity and collaboration with the nationalists, the CPA had always in mind the waverings observed in some of them, their lack of consistency for a revolutionary war and for the democratization of the country, the tendencies which appeared among some of them for compromise with the quislings and the occupiers. Our Party realized its policy of drawing them in through this question: the occupiers are in our homes; to get them out it is necessary to fight. Then, it launched the slogan: He who loves the homeland should fight. And in this way it would come out clearly who was a patriot and who was a traitor. As to the other questions that might arise, they would be settled after the liberation of Albania. The Albanian people grasped this policy very well.

The pseudo-nationalists who did not support the liberation war, began to lose their influence among the people. However, they did not stay with folded arms. In the beginning they did not make a correct assessment of the forces of the people and the great strength of our new Party which had just been created. They thought that the Albanian people were still at the stage of 30 or 40

[1] The patriots who loved their country and sought its liberation from the foreign occupier but who had no further revolutionary aims were usually called nationalists. But the pseudo-patriots also called themselves nationalists. For this reason, to avoid confusing them with the reactionary traitor elements, the true patriots were called honest nationalists or patriotic nationalists.

years earlier, and that they could easily be deceived. They thought our Party was a "bunch of kids", and that they could discredit it before the people whenever they liked with the notorious slogans of the bourgeoisie that "the communists destroy the family", "they are immoral", etc. This underestimation was to our advantage because it gave us time. But on this question, of course, they were wrong, because the courage of the Party and its correct policy during the war aroused the people and gave them great confidence in the Party. The pseudo-nationalists then realized the danger and began to define their attitude more carefully. But it was too late. The Party had done its work among the people. The people had complete faith in it, and the slogans of the traitors were no longer effective.

The Party understood clearly that its close links with the masses were the best index of the strength and capacity of a Marxist-Leninist party. It knew that it was on its ability to play its role as vanguard of the working class, and its ability to link revolutionary theory with the concrete practice of revolution that it depended to avoid becoming isolated from the masses and remaining at the tail-end of the situation. Therefore, the Party set to work with might and main to link itself with the masses of the people and to convince them of the correctness of its political line. It made this the number one task, the key to the solution of the problem of uniting and mobilizing the people in struggle.

In 1942, our Party mapped out a program of great importance concerning the mobilization of the masses[2]. This was a significant event that led to the Conference of Peza (Peza is a village near Tirana). The main objec-

[2] At the 1st Consultative Meeting of the Activists of the CPA (April 8, 1942).

tive was, first, to create the National Liberation Front of Albania, and second, to lay the foundations of the people's power in our country. Our Party invited a great many people to the Conference of Peza. Besides the communists, old patriots, new patriots, nationalists, people holding non-communist views, and even anti-communists, people of various reilgious beliefs, and others, were invited. A considerable part of those invited came to the conference, among them anti-communist elements, but who at those moments, for the sake of their narrow personal interests, presented themselves as opponents of the occupiers. Even representatives of the King Zog came, too. However, some others who had been invited, failed to appear, especially some among those who had had influence among the people, but had now linked themselves, if not openly, at least on the quiet, with the occupiers.

In these conditions the National Liberation Front was created with unanimity, and the foundations of the future people's power, the power of the national liberation councils, were laid. The Front was not a union of political parties, but a voluntary union of the entire Albanian people. Nationalists and other patriots took part in the Front, not as representatives of various political parties or groups, but as individuals. The CPA was the only political party in the Front. This was a great victory for the policy of the Party and for our people. The Conference of Peza laid the foundations of the National Liberation Front and the people's state power. It affirmed the leading role of the CPA in the National Liberation War, in this way making its first great political victory, and gave legal sanction to the voluntary union of the broad masses of the people, the foundations of which had been laid in the war against the occupiers. It was the CPA that forged this union, and it was the direct and sole

leader of the Front. This Front was based on the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

Since they had been unable to sabotage the Conference of Peza through their agents, the Italian occupiers mobilized their divisions and started attacking the zone of Peza, but the partisans and the people put up a resolute resistance.

One night in July, when the enemies thought they had liquidated our Party, on instructions from the Central Committee of the Party, telephone wires and poles were cut down throughout Albania. At the same time, roads, bridges, and trucks came under attack, and other fighting actions were undertaken against the enemy. This was a shock, not only to the Italians, but also to the traitors. The general crisis, which resulted in the ranks of the enemy from the impetuous rise of the National Liberation War, later caused the fall of the quisling government.

Through all this time the war went on without let-up and kept extending. Fighting units grew into battalions, battalions into brigades, and these, in turn, into divisions, and so on. Whole regions were liberated, and in them the old apparatus of the state power of the occupier was destroyed and the national liberation councils were set up in its place, schools were opened and the traitors were tried by the people. All the privileges of the feudal owners were abolished, and the peasants no longer paid them any taxes. Even in the cities which were still under occupation, national liberation councils were set up. Thus, every suburb in these cities had its own council. The town had its own council working for the collection of military and political information, collecting and sending aid to the partisans, organizing attacks on enemy stores and barracks, supplying the National Liberation Army with weapons, clothes, food, and so on.

Following the Conference of Peza, the Italian fascists, confronted with the fierce war that was being waged against them, endeavoured to create an opposition party, the "Balli Kombëtar" (National Front) as this organization called itself, with elements of reaction. Their aim was to divert the people from the war against them. To this end, of course, they used a host of demagogic slogans.

The National Liberation Front, that was led by the Party, appealed to the elements of this organization that, if they truly wished to fight, they had to join the National Liberation Front and accept its platform; we even proposed to hold negotiations with them, and these began, but nothing resulted from them. They could not possibly fight the occupier, since it was the occupier who had organized them. Thus, within a very short span of time, the demagogical slogans of these elements were exposed. And while our war was gaining impetus with each passing day, the "Balli Kombëtar" was forced to come out openly on the side of the enemy. The people saw clearly that this organization was a weapon in the hands of the occupiers. The correct policy of our Party towards the nationalists made it possible to achieve the differentiation between the traitors, the waverers, and the patriots. Now the people saw clearly who were the genuine defenders of their interests and who were against them. Later, even those few armed forces of the "Balli" were liquidated by our National Liberation Army.

We have said that the representatives of King Zog, who had fled abroad since 1939, also came to the Conference. Their aim was demagogic and reactionary. When they saw that they could not play their card, they broke away from us, too, and with the assistance of the British, formed an organization of their own which they named "Legaliteti". But this organization, also, was exposed and liquidated during the war, because it did

nothing at all against the occupiers and the enemies of the people, on the contrary it sought to sabotage the people's struggle.

In September 1943, fascist Italy capitulated. The Party appealed to all Italian soldiers not to surrender to the Germans but to take to the mountains with us. We told them that we were even ready to give arms to those who wanted to fight the German nazis. Some of them joined us.

Following the capitulation of Italy, the German armies of occupation entered our country. Against them our people under the leadership of the Party waged a very bitter fight.

Thus, up till the liberation of Albania, we passed through many important stages. One of these stages was the meeting of an important conference of the Party[3] at which the Central Committee of our Party was elected. Prior to this conference the Central Committee was a provisional one. The proceedings and the decisions of this conference further strengthened our Party organizationally. When our partisan army was enlarged, another important conference was held in which the foundations of the General Staff of our National Liberation Army were laid. On May 24, 1944, the Congress of Përmet was convened, to which came delegates from all parts of Albania, communists and patriots, members of the National Liberation Army and of the people's national liberation councils of the liberated and unliberated zones.

After drawing up the balance-sheet of all the victories achieved so far, the Congress of Përmet adopted some decisions of major importance. It was decided there to go over to a general offensive for the complete liberation of Albania. On this point, a call was made once again

[3] The 1st National Conference (March 17-22, 1943).

to all those who had taken the wrong road to join the National Liberation War against the occupiers. The Congress of Përmet decided that all the political and economic concessions made to foreigners would be cancelled; all the treaties concluded by the government of Zog with the imperialist states, such as the United States of America, Britain, Italy, Greece, and others, were abrogated. At that time the British made an effort to set up an allegedly democratic government in exile in London, as had been done in the case of some other countries. The Congress of Përmet decided that the Albanian people would not recognize any other government, and that the regime of Ahmet Zog should never be restored in Albania. Likewise, from the Anti-fascist National Liberation General Council that emerged from the Congress of Përmet, and which we now call the People's Assembly, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee was elected with the attributes of a provisional government. Following the Congress of Përmet, our liberation army engaged divisions in its general offensive against the German divisions and the bands of local traitors.

In October 1944, on the eve of the liberation of Albania, the Meeting of Berat was held. What should be mentioned from this meeting is the separation of the organization of the National Liberation Front, as a political organization, from the executive organs of the people's power.

On the 29th of November, 1944, the complete liberation of Albania by the National Liberation Army, which numbered 70,000 strong on the eve of liberation, was achieved. Now all power was in the hands of the people, led by the CPA, because in Albania no other party participated in the war against the occupiers[4]. The old

[4] The CPA was the only political party in the country.

regime was destroyed to its very foundations, while the people's power formed in the war years grew steadily stronger.

Albania was not yet liberated when whole divisions of our army went to the aid of the Yugoslav people and partisans. Thus, our divisions in Yugoslavia aided in the liberation of Montenegro, Bosnia, Sandjak, Kosova and Metohia. In the war to assist the peoples of Yugoslavia our detachments lost hundreds of partisans.

We suffered great damage at the hands of the enemy. We are a small people, but the figures on our losses are relatively big. We had 28,000 killed and about 12,600 wounded, while 10,000 others were interned in concentration camps. Entire villages, towns, and regions were destroyed by the enemy. Nearly 63,000 houses were burned down, our livestock farming was gravely damaged, our bridges and seaports were blown up. But we hit hard at the occupiers, too. They left 26,600 dead on our territory. They suffered 21,245 wounded, and we captured 20,800 prisoners of war, whom we kept in the mountains, and when Albania was liberated, we allowed all of them to return to their own country. Besides the losses in men we inflicted on the enemy, we destroyed or captured over 2,100 tanks, armoured cars, and motor vehicles, 4,000 guns and mortars, without reckoning the rifles, machine-guns and other weapons and equipment.

Our partisans began the war armed with ancient rifles or some sort of rusty revolver. The weapons with which we fought the war were not these, but modern ones which we captured from the enemy from their depots or on the battle-field in the course of the fighting.

The partisan warfare in our country was fought on the example of the Soviet partisan warfare. Proceeding from the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, we

waged a very mobile war, attacking the enemy from all sides, where it did not expect it.

Besides the Italian and German fascist enemies and their collaborators and the local traitors, all through the war we had many troubles caused by the British and the Americans, though they posed as allies. They sent several military missions to the zones we had liberated, and these, though claiming to help us, did their best to sabotage our people's National Liberation War. Their objective was to organize reaction and the quislings. They equipped reaction with the weapons they promised to give us. But they could not make fools of us. Our Party was highly vigilant. We warned them many times over these actions. Finally, they put us in a position of accepting a joint action on our coast. They intended to get a foot in and thus occupy our country. But they did this for another purpose, too: if we rejected their proposal, they would accuse us of refusing to fight together with the allies and fighting only with the Russians. Our Command understood their scheme and accepted the proposal to carry out this action, but only on rigorous conditions, and it warned them that once the action was over they must leave within 24 hours, otherwise our army would take action against them. Thus, the British armed forces, which would have been wiped out if our partisans had not attacked the Germans, were forced to leave and their plan was foiled.

Even after liberation, the Anglo-Americans organized numerous plots against our people's power, but all of them were discovered and foiled. We have British documents, captured in our country, which prove that even after liberation they were preparing to attack Albania, via Durrës and Vlora. They made also great efforts towards having the elections to the Constituent Assembly sabotaged, and when they failed in this, they left our country, refusing to recognize the Albanian government, allegedly

as a protest that democracy did not exist in our country. But we are getting along very well even without them and their recognition.

During the war our Party pursued a wise policy also regarding religious questions. The Party made no distinction at all between people of different beliefs and said that the duty of everyone, at that time, was to liberate Albania. The sentiments of the people would not be affronted, however, at that time the Party did demand that the clergy assist the National Liberation War. The Party made efforts to have even the clergy take up arms and join the war against the enemies. The communists and the partisans were educated in the spirit of respect for elderly people. The youth were instructed by the Party to behave with maturity and to show respect for old people regardless of their religious prejudices, etc., to respect the past of our people, the old patriots. The vile acts perpetrated by the fascist enemies, like letting pigs into mosques and pulling down crosses and saying that these things were done by the communists, were exposed.

The Party constantly instructed the partisans to defend the honour of women. On this question, we took stern measures. In this way, the Albanian woman, who had been confined to her house until that time, could take part in the war, and there would be no opportunity left for the propaganda of the enemy. With this stand adopted towards the honour of women, such an attitude was created among the people that even the most fanatical old men allowed their daughters and daughters-in-law to go to war together with the partisans, or to help them, because "they are honourable men", as they put it. See what tremendous steps ahead the woman made in our country, at a time when in many regions she was still locked up and wearing the yashmak. Thus, nearly 6,000

women took to the mountains. All peasant houses were open to the partisans and the women welcomed them with love and respect, at a time when the woman, according to the custom in many regions, should never appear before a man at all.

The Party established strict rules prohibiting even the pettiest theft, prohibiting the partisans from taking even a grape from the people. And these rules of the Party were carried out in an exemplary manner.

Thus, all the slogans of the occupiers and reaction against the Communist Party of Albania and against communism in general were exposed by the honourable stand of the communists and partisans towards women, by the consolidation of the family, by their treatment of believers, and so on. Thus, the fine example of the communists refuted the slogans of the enemy.

The whole leadership of our Party was created in war. All the members of the Central Committee started their work as rank-and-file partisans. Today, a number of them still hold military rank as generals, colonels, etc., and they gave outstanding proofs of their courage during the National Liberation War. But this phenomenon is common not only to the members of the Central Committee and the members of the government, but also to the majority of the people, working in various state organs, in the organizations of the masses and the Party, who have been partisans. Almost all the leaders of the Party in the districts, too, have been partisans and fighters of our National Liberation Army in various military posts. In brief, all our leading cadres have taken part in the war.

. . .[5]

On the struggle against revisionism

[5] The subheading "On the composition of our Party" has been omitted in this volume.

The struggle of the Party against Yugoslav revisionism has been and is a stern, principled struggle. I want to inform the comrades of the CC of the CP of Indonesia briefly about this struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists are not new. They have been revisionists for a long time. The constant struggle of our Party against them bears witness to this. It began in the war years, and not in 1948. Formerly we were comrades and friends with the socalled Yugoslav communists. We even had great faith in them at first, though we rejected many of their erroneous views during the period of the war. The main aim of the Tito group has been to make Albania the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. To achieve this end, it has been working on the sly in an anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist way.

In the beginning, the Yugoslav revisionists started their activity against us in connection with our National Liberation War. They tried to sabotage it in highly sophisticated ways. The Yugoslav revisionists strove to have our Party and our people's National Liberation War under their complete and direct control. They manifested these aims several times in many directions. They accused our Party of allegedly pursuing a sectarian policy towards the traitor elements of the "Balli Kombëtar', "Legaliteti", and so on. Their aim here was to induce us to open the doors of our revolutionary movement to these traitors. The Central Committee never permitted this, and the line of our Party always remained pure and correct. In subtle ways they also strove to stop our Party creating a strong partisan army with large detachments. They did not allow our Party, with its correct Marxist-Leninist policy, to mobilize the entire Albanian population in Yugoslavia in a total war against the occupiers. As you may know, in Yugoslavia there is a large Albanian population, exceeding one million inhabitants, nearly as much as Albania

has today, who live in Kosova, the Dukagjin Plateau, the regions of Dibra, etc., all of them Albanian territories which have remained within the borders of the Yugoslav state according to the decisions of the London (1913) and Versailles (1919) Treaties, etc. The aim of the Tito group has always been to include the whole of Albania in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Although at that time we considered them comrades and friends, we had disagreements and disputes with them over their interference in our internal affairs, and especially over tactical questions of our Party and army. But since we did not know them, in our criticism we always proceeded from a position of friendship and comradeship, regarding these cases of interference as misunderstandings or as mistakes by certain individual Yugoslavs. Later, when our war assumed a greater development and our Party was becoming more tempered day by day, they organized attacks against our Party in order to turn it into an obedient tool of the Yugoslav group. To this end, in 1944 they organized a dangerous faction in the leadership of the Party, precisely at the time when Albania was on the eve of its complete liberation.

Tito's envoy[6] here organized this faction behind the back of the Central Committee of our Party, through the traitor of our Party Koçi Xoxe, the then Organizational Secretary of the Central Committee of our Party, and after the liberation of Albania, also Minister for Internal Affairs. This plot against our Party came out in the open at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee, which met in Berat, and in which the representative of the Yugoslav leadership took part. It was at this Plenum that the attack of these enemies was openly launched against the whole line of the Party, which had led and was leading our people

[6] This refers to Velimir Stoinich.

to complete victory, and they called this line incorrect and claimed that our Party had not discharged its historical duty. At this meeting, the enemies accused the leadership of our Party of being an opportunist leadership. Opportunists accusing us of opportunism! Their plan was to eliminate the whole leadership of the Party, its Central Committee, the comrades you see at this meeting, and other comrades not present here. But they did not manage to attain their goal. Seeing that they had failed again the Yugoslav Trotskyites decided to leave this plan for another time, when they would be better prepared. After the liberation of Albania, through their agents, they started a frontal attack to liquidate our Party and our state of people's democracy, to liquidate all the victories of our war. As usual, they started their attack against the Party first, by means of their agents. This time, their aims went even further: to liquidate the sound Marxist-Leninist elements in the leadership of our Party politically and physically. To achieve this, they brought charges against comrades who were heroes of our National Liberation War. Charges and personal files were secretly prepared on all of us, members of the Central Committee, to be used at the moment they deemed most opportune. These files were kept in the Ministry for Internal Affairs by the representatives and agents of the Titoites in Albania with Koçi Xoxe at their head. After 1948, all these files were discovered in the state archives.

The policy that was being pursued then was such as to extinguish the leading role of the Party and to have the organization of the Front emerge as the leading force of the war, of the reconstruction and construction of the country, just as the Yugoslav revisionists have done in their country. This was not new either. As early as 1942, they used to say that "the role of the Party must not come into the open, but only that of the Front, so

as not to frighten the people!" Thus, the Party was supposed to remain in a state of semi-legality. Efforts were made to establish "new" forms to break down the organizational forms of the Party established since the war, and moreover, to establish the control of the organs of the Ministry for Internal Affairs over the Party. Terrorist measures were used against ordinary people so as to arouse dissatisfaction.

In this way, the Tito group tried to transform our Party into a social-democratic and fascist party. Through Koçi Xoxe, Tito's agents had the weapon of the State Security in their hands. Therefore, they started their efforts to get hold of the other weapon of the dictatorship, our army. They tried to introduce into it their anti-Marxist and anti-Soviet methods and tactics. Here, too, they managed to achieve something. They went so far as to remove revolutionary cadres from the command of the army, our glorious comrades who had been fighting to temper, strengthen, and organize it in an exemplary manner, and to put it completely at the service of the homeland and its people. Similarly, they tried to demoralize our officers, and their aim was clear: to weaken our National Liberation Army.

With the intention of liquidating the state organs of our country, too, the Yugoslav revisionists created forms of organs which in practice liquidated our government, our state planning organs, etc. They opened our borders, unified customs duties and the currencies. They did this allegedly for purposes of collaboration. With these measures they prepared the union of Albania with Yugoslavia. They worked in all directions to bring this union about.

Parallel with these efforts, the Yugoslav revisionists turned their eyes to the economic field. Their intention was to ensure that Albania emerged from the war a poor

country, then they would devastate it further themselves, so that we would be dependent on Yugoslavia economically, too. Since the liberation of Albania they have literally plundered our people. Those few things we took from the bourgeoisie of the country mostly went to Yugoslavia, a good part of the meagre agricultural products went to Yugoslavia, too, on the pretext that they would allegedly help us, would accord us credits, because "we are brothers", and a lot of other things they told us. In the economic direction, their aim was to prevent the building of industry in our country, to leave Albania in a state of agricultural backwardness. And for this they worked systematically.

In order to carry out their sinister schemes, they strove to exploit incidents for provocations on an international scale, so as to frighten us and induce us to seek their help. Therefore, they invented the legend that Albania was allegedly in danger of an attack from Greece, and on the basis of a treaty signed by our two countries, they demanded to bring four Yugoslav divisions into Albania. Their aim was clear to us; now the Yugoslav revisionists were wanting to occupy Albania with their armed forces, to liquidate the Albanian state, and to transform Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. But our Party destroyed this plan of the Yugoslav revisionists, too. In this, our Party had the aid of comrade Stalin. When our Party informed Stalin about what the Yugoslavs had demanded from us, J.V. Stalin responded that there was no danger threatening us at that time, therefore we should not allow a single Yugoslav division to enter Albania.

The Yugoslav revisionists also tried to isolate Albania from the Soviet Union. After the liberation of Albania, they tried in every way to discredit the Soviet Union in the eyes of our people. But they failed in this, too.

Our Party has fought all these activities of the Yugoslav revisionists against our country, heroically resisting all these manoeuvres and plots.

We even have documents, signed by the main Yugoslav leaders, in which Albania is regarded as the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

Following these events, the Information Bureau denounced the Tito group. All the fraternal parties know what was mentioned in the Resolution of the Information Bureau "On the Situation in the Communist Party of Yugoslavia", about the Yugoslav revisionists, but, comrades, we have all these facts and can back up everything we have told you with documents. Therefore, it is obvious how correct the denunciation of the Tito group by the Information Bureau has been.

Following their exposure by the Information Bureau, the Yugoslav revisionists went on even more fiercely with their despicable fight against the People's Republic of Albania and our Party. They have even continued this struggle more fiercely regardless of the joint Soviet-Yugoslav declaration of 1955, that was made on the occasion of Nikita Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade. Since 1948, without let-up the Yugoslav revisionists have continued to send groups of diversionists into our country, to organize espionage and sabotage groups in our country, and the Yugoslav legation in Tirana has become an open espionage centre.

They have organized groups of agents against our Party, expecially to undermine it from within. Following the 20th Congress of the CPSU they tried once again to deal a blow at our Party. But our Party has gained great experience in its struggle against the Yugoslav Trotskyites. Thus, before the counter-revolution was organized in Hungary, the Yugoslav revisionists organized the same plot against our Party and people. But our Party discovered

it before they could put it into effect. The Central Committee of our Party uncovered two of its members who were later proved to have been Yugoslav agents[7]. At the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, held in April 1956, the Yugoslav agents tried to plot against our Party, but their activity was discovered, they were exposed, and the evidence proved that they were agents in the service of the Yugoslav revisionists.

When the counter-revolution was being prepared in Hungary, the Central Committee of our Party was positive that the Yugoslav revisionists had a finger in it. The Central Committee of our Party warned the Central Committee of the fraternal Hungarian Party to watch out, but things there had taken another course, and what was done was done. When the counter-revolution was under way in Hungary, certain Yugoslav leaders, close collaborators of Tito, declared that the same thing would happen in Albania. But in our country they had their face smashed, and nothing of the sort has happened or will ever happen here.

Even after the improvement of relations, the Yugoslav revisionists pursued their former course. What they did was a bluff, and our Party was never taken in by it. It has never trusted them. Nevertheless, it took steps towards improving relations, though it was sure that the Yugoslav leaders were Trotskyites, revisionists, rabid enemies of Marxism-Leninism, and this turned out to be true. The 7th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia completely exposed them. Their stand was apparent since the Moscow Conference, held on the 40th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, in 1957. We are hundred per cent convinced that the Yugoslav revisionists are never going to mend their ways, and we

[7] This refers to T. Jakova and B. Spahiu.

can never trust such enemies of Marxism-Leninism, of communism. They are in the service of the US imperialists, and their mission is to destroy our socialist camp and the international communist movement.

Our Party is of the opinion that any concession to these traitors of Marxism-Leninism is a crime committed against international communism. Our Party has maintained and will maintain a Marxist-Leninist stand.

Today, the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our Party is pure, and this stems from the National Liberation War which it has waged at the head of our people against the internal and external enemies, from the struggle against the Yugoslav factionists and Trotskyites; it has been tempered in the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism.

As you see, our Party has grown up and been tempered in struggle with difficulties and has achieved great successes, but it has never become intoxicated with success, on the contrary, its successes have inspired it to march forward more boldly.

. . .[8]

Dear comrades, excuse me for taking so long over my account. Perhaps I may have failed to give you explanations on those things which would have been of greater interest to you, but we are at your disposal to answer anything, if you have any questions, for we feel it is our communist duty to inform the Central Committee of your Party of the affairs of our Party. We kept you so long because you are the first Indonesian comrades we have met in our country. When other comrades from your Party come here, they will know more about our

[8] The subheading "A few words about our economic and cultural development" has been omitted in this volume.

situation and therefore will have the possibility to go more deeply into the problems of the construction of socialism in Albania.

It would be an honour and a great joy for us if comrade Aidit could come to rest in our country.

We wish the heroic Communist Party of Indonesia brilliant successes in its glorious work. We have a deep attachment for your Party, dear Indonesian comrades, and we see that not only we, but all the communist and workers' parties have these feelings. We wish you more and more victories until the complete triumph of the policy of your Party, till the complete realization of the program of your Party. We shall follow your victories with great attention, because they will be also the victories of our Party, the victories of our common cause.

I thank you once more, comrades, on behalf of our Central Committee for your visit to our country, and we beg you to come here every year and to consider Albania as your home. We beg you, at the same time, to convey to your comrades of the Central Committee of your Party and to the main leading comrades our warmest comradely greetings from the Central Committee of our Party as well as our best wishes for new successes in your work.

LETTER OF THE CC OF THE PLA TO ALL PARTY BASIC ORGANIZATIONS ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE JUNE 1960 BUCHAREST MEETING AND THE DISAGREEMENTS THAT HAD EMERGED THERE BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

August 9, 1960

Some important ideological and political differences have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These differences have begun to be mentioned in the Chinese and Soviet press, as well as in the speeches of the leaders of the two countries, of course, without naming each other, but making allusions which anyone can easily understand. These issues have been spoken of and discussed openly at the Bucharest Meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties who were, at the same time, delegates to the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party.

The Central Committee of the Party considers it necessary to inform all the party organizations on our stand towards this problem by means of this letter.

On June 2, 1960, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent a letter to the Central Committee of our Party in which it proposed that a meeting of the representatives of the communist and

workers' parties of the countries of the socialist camp should be held at the end of June in order to "exchange opinions on the problems of the present international situation and on working out a common line for the future". The Central Committee of our Party answered this letter immediately, emphasizing that it fully agreed that the proposed meeting should be held at the end of June, and that our delegation to that meeting would be led by comrade Enver Hoxha. However, on June 7 our Central Committee received another letter from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this letter, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union informed us that all the parties had agreed in principle on the holding of a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, but some parties wanted it postponed to a later date. In connection with this, the June 7 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union read, "We can hold a preliminary discussion about the time of the convening of the meeting with the representatives of your party during the proceedings of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party on June 20, after which, in agreement with the central committees of the fraternal parties, we shall decide a definite date for the meeting. This, of course, does not exclude the exchange of opinions among the representatives of the fraternal parties in Bucharest, if they want it, without approving any sort of decision". The Central Committee of our Party sent its reply to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in which it stated that it agreed that the meeting be postponed, and that a new agreement be reached in Bucharest on setting the date for it. The Political Bureau of the Central Committee authorized comrade Hysni Kapo, who led the delegation of our Party to the 3rd

Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, to exchange opinions with the representatives of the fraternal parties attending the congress on setting the date for the meeting proposed in the letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

But in fact, our delegation, which went to Bucharest to attend the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party and to reach an agreement on the date of the convening of the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, found itself confronted with an international meeting all prepared. This meeting was contrary to everything that had been decided; it was contrary to the content of the letters of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we mentioned above. The agenda, too, was quite different: instead of exchanging opinions to set the date for the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties, as the letter of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union said, accusations against the Communist Party of China were made there. To this end, only 10 hours prior to the meeting, all the foreign delegates (the majority of whom were only members of central committees) were handed 65 pages of a material prepared by the Soviet comrades, in which the views of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on its differences with the Chinese comrades were expressed. And on this so important and delicate a question, the representatives of over 50 communist and workers' parties of different countries, who had come to Bucharest for quite another purpose, were required, within the space of 10 hours, to adopt a definite stand, i.e., to accuse the Communist Party of China.

It is quite clear that this meeting was organized hastily, in violation of the most elementary Leninist organizational rules. You know very well, dear comrades, that even

when the question of a rank-and-file party member is to be raised at a basic organization, the Party teaches us to be careful, prudent, just, and never hasty. Implementing this Leninist principle of the Party, the basic organizations have to meet once, twice, and often even three times, the members are given at least three days' notice of the agenda and its content, commissions are appointed to prepare the necessary materials, and so on. And this, and this alone is the correct party way, the organizational way that Marxism-Leninism teaches us. But if we act in this way on a question concerning one party member, is it right that an entire party, which has some millions of members in its ranks, which leads a people of about 700 millions, should be accused in such a hasty manner, in violation of every organizational rule?

In the circumstances in which the Bucharest Meeting was prepared and conducted, the Political Bureau of our Party adopted a correct stand, the only correct, principled Marxist-Leninist stand that could possibly be adopted. What was this stand?

In a few words, it may be summed up as follows: *first,* the differences in question are differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China; *second,* the Bucharest Meeting was premature and was conducted in violation of Leninist organizational rules; *third,* our Party will voice its opinion on these differences in the coming meeting which should be prepared according to the rules and existing practice of the communist and workers' parties.

Our Party of Labour is of the opinion that the meeting organized in Bucharest was out of order. It was contrary to the agreement previously reached in the letters exchanged between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal parties, according to which only the date of the future meeting was to be decided in

Bucharest. It was premature and contrary to the organizational rules which the communist and workers' parties observe. Therefore, on the one hand, taking into account what was said above, and on the other, the fact that only 10 hours before the meeting we received a material in which only the views of the Soviet comrades were expressed, in Bucharest our Party could not express its opinion on the differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. Our Party will voice its opinion, will express its views on the differences in question at the coming meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties which will be held later, after the materials of both sides have been carefully and painstakingly studied, with Marxist-Leninist objectivity. Our Party, which has always fought for, and loyally defended, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, is of the opinion that only at a meeting convened according to the Leninist organizational rules, after the arguments of both sides have been heard, patiently and dispassionately, in a comradely spirit, can a conclusion be reached as to who is right and who is wrong, and how we should work in common in the future to the benefit of socialism and communism, to the benefit of the unity of our socialist camp.

According to the instructions of the Political Bureau, comrade Hysni Kapo adopted this wise, principled, and Leninist stand at the Bucharest Meeting. As you know from the communiqué published in the press, this stand was fully and unanimously approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, held from July 11 to 12, 1960. The Central Committee is convinced that this correct and principled stand will be unanimously approved also by every member of our heroic Party. Only those who do not want to respect the Leninist norms can fail to approve our correct stand.

The differences existing between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China concern the two biggest countries and the two biggest parties of the socialist camp. Our Party could not be indifferent towards them. . . In the future, our Party will continue, as in the past, to strive to strengthen our great love and friendship for the Soviet Union, for the Soviet people, for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, because there is no greater and more sincere love than that founded on the triumphant teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. But, at the same time, it is undeniable and indisputable that great China, its people and Party, are dear both to us and to all the peoples of the socialist camp.

Therefore, our Party, like all the other parties, is interested in finding a correct solution to this important question on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party is confident that this question will be solved at the coming meeting which will be held in two or three months' time, for the preparation of which a commission with representatives from many fraternal parties, including our Party, has been set up. We are firmly convinced of this, for we have faith in Marxism-Leninism which has weathered many a storm and has always emerged triumphant.

Our Party of Labour has always worked and fought for the triumph of Marxism-Leninism, for its practical implementation, for the preservation of the purity of its principles. For this reason, throughout its whole glorious history, our Party has always had an entirely correct line, a line in accord with the teachings of Lenin, with the interests of the Albanian people, with the interests of socialism and communism. In the future, too, our Party will unswervingly follow this line, based on these princi-

ples. We shall work and fight for the victory of Marxism-Leninism, for the implementation of the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and of the Bucharest Communiqué, which, as announced in the press, the Central Committee of our Party approved unanimously.

Our Party will further sharpen and strengthen its revolutionary vigilance which should always be at the proper level, as it behoves our heroic Party. Vigilance is necessary, because the enemies to the Party and the people, the weaklings, the opportunists and the cowards, will be striving in various ways, as they have always done, to attack the Party and its correct line, to arouse doubt about, and slander, our friendship with the great Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, to spread various rumors and opinions with the aim of causing ideological confusion in our ranks. Remaining vigilant, all the members of our glorious Party should fight with courage and determination against any attempt by the enemies to attain these vile aims.

Our Party should further strengthen the steel-like unity of its ranks, the unity of the whole Party around its Leninist Central Committee, the unity of the Party with our heroic people. Our unshakable unity has always been the decisive condition to overcome any obstacle successfully, to forge ahead towards new achievements. And now, too, it is the decisive condition for the triumph of the line of the Party, for the crushing of any activity by our enemies, for the routing of the opportunists, the weaklings, and the cowards.

The Central Committee of the Party has unshakable confidence that all the basic organizations, all the party members, educated as the loyal sons of our Party and our people, loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism, in their judgement of this important question will prove them-

selves mature, just, courageous, and principled, as they have always done, and will close their ranks still more tightly around the Leninist Central Committee of our Party.

First Secretary
of the Central Committee of
the Party of Labour of
Albania

Enver Hoxha

Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, Tirana 1970

SPEECH DELIVERED AT THE MEETING OF 81 COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW[1]

November 16, 1960

Dear comrades,

This meeting of the communist and workers' parties is of historic importance to the international communist movement, for it is making a detailed analysis of the international political situation, drawing up a balance of the successes and of the mistakes that may have been verified along our course, helping us see more clearly the line we should pursue henceforth in order to score further successes to the benefit of socialism, communism, and peace.

The existence of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, is already an accomplished fact in the world. The communist movement in general has been enlarged,

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[1] The Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties was held in Moscow from the 10th of November to the 1st of December 1960. It was held in an extremely complicated situation of the international communist movement as a result of the spread of modern revisionism and the disruptive anti-Marxist activity of the Soviet leadership with Khrushchev at the head.

The delegation of the PLA was headed by comrade Enver Hoxha. His speech at the Moscow Meeting was approved by the Plenum of the CC of the PLA on November 1, 1960.

The activity of the delegation of the CC of the PLA at the Moscow Meeting was fully and unanimously approved by the Plenum of the CC of the PLA held from the 19th to the 20th of December 1960.

strengthened and tempered. The communist and workers' parties throughout the world have become a colossal force which is leading mankind forward towards socialism, towards peace.

As the draft-statement which has been prepared emphasizes, our socialist camp is very much stronger than that of the imperialists. Socialism is growing stronger and attaining new heights day by day while imperialism is growing weaker and decaying. We should make use of all our means and forces to speed up this process. This will come about if we remain unwaveringly loyal to Marxism-Leninism and apply it correctly. Otherwise, we will retard this process, for we are faced with a ruthless enemy — imperialism, headed by US imperialism, which we must defeat and destroy.

We want peace, while imperialism does not want peace and is preparing for a third world war. We must fight with all our might to avert a world war and to bring about the triumph of a just and democratic peace in the world. This will be achieved when we have forced imperialism to disarm. Imperialism will not give up its arms of its own free will. To believe anything of the kind is merely to deceive oneself and others. Therefore we should confront imperialism with the colossal economic, military, moral, political, and ideological strength of the socialist camp, as well as with the combined strength of the peoples throughout the world, to sabotage, in every way, the war which the imperialists are preparing.

The Party of Labour of Albania has never hidden this situation and the threat with which imperialism is menacing peace-loving mankind, nor will it ever do so. We can assure you that the Albanian people, who detest war, have not been intimidated by this correct action of their Party: they have not become pessimistic, nor have they been marking time as far as socialist construction is

concerned. They have a clear vision of their future and have set to work with full confidence, always vigilant, keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

Our view is that imperialism, headed by American imperialism, should be mercilessly exposed, politically and ideologically, and at no time should we permit flattery, prettification, or softness towards imperialism. No concessions of principle should be made to imperialism. The tactics and compromises which are permissible on our part should help our cause not that of the enemy.

Facing a ruthless enemy, the guarantee for the triumph of our cause lies in our complete unity, which will be secured by eliminating the deep ideological differences which have been manifested, and by building this unity on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism, on equality, on brotherhood, on the spirit of comradeship and proletarian internationalism. Our Party is of the opinion that, not only should we not have any ideological split, but we should maintain a unified political stand on all issues. Our tactics and strategy towards the enemy should be worked out by all our parties, based on Marxist-Leninist principles, on correct political criteria complying with the concrete existing situations. . .

All the peoples of the world aspire to, and fight for, freedom, independence, sovereignty, social justice, culture and peace. These sacred aspirations of theirs have been and are being suppressed by the capitalists, the feudal lords and imperialists, and thus it is natural that the struggle of these peoples should be waged with great severity against the capitalists, feudal lords, and imperialists. It is also natural for the peoples of the world to seek allies in this battle for life, which they are waging against their executioners. . .

Therefore, in the struggle for peace, disarmament, and social progress in the world, the socialist camp is not

alone facing the imperialist camp, but in close alliance with all the progressive peoples of the world, while the imperialists remain alone facing the socialist camp.

We are living at a time when we are witnessing the total destruction of colonialism, the elimination of this plague that has wiped peoples from the face of the earth. New states are springing up in Africa and Asia. The states where capital, the scourge, and the bullet reigned supreme, are putting an end to the yoke of bondage, and the people are taking their destiny into their own hands. This has been and is still being achieved thanks to the struggle of these peoples and the moral support given them by the Soviet Union, People's China, and the other countries of the socialist camp.

Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers, like Josip Broz Tito, are trying in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolical schemes, to mislead the peoples and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to link them directly with US imperialism. We should exert all our strength to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism.

We are witnessing the disintegration of imperialism, its decomposition, its final agony. We are living and fighting in the epoch which is characterized by the irresistible transition from capitalism to socialism. All the brilliant teachings of Karl Marx and Vladimir Ilich Lenin, which have never become outdated, as the revisionists claim, are being confirmed in practice.

World imperialism is being dealt heavy blows which clearly show that it is no longer in its "golden age", when it made the law as and when it wanted. The initiative has slipped from its hands, and this was not because of its own wish or desire. The initiative was wrested from it, not by mere words and discourses, but after a long process of bloody battles and revolutions which capitalism itself

provoked against the proletariat, against the strength of the peoples who were rising to smash the world of hunger and misery, the world of slavery. This glorious page was opened by the Great October Socialist Revolution, by the great Soviet Union, by great Lenin.

Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, world imperialism, headed by US imperialism, is mustering, organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this, is blind. He who sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that, in spite of the major difficulties we encounter on our way to establish peace in the world, to bring about disarmament and settle the other international problems, there is no reason to be pessimistic. It is only our enemies who are suffering losses that are and should be pessimistic. We have won, we are winning and shall continue to win. That is why we are convinced that our efforts will be crowned with success.

But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only not good, but is even harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military, and moral strength, is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep in the face of all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disin-

tegration, decomposition, and relaxation. "Waters sleep, but not the enemy", is a wise saying of our long-suffering people.

Let us look facts straight in the eye. World imperialism, headed by its most aggressive detachment, US imperialism, is directing the course of its economy towards preparations for war. It is arming itself to the teeth. US imperialism is rearming Bonn's Germany, Japan, and all its allies and satellites with all kinds of weapons. It has set up and perfected aggressive military organizations, it has established and continues to establish military bases all around the socialist camp. It is accumulating stocks of nuclear weapons and refuses to disarm, to stop testing nuclear weapons, and is feverishly engaged in inventing new means of mass extermination. Why is it doing all this? To go to a wedding party? No, to go to war against us, to do away with socialism and communism, to enslave the peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that if we were to say and think otherwise we would be deceiving ourselves and others. We would not call ourselves communists if we were afraid of the vicissitudes of life. We communists detest war. We communists will fight to the end to smash the diabolical plans for war which the US imperialists are preparing, but if they declare war on us, we should deal them a mortal blow that will wipe imperialism from the face of the earth, once and for all.

Faced with the threats of the US led world imperialists of atomic war, we should be fully prepared economically, politically, morally, as well as militarily, to cope with any eventuality.

We should prevent a world war, it is not absolutely inevitable. But no one will ever excuse us if we live in a dream and let the enemy catch us unawares, for it has

never happened that the enemy is to be trusted, otherwise he would not be called an enemy. The enemy is and remains an enemy, and a perfidious one at that. He who puts his trust in the enemy will sooner or later lose his case. . .

The peaceful policy of the countries of the socialist camp has exerted a major influence in exposing the aggressive aims of imperialism, in mobilizing the people against the war-mongers, in promoting their glorious struggle against the imperialist oppressors and their tools. The example of heroic Cuba, the struggle of the Japanese people, and the events in South Korea and Turkey are the best proof of this.

But, in spite of all this, many concrete problems which have been laid on the table, like the proposals for disarmament, the summit conference[2], etc., have not yet been resolved and are being systematically sabotaged by the US imperialists.

What conclusions should we draw from all this? The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that imperialism and, first and foremost, US imperialism, has not changed its hide, its hair or its nature. It is aggressive, and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth. And being aggressive, it may plunge the world into a war. Therefore, as we emphasized at the meeting of the Editorial Committee, we insist that it should be brought home clearly to all the peoples that there is no

[2] In December 1959, N. Khrushchev, head of the Soviet government, who was for the settlement of major international issues with the chiefs of imperialism by means of discussions only, made arrangements through diplomatic channels for the calling of a summit conference with the participation of the heads of the governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France. This conference was to have been held in May 1960, but it could not be held because of the sabotage of the US imperialists and the vacillating adventurist stand of N. Khrushchev.

absolute guarantee against world war until socialism has triumphed throughout the world, or at least in the majority of countries. The US imperialists make no secret of their refusal to disarm. They are increasing their armaments, preparing for war, therefore we should be on our guard.

We should make no concessions of principle to the enemy, we should entertain no illusions about imperialism, despite our good intentions, we would make things infinitely worse. In addition to rearming and preparing war against us, the enemy is carrying on unbridled propaganda to poison the spirit and benumb the minds of the people. They spend millions of dollars to recruit agents and spies, millions of dollars to organize acts of espionage, diversion, and of murder in our countries. US imperialism has given and is giving thousands of million of dollars to its loyal agents, the treacherous Tito gang. It is doing all this to weaken our internal front, to split us, to weaken and disorganize our rear areas.

A lot is said about peaceful coexistence, some even go so far as to assert such absurdities as that People's China and Albania are allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence. Obviously, such harmful and erroneous views should be refuted once and for all. There can be no socialist state, there can be no communist, who is opposed to peaceful coexistence, who is a war-monger. Great Lenin was the first to put forward the principle of peaceful coexistence among states of different social orders as an objective necessity, as long as socialist and capitalist states exist side by side in the world. Standing loyal to this great principle of Lenin's, our Party of Labour has always held, and still holds, that the policy of peaceful coexistence responds to the fundamental interests of all the peoples, responds to the purpose of the further strengthening of the positions of socialism, therefore, this

principle of Lenin's is the basis of the entire foreign policy of our people's state.

Peaceful coexistence between two opposing systems does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary, the class struggle must continue, the political and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become ever more intense. While struggling consistently to establish Leninist peaceful coexistence, while making no concessions on principles to imperialism, we should develop the class struggle in the capitalist countries, as well as the national liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries.

In our view, the communist and workers' parties in the capitalist countries should strive to establish peaceful coexistence between their countries, which are still under the capitalist system, and our socialist countries. . . But their task does not end there. In these countries, it is necessary to promote, intensify and strengthen the class struggle. The working masses, led by the proletariat of the country headed by the communist party, and in alliance with the whole world proletariat, should make life impossible for imperialism, should crush its military and economic potential, should wrest from its hands its economic and political power and proceed to the destruction of the old power and the establishment of the new power of the people. Will they do this by violence, or in the peaceful parliamentary way?

This question has been clear, and it was not necessary for comrade Khrushchev to confuse it in the 20th Congress, and do so in such a way as to please the opportunists. Why was it necessary to make all those parodies of Lenin's clear theses and of the lessons of the October Socialist Revolution? The Party of Labour of Albania

is quite clear about, and does not shift from, Lenin's teachings on this matter. So far, no people, no proletariat and no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.

It is incorrect for some comrades to claim that they assumed power without bloodshed, for they forget that the glorious Soviet army poured out rivers of blood for them during the Second World War.

Our Party thinks that, in this matter, we should be prepared for both eventualities, and we should be well prepared, especially, for taking power by violence, for if we are well prepared for this, the other possibility has more chance of success. The bourgeoisie may allow you to sing psalms, but then it deals you a fascist blow on the head and crushes you, because you have not trained the necessary cadres to attack, nor done illegal work, you have not prepared a place where you can protect yourself and still work, nor the means with which to fight. We should forestall this tragic eventuality.

The Party of Labour of Albania is and will be for peace and peaceful coexistence and will fight for them in the Marxist-Leninist way, as Lenin teaches us, and on the basis of the Moscow Declaration. It has been, is, and will be striving actively for general disarmament. On no occasion, not for one moment, will the Party of Labour of Albania cease waging a political and ideological struggle against the activities of the imperialists and capitalists, and against bourgeois ideology. It will not cease waging a stern, uninterrupted, and uncompromising struggle against modern revisionism, and in particular against Yugoslav Titoite revisionism. There may be comrades who reproach us Albanians with being stubborn, hot-headed, sectarian, dogmatic, and whatever you like, but we reject all these false accusations and tell them

that we do not deviate from these positions, for they are Marxist-Leninist positions.

They say that we are in favour of war and against coexistence. Comrade Kozlov has even put to us, Albanians, this alternative: either coexistence, as he conceives it, or an atomic bomb from the imperialists, which would turn Albania to ashes and leave no Albanian alive. Until now, no representative of US imperialism has made such atomic threat against the Albanian people. But here it is, and from a Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to whom? To a small, heroic country, to a people who have fought through centuries against countless savage enemies and who have never bent the knee, to a small country and to a people who have fought with unprecedented heroism against the Hitlerites and Italian fascists, to a people who are bound like flesh to bone to the glorious Soviet Union, to a party which stands loyal and consistent to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But, comrade Frol Kozlov, you have got the wrong address. You cannot frighten us into submitting to your mistaken wishes, and we never confuse the glorious Party of Lenin with you, who behave so badly, with such shamelessness, towards the Albanian people and towards the Party of Labour of Albania. The Party of Labour of Albania will strive for, and support, all the correct and peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp, as well as of other peace-loving countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania will exert all its strength, use all its rights and carry out all its obligations, to strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, a Marxist-Leninist unity. It is absurd to think that small socialist Albania wants to break away and live outside the socialist camp, outside our fraternity of socialist peoples. Albania

is indebted to no one for its presence within the ranks of the socialist camp; the Albanian people themselves and the Party of Labour of Albania have placed it there with their blood and sweat, their work, their sacrifices, with the system of government which they have established and with the Marxist-Leninist line they pursue. But let no one even think that, because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, it should do what some one else says when it is convinced that that someone is mistaken.

As I said earlier, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that our socialist camp, which has one common aim, which is guided by Marxism-Leninism, should also have its own strategy and tactics, and these should be worked out together by our parties and states of the socialist camp. Within the ranks of our camp we have set up certain forms of organization of work, but the truth is that these have remained somewhat formal, or to put it better, they do not function in a collective way, for instance, the organs of the Warsaw Treaty and the Council for Mutual Economic Aid. Let me make it quite clear. This is not a question of whether we, too, should be consulted or not. Of course, no one denies us the right to be consulted, but we should hold meetings for consultation. We raise this problem on principle and say that these forms of organization should function at regular intervals, problems should be taken up for discussion, decisions should be adopted, and there should be a check-up on the implementation of these decisions.

The development and further strengthening of the economies of our socialist countries has been and always is the main concern of our parties and governments, and constitutes one of the decisive factors of the unconquerable strength of the socialist camp.

The construction of socialism and communism is proceeding at a rapid rate in our countries. This is due to the great efforts of our peoples and to the reciprocal aid they render one another. . .

So far, the People's Republic of Albania has given economic aid to no one, first, because we are poor, and second, because no one stands in need of our economic aid. But within proper norms, we have made and are making every effort to give the countries which are our friends and brothers some little help through our exports. We have been aided by our friends, first and foremost by the Soviet Union. . .

The Party of Labour and the Government of the People's Republic of Albania have utilized this aid of the Soviet Union and the other people's democracies as well as they could to the best advantage of our people. Our people are forever grateful to the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Soviet government, to the peoples, parties and governments of the people's democracies for this aid. We have considered, consider, and will consider this aid not as charity but as fraternal, internationalist aid.

Our people, who have been in dire poverty, who have fought with heroism, who have been murdered and burnt out, had a duty to seek the aid of their friends and brothers bigger and economically better off than they. And it was and still is the internationalist duty of their friends to give this aid. Therefore, it is necessary to reject any sinister and anti-Marxist view that any one may hold about the nature and purpose of this aid. Economic pressures on the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian government, and on our people will never be of any avail.

I wish to propose here that the aid of the economically stronger countries for the economically weaker ones, such

as ours, should be greater. The Albanian people have no intention of folding their arms and opening their mouths to be fed by others. That is not their custom. Nor do our people expect the standard of living in our country to be raised at once to the standard of living in many other countries of people's democracy, but greater aid should be given our country to further develop its productive forces. We think that the economically stronger countries of the socialist camp should accord credits also to neutral capitalist countries and to peoples recently liberated from colonialism, provided the leaders of these capitalist countries are opposed to imperialism, support the peaceful policy of the socialist camp, and do not hinder or oppose the legitimate struggle of the revolutionary forces, but first of all, the needs of the countries of the socialist camp should be looked into more carefully and be fulfilled. Of course, India stands in need of iron and steel, but socialist Albania stands in greater and more urgent need of them. Egypt needs irrigation and electric power, but socialist Albania has greater and more urgent need for them.

On many political issues of first rate importance, our socialist camp has held and holds identical views. But, since collective consultations have not been held regularly, on many occasions it has been noted that states from our socialist camp take political initiatives (not that we are opposed in principle to taking initiatives), which very often affect other states of the socialist camp as well. Some of these initiatives are not correct, especially when they are not taken collectively by the members of the Warsaw Treaty.

An initiative of this kind is that of the Bulgarian government which, with total disregard for Albania, informed the Greek government that the Balkan countries of people's democracy agree to disarm if the Greek govern-

ment is prepared to do so, too. From our point of view, this initiative was wrong, for, even if the Greek government had endorsed it, the Albanian government would not have accepted it. Albania is in agreement with the Soviet proposal made by Nikita Khrushchev in May, 1959[3], but not with the Bulgarian proposal, which wants the Balkan countries to disarm, while leaving Italy unaffected. Or have the Bulgarian comrades forgotten that bourgeois and fascist Italy has attacked Albania a number of times during this century?

On the other hand, can it be permitted that without any consultation at all with the Albanian government, with which they are bound by a defensive treaty, the Bulgarian comrades should propose a treaty of friendship and non-aggression to the Greek government, at a time when Greece maintains a state of war with Albania and is making territorial claims against our country? It seems to us, that it is dangerous to take such unilateral actions.

From this correct and legitimate opposition of ours, perhaps the Bulgarian comrades may have arrived at the conclusion that we Albanians do not properly understand coexistence, that we want war, and so forth. These views are erroneous.

Similar gestures have been made also by the Polish comrades at the United Nations, when comrade Gomulka stated in unilateral way at the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization, that Poland proposes that the status quo on the stationing of military forces in the world should be preserved, and concretely, that no more

[3] Through this proposal and the notes the Soviet government addressed on May 25, 1959 to the governments of Albania, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Turkey, Greece, Italy, France, Britain and the USA, it proposed the creation of a zone free of nuclear weapons and missiles in the Balkans and the Adriatic region.

military bases should be created but those that have been set up already should remain, that no more missiles should be installed but the existing ones should remain, that those states that have the secret of the atomic bomb should keep it and not give it to other states. In our opinion such a proposal is contrary to the interests of our camp. No more missiles to be installed, but by whom and where? All the NATO members including Italy, West Germany and Greece have been equipped with missiles. Not to give the secret of the atomic bomb, to whom? Britain, France, and West Germany have it. It is clear that a proposal of this kind will oblige us, the countries of people's democracy, not to install missiles, or any other country of the socialist camp, except the Soviet Union, not to have the atomic bomb.

We pose the question, why should communist China not have the atomic bomb? We think that China should have it, and when it has the bomb and missiles, then we shall see in what terms US imperialism will speak, we shall see whether they will continue to deny China its rights in the international arena, we shall see whether the US imperialists will dare brandish their weapons as they are doing at present.

Some one may pose the question: will China win its rights over the United States of America, by possessing and dropping the bomb? No, neither China nor the Soviet Union will ever use the bomb unless they are attacked by those who have aggression and war in their very blood. If the Soviet Union did not possess the bomb, the imperialists would have been talking to us in a different tone. We will never attack with the bomb, we are opposed to war, we are ready to destroy the bomb, but we keep it to defend ourselves. "It is fear that guards the vineyard", our people say. The imperialists should be afraid of us, and terribly afraid at that.

Based on Marxism-Leninism and on the Moscow Declaration and the Manifesto on peace, the Party of Labour of Albania has pursued a correct Marxist-Leninist line in matters of international policy and in the important problems of socialist construction. In international relations, the line of our Party has been in accord with the policy of the socialist camp and has followed the direction of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union.

The Party of Labour of Albania has considered, considers, and will consider the Soviet Union as the saviour of our people, and its great experience as universal, very necessary and indispensable to all. The Party of Labour of Albania has followed, implemented, and adopted this great experience unreservedly in all fields and has scored successes. We have scored successes in setting up and strengthening our industry, in collectivizing agriculture, in developing education and culture, which has made great progress, in building our state and our Party. Our Party has now gained maturity and rich experience in work in this direction.

Our Party has educated, educates, and will continue to educate our people with a great love for, and loyalty to, the peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This love has been tempered and will be tempered with each passing day, for it has been sealed with blood, for it has been developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We have loved, and still love, the Soviet people from the bottom of our hearts, and the Soviet people, on their part, have loved and love the people and the Party of Labour of Albania in the same way. This is friendship between peoples, friendship between Marxist-Leninist parties and, therefore, it will flourish through the ages and will never die. This is the unshakable conviction of the Albanian communists, a conviction they have deeply implanted and will continue

to implant among our people. We have said and we repeat now that without this friendship there could not have been freedom for our people. This is the fruit of Leninism.

The major problems of the time have concerned both the Party of Labour of Albania and our small people. Our People's Republic has been and is surrounded geographically by capitalist states and the Yugoslav revisionists. We have had to be highly vigilant and tie down people and considerable funds to defend our borders, to defend the freedom and sovereignty of our country from the innumerable attempts of the imperialists and their satellites and lackeys.

We are a small country and a small people who have suffered to an extraordinary degree, but who have also fought very hard. We are not indebted to any one for the freedom we enjoy today, for we have won it with our own blood. We are continually aware, day and night, of our imperialist enemies, of their manoeuvres against the socialist camp and our country in particular, therefore we have never had, nor will ever entertain, illusions about their changing their nature and their intentions towards peoples, our camp, and towards socialist Albania in particular. Our Party has been and is for peace, and will fight unceasingly by the side of the Soviet Union, People's China, the other countries of the socialist camp, and all the progressive people of the world, to defend peace. . .

The US and British imperialists have accused us Albanians of being "savage and warlike". This is understandable, for the Albanian people have dealt telling blows at their repeated attempts to put us under bondage and have smashed the heads of their agents who have conspired against the Party of Labour of Albania and our regime of people's democracy.

The Tito gang, that of the Greek monarcho-fascist chauvinists, the rulers in Rome have accused and accuse

us of being "war-mongers and disturbers of the peace in the Balkans", because, without hesitation, we have always and will always hit them hard, for their intentions have been, remain, and will always be, to chop up Albania among themselves, to enslave our people.

We do not think we need prove at this meeting that war is alien to the socialist countries, to our Marxist-Leninist parties, but the question remains: why do the imperialists and their agents accuse China and Albania of being "warlike", and allegedly opposed to peaceful coexistence?

Let us take the question of Albania. Against whom would Albania make war and why? It would be ridiculous to waste our time in answering this question. But those who accuse us of this are trying to cover up their aggressive intentions towards Albania.

Rankovich wants us to turn our borders into a roadhouse with two gates through which Yugoslav, Italian, and Greek agents and weapons could go in and out freely, without visas, in order to bring us their "culture of cutthroats", so that Tito may realize his dream of turning Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia, so that the reactionary Italian bourgeoisie may put into action for the third time their predatory intentions towards Albania, or so that the Greek monarcho-fascists may realize their crazy dream of grabbing Southern Albania. Because we have not permitted and will never permit such a thing, we are "war-mongers". They know very well that if they violate our borders they will have to fight us and the whole socialist camp.

Their aim, therefore, has been and is to isolate us from the camp and from our friends, to accuse us of being "war-mongers and savage" because we do not open our borders for them to graze freely, to accuse us of being, allegedly, opposed to peaceful coexistence. But the irony

of fate is that there are comrades who believe this game of the revisionists and these slanders against the Party of Labour of Albania. Of course, we are opposed to any coexistence for the sake of which we Albanians should make territorial and political concessions to Sophocles Venizelos[4]. No, the time has gone forever when the territory of Albania could be treated as a token to be bartered. We are opposed to such a coexistence with the Yugoslav state which implies that we should give up our ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists, these agents of international imperialism, these traitors to Marxism-Leninism. We are opposed to such coexistence with the British or the US imperialists for the sake of which we should recognize, as they demand, the old political, diplomatic and trading concessions King Zog's regime had granted them.

As a general conclusion, the Party of Labour of Albania is absolutely convinced that our great cause, the victory of socialism and peace, will triumph. Through determined action, the combined forces of the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union, of the international communist and workers' movement, and of all the peace-loving peoples have the possibility of compelling the imperialists to accept peaceful coexistence, of averting a world war. But, at the same time, we will intensify our revolutionary vigilance more and more so that the enemy may never take us by surprise. We are convinced that victory will be ours in this noble struggle for world peace

[4] Several times in succession the CC of the PLA lodged protests with the CC of the CPSU over Khrushchev's anti-Albanian acts; one of these was connected with the talks held by the Soviet Prime Minister with the reactionary Greek politician, Venizelos, whom he told that during his visit to Albania he had allegedly seen the Greek minority in Korça, thus sanctioning Greek chauvinist claims over Albanian territory.

and socialism. The Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania, just as heretofore, will spare nothing to assist the triumph of our common cause with all their might. As always, we shall march forward in steel-like unity with the whole socialist camp, with the glorious Soviet Union, and with the whole international communist and workers' movement.

Dear Comrades,

The unity of the international communist and workers' movement is the decisive factor in realizing the noble aims of the triumph of peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. This question is especially emphasized in the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the draft-statement prepared for our meeting. In the 1957 Declaration it is stressed that,

> *". . . the communist and workers' parties bear an exceptionally serious historic responsibility for the fate of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that they will spare no effort to strengthen their unity and comradely collaboration in the interests of the further unity of the family of socialist states, in the interest of the international workers' movement, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism".*

It must be said that, especially in recent times, in the international communist movement and in the relations among certain parties, profound ideological and political disagreements have arisen, the deepening of which can bring nothing but damage to our great cause. Therefore, the Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, in order to go forward together towards fresh victories, it is necessary

to condemn the mistakes and negative manifestations which have appeared so far, and to correct them.

We want to refer here to the Bucharest Meeting, at which our Party, as you know, refrained from expressing its opinion concerning the differences which have arisen between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but reserved the right to do so at this meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties. At that time, the Party of Labour of Albania was accused by the Soviet comrades, and by some comrades of the other fraternal parties, of everything imaginable, but no one took the trouble to think for a moment why this party maintained such a stand against all this current, why this party, which has stood loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration, is unexpectedly accused of allegedly "opposing Marxism-Leninism and the Moscow Declaration", why this party, so closely bound to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, suddenly comes out in opposition to the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Now that all the comrades have in their hands both the Soviet information material as well as that of the Communist Party of China, let them reflect on it themselves. We have read and studied both the Soviet and the Chinese materials, we have discussed them carefully with the party activists, and come to this meeting with the unanimous view of our whole Party.

As we all know, on June 24 this year, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Bucharest Meeting was organized unexpectedly, and without any previous warning, at least as far as our Party was concerned, on the initiative of the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Instead of "exchanging opinions" and setting the date

for this meeting we are holding today, which was agreed upon by the letters of June 2 and 7[5], it took up another topic, namely, the ideological and political accusation directed against the Communist Party of China, on the basis of the "Soviet information" material. On the basis of this material, entirely unknown up to a few hours before the meeting of the conference, the delegates of the fraternal communist and workers' parties were supposed to pronounce themselves in favour of the views of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, at a time when they had come to Bucharest for another purpose and had no mandate (at least as regards the delegation of our Party) from their parties to discuss, let alone decide, such an important issue of international communism. Nor could a serious discussion be thought of about this material, which contained such gross accusations against another Marxist-Leninist party, when not only the delegates, but especially the leaderships of the communist and workers' parties were not allowed to study it from all angles, and without allowing the necessary time to the accused party to submit its views in all the forms which the accusing party had used. The fact is that the overriding concern of the Soviet leadership was to have its accusations against the Communist Party

[5]In its letter on June 2, 1960, the CC of the CPSU proposed the holding of a meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp towards the end of June in order "to exchange views on the problems of the present international situation and define our future common line". But on June 7, 1960, in another letter, the CC of the CPSU expressed the opinion that this meeting should not be hold in June but at a date to be set by a preliminary gathering of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries at the time of the 3rd Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party in Bucharest.

of China passed over quickly, and to have the Communist Party of China condemned at all costs.

This was the concern of comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in Bucharest, and not at all the international political issues worrying our camp and the world as a whole after the failure of the summit conference in Paris.

Our Party would have been in full agreement with an international meeting of communist and workers' parties, with whatever other meeting of whatever agenda that might be set, provided that these meetings were in order, had the approval of all the parties, had a clear agenda set in advance, provided the communist and workers' parties were given the necessary materials and allowed enough time to study these materials so that they could prepare themselves and receive the approval of the political bureaus of their parties and, if necessary, of the plenums of their central committees, on the decisions that might eventually be taken at these conferences. The meetings should be conducted according to the Leninist norms governing the relations among communist and workers' parties. They should be conducted in complete equality among parties, in a comradely communist and internationalist spirit, and with lofty communist morality.

The Bucharest Meeting did not comply with these norms, therefore, although it took part in it, our Party denounced and denounces that Meeting as out of order and in violation of the Leninist norms.

We think that the Bucharest Meeting did a great disservice to the cause of the international communist movement, to the cause of the international solidarity of the workers, to the cause of strengthening the unity of the socialist camp, to the cause of setting a Marxist-Leninist example in settling ideological, political, and organizational disputes that may arise within the ranks of the

communist and workers' parties and which damage Marxism-Leninism. The blame for this falls on the comrades of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who organized this Conference, who conceived those forms, and who applied those non-Marxist norms in this matter.

The aim was to have the Communist Party of China condemned by the international communist movement for faults and mistakes which do not exist and are baseless. The Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania is fully convinced of this on the basis of its study of the facts and the Soviet and Chinese materials which the Party of Labour of Albania now has at its disposal, based on a detailed analysis which the Party of Labour of Albania has made of the international situation and of the official stands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China.

The entire Party of Labour of Albania holds the unanimous view that the Soviet comrades made a grave mistake at Bucharest. They unjustly condemned the Communist Party of China for having, allegedly, deviated from Marxism-Leninism, for having, allegedly, violated and abandoned the 1957 Moscow Declaration. They have accused the Communist Party of China of being "dogmatic", "sectarian", of being "in favour of war", of being "opposed to peaceful coexistence", of "wanting a privileged position in the camp and in the international communist movement", etc.

The Soviet comrades made a grave mistake also when, taking advantage of the great love and trust which the communists have for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they tried to impose their incorrect views towards the Communist Party of China on the other communist and workers' parties.

Right from the start, when the Soviet comrades began their feverish and impermissible work of inveigling the comrades of our delegation in Bucharest, it became clear to the Party of Labour of Albania that the Soviet comrades, resorting to groundless arguments and pressure, wished to lead the delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania into the trap they had prepared, to bring them into line with the distorted views of the Soviet comrades.

What was of importance to comrade Khrushchev (and comrade Antropov said as much to comrade Hysni Kapo) was whether we would "line up with Soviet side or not". Comrade Khrushchev expressed this opinion in other ways also, in his interjections against our Party at the Bucharest Meeting. This was corroborated also by many unjust and unfriendly gestures of the comrades of the Soviet leadership and the employees of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana after the Bucharest Meeting, to which I shall refer later. What was important for the comrades of the Soviet leadership was not the views of a Marxist-Leninist party such as our, but only that we should maintain the same attitude in Bucharest as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

No warning was given to the Party of Labour of Albania by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which organized the Bucharest Meeting, that, on the occasion of the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, accusations would be brought against the Communist Party of China for alleged grave mistakes of line. This came as a complete surprise to the Party of Labour of Albania. While now we hear that, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Workers' Party, the Vietnam Workers' Party, other parties of the camp were cognizant of the fact that a conference would be organized in Bucharest to accuse China. If this is so, then it is very clear that the

question becomes very much more serious and assumes the form of a faction of an international character.

Nevertheless, our Party was not taken unawares and it did not lack vigilance, and this happened because it always observes the Leninist norms in relations with the other parties, because it has great Marxist respect for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and all the other communist and workers' parties, because it respects the feeling of equality among parties, an equality which the other parties should respect towards the Party of Labour of Albania, regardless of its being small in numbers.

Right from the beginning, our Party saw that these norms were being violated at the Bucharest Meeting, and that is why it took the stand you all know, a stand which it considered and still considers as the only correct one to maintain towards the events as they developed.

Some leaders of fraternal parties dubbed us as "neutralists", some others reproached us with "departing from the correct Marxist-Leninist line", and these leaders went so far as to try to discredit us before their own parties. We scornfully reject all these things because they are slanders, they are dishonest, and they are incompatible with communist morality.

We pose the questions to those who undertook such despicable acts against the Party of Labour of Albania: has a party the right to express its opinions freely on matters and how it sees them? What opinion did the Party of Labour of Albania express in Bucharest? We expressed our loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and this is corroborated by the entire life and struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our loyalty to the decisions of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and Manifesto on peace, and this is corroborated by the line consistently pursued by the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed

our loyalty to, and defended, the unity of the socialist camp, and this is corroborated by the whole struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania. We expressed our affection for, and loyalty to, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the Soviet peoples, and this is corroborated by the whole life of the Party of Labour of Albania. We did not agree "to pass judgement" on the "mistakes" of the Communist Party of China and, even less, "to condemn" the Communist Party of China without taking into account the views of the Communist Party of China on the charges raised against it in such a distorted, hasty, and anti-Marxist way. We counselled caution, coolheadedness and a comradely spirit in treating this matter so vital and exceptionally serious for international communism. This was the whole "crime" for which stones were thrown at us. But we think that the stones which were picked up to strike us fell back on the heads of those who threw them. The passage of time is confirming the correctness of the stand maintained by the Party of Labour of Albania.

Why were comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades in such a great hurry to accuse the Communist Party of China groundlessly and without facts? Is it permissible for communists and, especially, for the principal leaders of so great and glorious a party as the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to perpetrate such an ugly act? Let them answer this question themselves, but the Party of Labour of Albania also has the full right to express its opinion on the matter.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that the Bucharest Meeting was not only a great mistake but also a mistake which was deliberately aggravated. In no way should the Bucharest Meeting be left in oblivion but it should be severely condemned as a black stain in the international communist movement.

There is not the least doubt that the ideological differences have been and are grave, and that these have arisen and have been developed between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China. These should have been settled in due time and in Marxist-Leninist way between the two parties concerned.

According to the Chinese document, the Communist Party of China says that these differences of principle were raised by the Chinese comrades immediately following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Some of these matters have been taken into consideration by the Soviet comrades, while others have been rejected.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that, if these differences could not be settled between the two parties concerned, a meeting should have been sought of the communist and workers' parties at which these matters could be brought up, discussed and a stand taken towards them. It is not right that these matters should have been left unsettled, and the blame for this must fall on the Soviet comrades who had knowledge of these differences but disregarded them, because they were dead certain of their line and its "inviolability", and this, we think, is an idealist and metaphysical approach.

If the Soviet comrades were convinced of the correctness of their line and their tactics, why did they not organize such a meeting in due time and have these differences settled? Were the matters raised so trivial, for example, the condemnation of J.V. Stalin, the major question of the Hungarian counter-revolution, that of the ways of taking power, not to speak of many other very important problems that emerged later? No, they were not trivial at all. We all have our own views on these problems, because as communists we are all interested in

them, because all our parties are responsible to their peoples, but they are responsible to international communism, as well.

In order to condemn the Communist Party of China for imaginary faults and sins, comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet leaders were very concerned to present the case as if the differences existed between China and the whole international communist movement, but, when it came to problems like those I just mentioned, judgement on them has been passed by Khrushchev and the comrades around him alone, thinking that there was no need for them to be discussed collectively, at a meeting of the representatives of all the parties, although these were major problems of an international character.

The Hungarian counter-revolution occurred but matters were hushed up. Why this tactic of hushing things up when they are not to their advantage, while for things which are to their advantage the Soviet comrades not only call meetings like that of Bucharest, but do their utmost to force on others the view that "China is in opposition to the line of all the communist and workers' parties of the world"?

The Soviet comrades made a similar attempt towards us also. In August this year, the Soviet leadership sent a letter to our Party in which it proposed that, "with a view to preventing the spark of differences from flaring up", the representatives of our two parties should meet so that our Party would align itself with the Soviet Union against the Communist Party of China, and that our two parties should present a united front at this present meeting. Of course, the Central Committee of our Party refused such a thing, and in its official reply described this as something quite un-Marxist, a factional act directed against a third fraternal party, against the Communist Party of China. Of course, this correct principled

stand of our Party was not to the liking of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that these matters are of first-rate importance. There is no doubt that they concern us all, but neither is there any doubt for the Party of Labour of Albania that the matters, as they were raised in Bucharest against China, were tendencious and aimed at condemning the Communist Party of China and isolating it from the whole international communist movement.

For the Party of Labour of Albania this was dreadful and unacceptable, not only because it was not convinced of the truth of these allegations, but also because it rightly suspected that a non-Marxist action was being organized against a great and glorious fraternal party like the Communist Party of China, that under the guise of an accusation of dogmatism against China, an attack was being launched against Marxism-Leninism and the principles of the Moscow Declaration and the Manifesto on peace.

At the meeting, the Communist Party of China was accused of many faults. This should have figured in the Communiqué. Why was it not done? If the accusations were well founded, why all this hesitation and why issue a communiqué which did not correspond to the purpose for which the meeting was called? Why was there no reference in it to the "great danger of dogmatism" allegedly threatening international communism?

No, comrades, the Bucharest Meeting cannot be justified. It was not based on principles. It was a biased one to achieve certain objectives, of which the main one, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, was, by accusing the Communist Party of China of dogmatism, to cover up some grave mistakes of line which the Soviet leading comrades have allowed themselves to make.

The Soviet comrades stood in need of the support of the other parties on this matter. Therefore, they blatantly tried to take them by surprise. That is how the Soviet comrades achieved half their aim and won the right to put forward the condemnation of China in these parties as the outcome of an "international conference of communism". In the communist and workers' parties, with the exception of the Party of Labour of Albania and certain other communist and workers' parties, the question was raised of "the grave errors of policy committed by the Communist Party of China", the "unanimous" condemnation of China in Bucharest was reported, in an effort to create opinion in the parties and among the people in this direction. The Party of Labour of Albania was also condemned at some of these party meetings.

After the Bucharest Meeting the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania decided, and decided rightly, to discuss in the Party only the Communiqué, to tell the Party that there existed divergences of principle between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China which should be taken up and settled at the coming meeting which would be held in Moscow in November. And this was what was done.

But this stand of our Party did not please the leading comrades of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and we were very soon made aware of this. Immediately following the Bucharest Meeting, an unexpected, unprincipled attack was launched, and brutal intervention and all-round pressure was undertaken against our Party and its Central Committee. The attack was begun by comrade Khrushchev in Bucharest and was continued by comrade Kozlov in Moscow. The comrades of our Political Bureau who happened to pass through Moscow were worked upon with a view to turning them against

the leadership of our Party, putting forward that "the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania had betrayed the friendship with the Soviet Union", that "the line pursued by the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is characterized by 'zigzags'," that "Albania must decide to go either with the 200 millions (with the Soviet Union), or with the 650 millions (with People's China)", and finally that "an isolated Albania is in danger, for it would take only one atomic bomb dropped by the Americans to wipe out Albania and all its population completely", and other threats of the kind. It is absolutely clear that the aim was to sow discord in the leadership of our Party, to remove from the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania those elements who, the Soviet leaders thought, stood in the way of their crooked and dishonest undertaking.

What came out of this divisive work was that Liri Belishova, ex-Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, capitulated to the cajolery of the Soviet leaders, to their blackmail and intimidation, and took a stand in open opposition to the line of the Party.

The attempt of the Soviet comrades in their letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China to present this question as if the friends of the Soviet Union in Albania are being persecuted is a falsehood. Lifelong friends of the Soviet Union and its Communist Party, devoted friends of the Soviet peoples have been, are and will be the million and a half Albanians and the Party of Labour of Albania, which has forged and steeled this friendship, tempered in blood, and not the various capitulators, splitters and deviationists.

But attempts to arouse doubts about the correct stand of our Party in Bucharest were not confined just to Moscow. They were made, with even more fervour, in Tirana

by the employees of the Soviet Embassy headed by the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana himself.

As I said before, prior to the Bucharest Meeting, one could not imagine closer, more sincere, more fraternal relations than those between us and the Soviet comrades. We kept nothing hidden from the Soviet comrades, neither party nor state secrets. This was the decision of our Central Committee. These relations reflected the Albanian people's great love for, and loyalty to, the Soviet peoples, sentiments which our Party had tempered in blood.

Over these sacred sentiments of the Party of Labour of Albania and our people certain sickly elements, with the Soviet Ambassador at the head, trampled roughshod. Taking advantage of our friendly relations, taking advantage of the good faith of our cadres, they began feverishly and intensively to attack the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania, to split the Party, to create panic and confusion in its ranks, and to alienate the leadership from the Party. The Soviet Ambassador to Tirana went so far as to attempt to incite the generals of our army to raise the People's Army against the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state. But the saw struck a nail, because the unity of our Party is steel-like. Our cadres, tempered in the National Liberation War, and in the bitter life and death struggle with the Yugoslav revisionists, defended their heroic Party in a Marxist way. They know very well how to draw the line between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union of Lenin and the splitters, they know very well how to defend and temper their love for, and loyalty to, the Soviet Union. And in fact they put these denigrators in their place.

Nevertheless, the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana, headed by the Ambassador, through impermissible anti-Marxist methods, managed to make the Chairman of the Control Commission of the Party of Labour of Albania,

who 15 days earlier had expressed his solidarity with the line pursued by the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania in Bucharest, fall into the clutches of these intriguers and go completely off the rails of Marxism-Leninism, so that he came out in flagrant opposition to the line of the Party. It is clear that these despicable efforts of these Soviet comrades were aimed at splitting the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania, at alienating it from the mass of the Party. And this as a punishment for the "crime" we had committed in Bucharest, by having the courage to express our views freely, as we saw fit.

The functionaries of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana went even further. They turned to the Albanians who had studied in the Soviet Union with a view to inciting them against the Albanian leadership, thinking that they would be a contingent suitable to their crooked aims. But the Albanians, whether those who had completed their studies in the Soviet Union, or those still in the course of them, who have always had a fervent, sincere, and untarnished love for the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, know that such base methods as those used by the employees of the Soviet Embassy to Tirana, are altogether alien to the Soviet Union and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Albanians are the sons and daughters of their own people, of their own Party. They are Marxist-Leninists and internationalists.

We could list many other examples, but so as not to take up so much time at this important meeting, I will mention only two other typical cases. The pressure on our Party continued even during the days when the commission was meeting, here in Moscow, to draw up the draft-statement which has been submitted to us, when the Soviet comrades told us that we should look ahead

and not back. During those days in Moscow, the Member of the Central Committee and Minister of the Soviet Union, Marshal Malinovsky, launched an open attack on the Albanian people, on the Party of Labour of Albania, on the Albanian government, and on our leadership at an enlarged meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the Warsaw Treaty countries. This unfriendly and public attack has much in common with the diversionist attack of the Soviet Ambassador to Tirana, who tried to incite our People's Army against the leadership of our Party and our state. But, like the Soviet Ambassador, Marshal Malinovsky, too, is making a grave mistake. No one can achieve this aim, and even less that of breaking up the friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union. The just struggle of the Party of Labour of Albania against these subversive acts strengthens the sincere friendship of our people with the peoples of the Soviet Union and with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Nor can this friendship be broken up by the astonishing statements of Marshal Grechko, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Treaty, who not only told our military delegation that it was difficult for him to meet the requirements of our army for some very essential armaments, for the supply of which contracts have been signed, but said bluntly, "You are in the Warsaw Treaty only for the time being", implying that Marshal Grechko seems to have decided to throw us out. But, fortunately, it is not up to the comrade Marshal to take such a decision.

In October this year, comrade Khrushchev declared solemnly to the Chinese comrades, "We shall treat Albania like Yugoslavia". We say this at this meeting of international communism so that all may see how far things have gone and what attitude is being maintained towards a small socialist country. What "crime" has the Party of Labour of Albania committed for our country to

be treated like Tito's Yugoslavia? Can it be said we have betrayed Marxism-Leninism as the Tito clique has done? Or did we break away from the socialist camp and hitch up with US imperialism as Yugoslav revisionists have done? No, and all the international communist movement, all the concrete political, ideological and economic activity of our Party and our state during the whole period of the National Liberation War, and during these 16 years since the liberation of the country, bear witness to this. This is borne out also by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union itself, which, in its letter of August 13, 1960 to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, stressed: "The relations between the Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, based on the principles of proletarian internationalism, have always been truly fraternal. The friendship between our parties and peoples has never, at any time, been obscured by any misunderstanding or deviation. The positions of the Party of Labour of Albania and that of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on all the most important issues of the international communist and workers' movement and of foreign policy have been identical". Of what then are we guilty? Our only "crime" is that in Bucharest we did not agree that a fraternal communist party like the Communist Party of China should be unjustly condemned; our only "crime" is that we had the courage to oppose openly, at an international communist meeting (and not in the market-place), the unjust action of comrade Khrushchev; our only "crime" is that we are a small Party of a small and poor country, which, according to comrade Khrushchev, should merely applaud and approve but express no opinion of its own. But this is neither Marxist nor acceptable. Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say, and no one can take this from us either by means of political

and economic pressure, or by means of threats and the names they might call us. On this occasion we would like to ask comrade Khrushchev why he did not make such a statement to us instead of to a representative of a third party. Or does comrade Khrushchev think that the Party of Labour of Albania has no views of its own, but has made common cause with the Communist Party of China in an unprincipled manner, and therefore, on matters pertaining to our Party, one can talk with the Chinese comrades? No, comrade Khrushchev, you continue to blunder and hold very wrong opinions about our Party. The Party of Labour of Albania has its own views and will answer for them both to its own people as well as to the international communist and workers' movement.

We are obliged to inform this meeting that the Soviet leaders have, in fact, passed from threats of treating Albania in the same way as Titoite Yugoslavia, to concrete acts. This year our country has suffered many natural calamities. There was a big earthquake, the flood in October, and, especially the drought, which was terrible, with not a drop of rain for 120 days in succession. Nearly all the grain was lost. The people were threatened with starvation. The very limited reserves were consumed. Our government urgently sought to buy grain from the Soviet Union, explaining the very critical situation we were faced with. This happened after the Bucharest Meeting. We waited 45 days for a reply from the Soviet government while we had only 15 days bread for the people. After 45 days and after repeated official requests, instead of 50,000 tons, the Soviet government accorded us only 10,000 tons, that is, enough to last us 15 days, and this grain was to be delivered during the months of September and October. This was open pressure on our Party to submit to the wishes of the Soviet comrades.

During those critical days we got wise to many things. Did the Soviet Union, which sells grain to the whole world, not have 50,000 tons to give the Albanian people, who are loyal brothers of the Soviet people, loyal to Marxism-Leninism and to the socialist camp, at a time when, through no fault of their own, they were threatened with starvation? Comrade Khrushchev had once said to us, "Don't worry about grain, for all that you consume in a whole year is eaten by mice in our country". The mice in the Soviet Union might eat, but the Albanian people could be left to die of starvation until the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania submits to the will of the Soviet leaders. This is terrible, comrades, but it is true. If they hear about it, the Soviet people will never forgive them, for it is neither Marxist-Leninist, internationalist, nor comradely. Nor is it a friendly act not to accept our clearing for buying grain from the Soviet Union, but to oblige us to draw the limited gold reserve from our National Bank in order to buy maize for the people's bread from the Soviet Union.

These acts are linked with one another, they are not just accidental. Particularly in recent days, comrade Khrushchev's attacks on our Party of Labour have reached their climax. Comrade Khrushchev, on November 6, you declared that "the Albanians behave towards us just like Tito". You said to the Chinese comrades, "We lost an Albania and you, Chinese, won an Albania". And, finally, you declared that "the Party of Labour of Albania is our weak link".

What are all these monstrous accusations, this behaving like a "dealer" towards our Party, our people, and a socialist country, which was allegedly lost and won as in a gamble? What appraisal is this of a fraternal party, which, according to you, is allegedly the weak link in the international communist movement? For us it is clear,

and we understand only too well, that our correct and principled Marxist-Leninist stand, that our courage to disagree with you and condemn those acts of yours which are wrong, impel you to attack our Party, to resort to all kinds of pressure against it, to pronounce the most extreme monstrosities against our Party. But there is nothing comradely, nothing communist in this. You liken us to the Yugoslav revisionists. But everybody knows how our Party has fought and continues to fight the Yugoslav revisionists. It is not we who behave like the Yugoslavs but you, comrade Khrushchev, who are using methods alien to Marxism-Leninism against our Party. You consider Albania as a market commodity which can be gained by one or lost by another. There was a time when Albania was considered a medium of exchange, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country. You are repeating the same thing when you arrive at the conclusion that you have "lost" Albania, or that someone else has "won" it, or that Albania is no longer a socialist country, as it turns out from the letter you handed to us on November 8, in which our country is not mentioned as a socialist country.

The fact that Albania is marching on the road of socialism and that it is a member of the socialist camp is not determined by you, comrade Khrushchev, it does not depend on your wishes. The Albanian people, headed by their Party of Labour, decided this through their struggle, and there is no force capable of turning them from that course.

As regards your claim that our Party of Labour is the weakest link in the socialist camp and the international communist movement, we say that the twenty-year history of our Party, the heroic struggle of our people and our

Party against the fascist invaders, and the sixteen years that have elapsed from the liberation of the country to this day, during which our Party and our people have faced up to all the storms, demonstrate the opposite. Surrounded by enemies like an island amidst the waves, the People's Republic of Albania has courageously withstood all the assaults and provocations of the imperialists and their lackeys. Like a granite rock, it has kept and continues to keep aloft the banner of socialism behind the enemy lines. You, comrade Khrushchev, raised your hand against a small country and its Party, but we are convinced that the Soviet people, who shed their blood for the freedom of our people, too, and the great Party of Lenin will not be in agreement with this activity of yours. We have complete faith in Marxism-Leninism. We are certain that the fraternal parties which have sent their delegates to this meeting will examine and pass judgment on this issue with Marxist-Leninist justice.

Our Party has always called the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a mother Party, and has said this because it is the oldest Party, the glorious Party of the Bolsheviks, because of its universal experience, of its great maturity. But our Party has never accepted, and will never accept, that some Soviet leader may impose on it his views which it considers erroneous.

The Soviet leadership viewed this matter of principled importance utterly wrongly, in an idealistic and metaphysical way. It has become swell-headed over the colossal successes attained by the Soviet peoples and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and is violating Marxist-Leninist principles, considers itself infallible, considers every decision, every action, every word and gesture it makes, infallible and irrevocable. Others may err, others may be condemned, while it is above such reproach. "Our decisions are sacred, they are inviolable", "We can make

no concession to, no compromise with, the Communist Party of China," the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union told our people. Then why did they call us together in Bucharest? Of course, to vote with our eyes closed for the views of the Soviet leaders. Is this Marxist? Is this normal?

Is it permissible for one party to engage in subversive acts, to cause a split, to overthrow the leadership of another party or another state? Never! The Soviet leaders accused comrade Stalin of allegedly interfering in other parties, of imposing the views of the Bolshevik Party upon others. We can testify that at no time did comrade Stalin do such a thing towards us, towards the Albanian people and the Party of Labour of Albania. He always behaved as a great Marxist, as an outstanding internationalist, as a comrade, brother, and sincere friend of the Albanian people. In 1945, when our people were threatened with starvation, comrade Stalin diverted the ships loaded with grain destined for the Soviet people, who were also in a very bad way for food at that time, and sent the grain at once to the Albanian people. Whereas the present Soviet leaders permit themselves these ugly deeds.

Are such economic pressures permissible; is it permissible to threaten the Albanian people, as the Soviet leaders did after the Bucharest Meeting? In no way whatsoever . . . We know that the aid is an internationalist aid given our small people who, before the war, suffered great, all-round misery. The Second World War burnt and devastated our country, though never downing the Albanian people, who under the leadership of the glorious Party of Labour of Albania fought with great heroism and liberated themselves.

But why did the Soviet leadership change its attitude towards us after the Bucharest Meeting to the point that

it let the Albanian people suffer from hunger? The Rumanian leadership did the same thing, too, when it refused to sell a single ear of wheat to the Albanian people on a clearing basis, at a time when Rumania was trading in grain with the capitalist countries, while we were obliged to buy maize from French farmers, paying in foreign currency.

Some months before the Bucharest Meeting, comrade Dej invited a delegation of our Party for the specific purpose of conducting talks on the future development of Albania. This was a laudable and Marxist concern on his part. Comrade Dej said to our Party, "We, the other countries of people's democracy, should no longer discuss how much credit should be accorded to Albania, but we should decide to build in Albania such and such factories, to raise the means of production to a higher level, regardless of how many million rubles it will cost — that is of no importance". Comrade Dej added, "We have talked this over with comrade Khrushchev, too, and we were in agreement".

But then came the Bucharest Meeting and our Party maintained the stand you all know. The Rumanian comrades forgot what they had previously said and chose the course of leaving the Albanian people to suffer from hunger.

We have made these things officially known to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union before. We have not submitted them to public discussion, nor have we whispered them from ear to ear, but we are revealing them here for the first time in a party meeting, like this one here today. Why are we raising these matters? We do so, proceeding from the desire to put an end to these negative manifestations which do not strengthen but weaken our unity. We proceed from the

desire to strengthen the relations and Marxist-Leninist bonds among communist and workers' parties, among socialist states, rejecting any bad manifestation that has arisen up to date. We are optimistic, and we are fully convinced and have unshaken confidence that the Soviet and other comrades will understand our criticisms in the proper way. They are severe, but frank and sincere, and aim at strengthening our relations. Notwithstanding these unjust and harmful attitudes which are maintained towards us, but which we believe will be stopped in the future, our Party and our people will consolidate still further their unbounded love for, and loyalty to, the Soviet people, to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to all the peoples and communist and workers' parties of the socialist camp, always on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist teachings.

To our Party friendship means justice and mutual respect on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. This is what the 1957 Moscow Declaration says, and what is stressed in the draft-statement which has been submitted to us. We declare in all earnestness that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people will be, as always, determined fighters for the strengthening of relations and unity in the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The Albanian people will go through fire for their true friends. And these are not empty words of mine. I am expressing here the sentiments of our people and of our Party, and let no one ever think that we love the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the sake of some one's beautiful eyes, or to please some individual . . .

Dear Comrades,

In the 1957 Moscow Declaration as well as in the draft-statement submitted to us, it is pointed out that revisionism constitutes the main danger in the international communist and workers' movement today. In the 1957 Moscow Declaration it is rightly stressed that the existence of bourgeois influence is the internal source of revisionism, while capitulation to the pressure of imperialism is its external source. Experience has fully corroborated that, disguised under pseudo-Marxist and pseudo-revolutionary slogans, modern revisionism has tried with every means to discredit our great doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, which it has dubbed as "outdated" and no longer responding to social development. Hiding behind the slogan of "creative Marxism", of "new conditions", the revisionists have striven, on the one hand, to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and the working people in socialism, and on the other hand, to use all the means in their power to prettify imperialism, describing it as moderate and peaceful. During the three years that have elapsed since the Moscow Conference, it has been fully confirmed that the modern revisionists are nothing but splitters of the communist movement and the socialist camp, loyal lackeys of imperialism, avowed enemies of socialism and of the working class.

Life itself has demonstrated that until now the standard-bearers of modern revisionism, its most aggressive and dangerous representatives are the Yugoslav revisionists, the traitor clique of Tito and Co. At the time when the Moscow Declaration was approved, this hostile group, agents of US imperialism, were not publicly denounced, although, in our opinion, there were enough facts and information to warrant such a thing. Not only that, but later on, when the danger it presented became more evident, the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, the consistent

and ceaseless fight to smash it ideologically and politically, was not conducted with the proper intensity. On the contrary. This has been and is the source of many evils and much damage to our international communist and workers' movement. In the opinion of our Party, the reason for the failure to carry out the total exposure of the revisionist Tito group, for the raising of false "hopes" about an alleged "improvement" and positive "change" in this group of traitors, is the influence of the trend to conciliation, the mistaken views, and incorrect assessment of the danger of this group on the part of comrade Khrushchev and certain other Soviet leaders.

It has been said that J.V. Stalin was mistaken in assessing the Yugoslav revisionists and in sharpening the attitude towards them. Our Party has never endorsed such a view, because time and experience have proved the contrary. Stalin made a very correct assessment of the danger of the Yugoslav revisionists; he tried to settle this affair at the proper moment and in a Marxist way. The Information Bureau, as a collective organ, was called together at that time, and after the Titoite group was exposed, a merciless struggle was waged against it. Time has proven over and over again that such a thing was necessary and correct.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always held the opinion and is convinced that the Tito group are traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism, dangerous enemies of the socialist camp and of the entire international communist and workers' movement, therefore, a merciless struggle should be waged against them. On our part, we have waged and continue to wage this battle as internationalist communists, and also because we have felt and continue to feel on our own backs the burden of the hostile activity of the revisionist Tito clique against our

Party and our country. But this stand of our Party has never been to the liking of comrade Khrushchev and certain other comrades.

The Titoite group have been a group of Trotskyites and renegades for a very long time. For the Party of Labour of Albania at least, they have been such since 1942, that is, since 18 years ago.

As far back as 1942, when there was a great upsurge in the struggle of the Albanian people, the Belgrade Trotskyite group, disguising themselves as friends and abusing our trust in them, tried their uttermost to hinder the development of our armed struggle, to hamper the creation of powerful Albanian partisan fighting detachments, and since it was impossible to stop them, they sought to take direct political and military control of these detachments. They attempted to make everything dependent on Belgrade, and our Party and our partisan army mere appendages of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav National Liberation Army.

While preserving its friendship with the Yugoslav partisans, our Party successfully resisted these diabolical aims. It was at that time that the Titoite group tried to lay the foundations of the Balkan Federation under the direction of the Belgrade Titoites, to hitch the Communist Parties of the Balkan countries to the chariot of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to place the partisan armies of the Balkan peoples under the Titoite Yugoslav staff. It was to this end that, in agreement with the British, they tried to set up the Balkan Staff and to place it, that is to say, to place the Balkan armies, under the direction of the Anglo-Americans. Our Party successfully resisted these diabolical schemes. And when the banner of liberation was hoisted in Tirana, the Titoite gang in Belgrade issued orders to their agents in Albania to discredit the success of the Communist Party of Albania and to organize a

"putsch"[6] to overthrow the leadership of our Party, the leadership which had organized the Party, guided the National Liberation War, and led the Albanian people to victory. The first "putsch" was organized by Tito through his secret agents within our Party. But the Communist Party of Albania smashed this plot of Tito's.

The Belgrade plotters did not lay down their arms, and together with their agent in our Party, the traitor Koçi Xoxe, continued the re-organization of their plot against new Albania in other forms, new forms. Their intention was to turn Albania into the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia.

At a time when our country had been devastated and laid waste and needed to be completely rebuilt, when our people were without food and shelter, but with high morale, when our people and army, weapons in hand, kept vigilant watch against the plots of reaction, organized by the Anglo-American military missions which were threatening new Albania with a new invasion, when a large part of the Albanian partisan army had crossed the border and had gone to the aid of the Yugoslav brothers, fighting shoulder to shoulder with them and together liberating Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Kosova and Metohia, and Macedonia, the Belgrade plotters were hatching up schemes to enslave Albania.

But our Party offered heroic resistance to these secret agents who posed as communists. When the Belgrade Trotskyites realized that they had lost their case, that our

[6] At the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in Berat in November 1944, the delegate of the CC of the CPY hatched up a plot behind the scenes against the CPA with the participation of the anti-party elements, Sejfulla Malëshova, Koçi Xoxe, and Pandi Kristo. The main objective of this conspiracy was to overthrow the leadership of the Party headed by comrade Enver Hoxha, and replace it with a leadership in the pay of the Yugoslavs.

Party was smashing their plots, they tried their last card, namely, to invade Albania with their army, to overwhelm all resistance, to arrest the leaders of the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian state, and to proclaim Albania the 7th Republic of Yugoslavia. Our Party smashed this diabolic plan of theirs too. The aid and intervention of J.V.Stalin at these moments was decisive for our Party and for the freedom of the Albanian people. Precisely at this time the Information Bureau exposed the Tito clique. Stalin and the Soviet Union saved the Albanian people for the second time.

The Information Bureau brought about the defeat of the conspiracies of the Tito clique, not only in Albania, but also in the other people's democracies. Posing as communists, the renegade and agent of imperialism, Tito, and his gang, tried to alienate the people's democracies in the Balkans and Central Europe from the friendship and wartime alliance with the Soviet Union, to destroy the communist and workers' parties of our countries, and to turn our states into reserves of Anglo-American imperialism.

Who was there who did not know about and see in action the hostile schemes of imperialism and its loyal servant Tito? Everybody knew, everybody learned, and all unanimously approved the correct decisions of the Information Bureau. Everyone, without exception, approved the Resolutions of the Information Bureau, which, in our opinion, were and still are correct without exception.

Those who did not want to see and understand these acts of this criminal gang had a second chance to do so in the Hungarian counter-revolution and in the unceasing plots against Albania. The wolf may change his coat but he remains a wolf. Tito and his gang may resort to trickery, may try to disguise themselves, but they are traitors, criminals and agents of imperialism. They are the murderers of the heroic Yugoslav internationalist com-

munists, and this is what they will be, and how they will act, until they are wiped out.

The Party of Labour of Albania considers the decisions taken against the renegade Tito group by the Information Bureau not as decisions taken by comrade Stalin personally, but as decisions taken by all the parties that took part in the Information Bureau. And not only by these parties alone, but also by the communist and workers' parties which did not take part in it. Since this was a matter that concerned all the communist and workers' parties, it also concerned the Party of Labour of Albania, which, having received and studied a copy of the letter comrades Stalin and Molotov had written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, endorsed in full both the letter and the decisions of the Information Bureau.

Why, then, was the "change of attitude" towards the Yugoslav revisionists, adopted by comrade Khrushchev and the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1955, not made an issue for consultation in the normal way with the other communist and workers' parties, but was conceived and carried out in such hostile and unilateral way? This was a matter that concerned us all. The Yugoslav revisionists had either opposed Marxism-Leninism and the communist and workers' parties of the world, or they had not; either they were wrong, or we were wrong in regard to them, and not just Stalin. This thing could not be resolved by comrade Khrushchev at his own discretion, and it is impermissible for him to try to do so. But in fact, that is what he did, and this change of attitude in the relations with the Yugoslav revisionists is connected with his visit to Belgrade. This was a bomb-shell to the Party of Labour of Albania which immediately opposed it categorically. Before comrade Khrushchev set out for Belgrade in May 1955, the Central Committee of the Party of

Labour of Albania sent a letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in which it expressed the opposition of our Party to his going to Belgrade, stressing that the Yugoslav issue could not be settled in an unilateral way, but that a meeting of the Information Bureau should be called to which it asked that the Party of Labour of Albania also, should be invited. It is there that this matter should have been settled after a correct and lengthy discussion.

Of course, formally we had no right to decide whether comrade Khrushchev should or should not go to Belgrade, and we backed down on this, but in essence we were right, and time has confirmed that the Yugoslav issue should not be settled in this precipitate way.

The slogan of "overriding interests" was launched, the 2nd Resolution of the Information Bureau was speedily revoked, the "epoch of reconciliation" with "the Yugoslav comrades" began, the conspirators, wherever they were, re-examined and rehabilitated, and the "Yugoslav comrades" came off unscathed, strutted like peacocks, trumpeted abroad that their "just cause" had triumphed, that the "criminal Stalin" had trumped up all these things, and a situation was created in which whoever refused to take this course was dubbed a "Stalinist" who should be done away with.

Our Party refused to take such a conciliatory and opportunist course. It stood fast on the correct Marxist-Leninist ideological position, on the position of the ideological and political struggle against the Yugoslav revisionists. The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its views that the Titoite group were traitors, renegades, Trotskyites, subversionists, and agents of the US imperialists, that the Party of Labour of Albania had not been mistaken about them.

The Party of Labour of Albania remained unshaken in its view that comrade Stalin had made no mistake in this matter, that, with their line of betrayal, the revisionists had attempted to enslave Albania, to destroy the Party of Labour of Albania, and through hatching up a number of international plots with the Anglo-American imperialists, they had tried to embroil Albania in international conflicts.

On the other hand, the Party of Labour of Albania was in favour of establishing state relations of good neighbourliness, trade and cultural relations with the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, provided that the norms of peaceful coexistence between states of different regimes were observed, because as far as the Party of Labour of Albania is concerned, Titoite Yugoslavia has not been, is not, and never will be a socialist country, as long as it is headed by a group of renegades and agents of imperialism.

No open or disguised attempt will make the Party of Labour of Albania waver from this correct stand. It was futile for the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to try to persuade us, through comrade Suslov, to eliminate the question of Koçi Xoxe from the report submitted at our 3rd Congress in May 1956, because that would mean negating our struggle and our principled stand.

In Albania, the Titoite saw struck a nail, or, as Tito says, "Albania was a thorn in his foot", and, of course, the Titoite traitor group continued their struggle against the Party of Labour of Albania, thinking that they were exposing us by dubbing us "Stalinists".

The Belgrade group did not confine their fight against us to propaganda alone, but they continued their espionage, subversion, plots, dispatching armed bands into our country, more intensively than in 1948. These are all

facts. But the tragedy is that, while the Party of Labour of Albania, on the one hand, was defending itself against the bitter and unceasing attacks by the Yugoslav revisionists, on the other hand, its unwavering, principled, Marxist-Leninist stand was in opposition to the conciliatory stand of the Soviet leaders and of certain other communist and workers' parties towards the Yugoslav revisionists.

At that time it was loudly proclaimed and written that "Yugoslavia is a socialist country, and this is a fact", that "the Yugoslav communists possess a great experience and great merits", that "the Yugoslav experience is worthy of greater interest and more attentive study", that "the period of disputes and misunderstandings had not been caused by Yugoslavia", and that "great injustice had been done to it", and so on and so forth. This, of course, gave heart to the Tito clique, who thought they had won everything, except that there still remained one "thorn in their foot" which they intended to isolate and, later, liquidate. However, not only could our Party not be isolated, much less liquidated, but on the contrary, time proved that the views of our Party were correct.

A great deal of pressure has been exerted on our Party over this stand. The Albanian leaders were considered "hot-blooded" and "stubborn", "exaggerating" matters with Yugoslavia, "unjustly harassing" the Yugoslavs, etc. The attack against our Party in this direction has been led by comrade Khrushchev.

So far, I have mentioned in brief what the Yugoslav revisionists have done against our Party and our country during and after the war, after 1948, but I shall dwell a little, also, on the events prior to the Hungarian counter-revolution, which is the work of Yugoslav agents. The Belgrade traitor group began to organize a counter-revolution in Albania also. Had our Party made the mistake of joining in the "conciliation waltz" with the Yugoslav

revisionists, as was preached after 1955, then the people's democracy in Albania would have gone down the drain. We, Albanians, would not have been here in this hall, but would have been still fighting in our mountains.

Firmly united by steel-like bonds, our Party and people remained extremely vigilant and discovered and unmasked Tito's spies in our Central Committee who worked in collusion with the Yugoslav legation in Tirana. Tito sent word to these traitors, saying that they had precipitated things, that they should have waited for his orders. These spies and traitors also wrote to comrade Khrushchev asking him to intervene against the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania. These are documented facts. Tito's aim was that the counter-revolution in Albania should be coordinated with that of Hungary.

Our 3rd Congress was to be held following the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Yugoslav agents thought that the time had come to overthrow the "obstinate and Stalinist" Albanian leadership, and organized a plot which was discovered and crushed at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana in April 1956. The plotters received the stern punishment they deserved.

Tito's other dangerous agents in Albania, Dali Ndreu and Liri Gega, received orders from Tito to flee to Yugoslavia, because "they were in danger" and because activities against the Party of Labour "had to be organized from Yugoslav territory". Our Party was fully aware of Tito's activity and secret orders. It was wide awake and caught the traitors right on the border when they were trying to flee. The traitors were brought to trial and were executed. All the Yugoslav agents who were preparing the counter-revolution in Albania were detected and wiped out. To our amazement, comrade Khrushchev came out against us in defence of these traitors and Yugoslav agents.

He accused us of having shot the Yugoslav agent, the traitress Liri Gega, allegedly "when she was pregnant, a thing which had not happened even at the time of the Czar, and this had made a bad impression on world opinion". These were slanders trumped up by the Yugoslavs in whom comrade Khrushchev had more faith than in us. We, of course, denied all these insinuations made by comrade Khrushchev.

But comrade Khrushchev's incorrect, unprincipled, and hostile stand towards our Party and its leadership did not stop there. The other Yugoslav agent and traitor to the Party of Labour of Albania and to the Albanian people, Panajot Plaku, fled to Yugoslavia and placed himself in the service of the Yugoslavs. He organized the hostile broadcasts from the socalled "Socialist Albania" radio station. This traitor wrote to the bandit Tito and to comrade Khrushchev, asking the latter to use his authority to eliminate the leadership of Albania, headed by Enver Hoxha, under the pretext that we were "anti-Marxists and Stalinists". Far from being indignant at this traitor's letter, comrade Khrushchev expressed the opinion that Panajot Plaku could return to Albania on condition that we do nothing to him, or he could find political asylum in the Soviet Union. We felt as if the walls of the Kremlin had dropped on our heads, for we could never imagine that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union could go so far as to support Tito's agents and traitors to our Party against our Party and our people.

But the culmination of our principled opposition over the Yugoslav issue with comrade Khrushchev was reached when, faced with our principled insistence in the exposure of the Belgrade Titoite agency, he was so enraged that, during the official talks between the two delegations in April 1957, he said to us angrily, "We are breaking

off the talks. We cannot come to terms with you. You are seeking to lead us to the road of Stalin".

We were disgusted at such an unfriendly stand by comrade Khrushchev who wanted to break off the talks, which would mean an aggravation of relations with the Albanian Party and state over the question of the betrayers of Marxism-Leninism, the Tito group. We could never have agreed on this matter, but we, who had been accused of being hot-blooded, kept calm, for we were convinced that we were in the right, and not comrade Khrushchev, that the line we were pursuing was the correct one, and not that of comrade Khrushchev, that our line would be confirmed again by experience, as it has been confirmed many times over.

In our opinion, the counter-revolution in Hungary was mainly the work of the Titoites. In Tito and the Belgrade renegades, the US imperialists had their best weapon to destroy the people's democracy in Hungary.

After comrade Khrushchev's visit to Belgrade in 1955, no more was said about Tito's subversive activity. The counter-revolution in Hungary did not break out unexpectedly. It was prepared, we may say, quite openly, and it would be futile for any one to try to convince us that this counter-revolution was prepared in great secrecy. This counter-revolution was prepared by the agents of the Tito gang in collusion with the traitor Imre Nagy, in collusion with the Hungarian fascists, and all of them acted openly under the direction of the Americans.

The scheme of the Titoites, who were the leaders, was for Hungary to be detached from our socialist camp, to be turned into a second Yugoslavia, to be linked with the NATO alliance through Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, to receive aid from the USA and, together with Yugoslavia and under the direction of the imperialists, to continue the struggle against the socialist camp.

The counterrevolutionaries worked openly in Hungary. But how is it that their activities attracted no attention? We cannot understand how it was possible for Tito and the Horthyite bands to have worked so freely in a fraternal country of people's democracy like Hungary where the party was in power and the weapons of dictatorship were in its hands, where the Soviet army was present.

We think that the stand taken by comrade Khrushchev and the other Soviet comrades towards Hungary was not clear, because the greatly mistaken views which they held about the Belgrade gang did not allow them to see the situation correctly.

The Soviet comrades trusted Imre Nagy, Tito's man. We do not say this for nothing or without good grounds. Before the counter-revolution broke out and when things were boiling up at the "Petöfi Club", I went through to Moscow and, in conversation with comrade Suslov, told him what I had seen on my way in Budapest. I told him, too, that revisionist Imre Nagy was raising his head and was organizing the counter-revolution at the "Petöfi Club". Comrade Suslov categorically opposed my view, and in order to prove to me that Imre Nagy was a good man, pulled out of his drawer Imre Nagy's fresh "self-criticism". Nevertheless, I told comrade Suslov that Imre Nagy was a traitor.

We wonder and pose the legitimate question: Why did comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades go many times to Brioni to talk with the renegade Tito about the question of Hungary? If the Soviet comrades knew that the Titoites were preparing the counter-revolution in a country of our camp, is it permissible for the leaders of the Soviet Union to go and talk with an enemy who organizes plots and counter-revolutions in the socialist countries?

As a communist Party, as a state of people's democracy, as a member of the Warsaw Treaty and of the socialist camp, we must ask comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades to tell us why so many meetings with Tito at Brioni in 1956, with this traitor to Marxism-Leninism, and not a single meeting with our countries, not a single meeting of the members of the Warsaw Treaty?

Whether to intervene or not to intervene with arms in Hungary, is, we think, not within the competence of one person alone; seeing that we have set up the Warsaw Treaty, we should decide jointly, because otherwise it is of no use to speak of alliance, of the collective spirit and collaboration among the parties. The Hungarian counter-revolution cost our camp blood, it cost Hungary and the Soviet Union blood.

Why was this blood-shed permitted and no steps taken to prevent it? We are of the opinion that no preliminary steps could be taken so long as comrade Khrushchev placed his trust in the organizer of the Hungarian counter-revolution, the traitor Tito, and the Soviet comrades so seriously underestimated the absolutely necessary regular meetings with their friends and allies, so long as they considered their unilateral decisions on matters that concern us all as the only correct ones, and so long as they attached no importance whatsoever to collective work and collective decisions.

The Party of Labour of Albania is not at all clear about this matter, how things developed and how decisions were taken. At a time when the Titoites are conducting talks at Brioni with the Soviet comrades, on the one hand, and feverishly organizing counter-revolutions in Hungary and Albania, on the other, the Soviet comrades make not the slightest effort to inform our leadership, at least as a matter of form since we are allies, on

what is happening or on what measures they intend to take. But this is not a formal matter. The Soviet comrades know only too well what the Belgrade gang thought of Albania and what their aims were. In fact, not only is this stand of the Soviet comrades to be condemned, but it is also incomprehensible.

Hungary was a great lesson for us, in regard to what was done and in regard to the drama that was played on the stage and behind the scenes there. We believed that the Hungarian counter-revolution was more than enough to show the betrayal of Tito and his gang. We know that many documents, documents that expose the barbarous activity of the Tito group in the Hungarian events, are kept locked away and are not brought to light. Why this should happen, we do not understand. What interests are hidden behind these documents which are not brought to light but are kept under lock and key? After the death of Stalin, the most trifling items were searched out to condemn him, while the documents that expose a vile traitor like Tito are locked away in a drawer.

But even after the Hungarian counter-revolution, the political and ideological fight against the Titoite gang, instead of becoming more intense, as Marxism-Leninism demands, was played down, leading to reconciliation, smiles, contacts, moderation, and almost to kisses. In fact, thanks to this opportunist attitude, the Titoites got out of this predicament, too.

The Party of Labour of Albania was opposed to the line followed by comrade Khrushchev and the other comrades towards the Yugoslav revisionists. Our Party's battle against the revisionists continued with even more fury. Since it was impossible to attack our correct line, many friends and comrades, particularly the Soviet and Bulgarian comrades, ridiculed us, had an ironical smile on their

faces, and with their friendly contacts with the Titoites, isolated our people everywhere.

We have hoped that, after the 7th Titoite Congress, even the blind, let alone the Marxists, would see with whom they were dealing and what they should do. Unfortunately, things did not turn out that way. Not long after the 7th Titoite Congress, the exposure of revisionism was toned down. The Soviet theoretical publications spoke of every kind of revisionism, even of revisionism in Honolulu, but had very little to say about Yugoslav revisionism. This is like saying, "Don't see the wolf before your eyes but look for its tracks". Slogans were put out, "Don't speak any more of Tito and his group, for that will fan their vanity", "Don't speak any more of Tito and his group, for that would harm the Yugoslav people", "Don't speak about the Titoite renegades, for Tito makes use of what we say to mobilize the Yugoslav people against our camp", etc. Many parties adopted these slogans, but not our Party, and we think we acted correctly.

Such a situation was created that the press of friendly countries accepted articles from Albanian writers only provided they made no mention of the Yugoslav revisionists. Everywhere in the countries of people's democracy in Europe, except in Czechoslovakia, where, in general, the Czechoslovak comrades assessed our activities correctly[7], our ambassadors were isolated in a roundabout way, because the diplomats of friendly countries preferred to converse with the Titoite diplomats, while they hated our diplomats and did not want even to set eyes on them.

And matters went so far that comrade Khrushchev made his coming to Albania in May, 1959, at the head of

[7] This stand was maintained only in the beginning.

the Soviet Party and Government Delegation, conditional on the Yugoslav issue. The first thing comrade Khrushchev said, at the beginning of talks in Tirana, was to inform everybody at the meeting that he would not talk against the Yugoslav revisionists, a thing which no one could compel him to do, but such a statement was intended to show quite openly that he disagreed with the Party of Labour of Albania on this issue.

We respected the wishes of our guest during the whole time he stayed in Albania, regardless of the fact that the Titoite press was highly elated and did not fail to write that Khrushchev had shut the mouths of the Albanians. This, in fact, responded to reality, but comrade Khrushchev was too far from convincing us on this matter, and the Titoites learned that quite clearly, because after our guest's departure from our country, the Party of Labour of Albania no longer felt bound by the conditions put upon us by our guest and continued on its own Marxist-Leninist course.

In his talks with Vukmanovich-Tempo, among other things, comrade Khrushchev has compared our stand, as far as its tone is concerned, with that of the Yugoslavs, and has said that he did not agree with the tone of the Albanians. We consider that comrade Khrushchev's statement to Vukmanovich-Tempo, to this enemy of Marxism-Leninism, the socialist camp, and Albania, is wrong and should be condemned. We hold that one should get what he deserves, and we, on our part, disagree with comrade Khrushchev's conciliatory tone towards the revisionists. Our people say that facing the enemy you raise your voice, facing your loved one you speak in honeyed tones.

Some comrades have the mistaken idea that we maintain this attitude towards the Titoites because we allegedly want to be the banner-bearers of the fight against revisionism, or because we view this problem from a narrow

angle, from a purely national angle, therefore, they claim, we have embarked on a "chauvinist course", if not totally, at least on that of "narrow nationalism". The Party of Labour of Albania has always viewed the question of Yugoslav revisionism through the prism of Marxism-Leninism, it has always viewed and fought it as the main danger to the international communist movement, as a danger to the unity of the socialist camp.

But while being internationalists, we are, at the same time, communists of a specific country, of Albania. We, Albanian communists, would not be called communists if we failed to defend the freedom of our sacred country consistently and resolutely from the plots and diversionist attacks of the revisionist Tito clique, which are aimed at the invasion of Albania, a fact which is already known to everyone. Could we Albanian communists possibly permit our country to become the prey of Tito, of the US imperialists, of the Greeks, or of the Italians? No, never!

Some others advise us not to speak against the Yugoslavs, saying, "Why are you afraid? You are defended by the Soviet Union". We have told these comrades, and tell them again, that we are afraid neither of the Yugoslav Trotskyites nor of any one else. We have said, and say it again, that, as Marxist-Leninists, not for one moment should we diminish the struggle againt the revisionists and imperialists until we wipe them out. Because, if the Soviet Union is to defend you, you must first defend yourself.

The Yugoslavs accuse us of allegedly "being chauvinists, of interfering in their internal affairs, and of demanding a rectification of the Albanian-Yugoslav borders". A number of our friends think and imply that we Albanian communists swim in such waters. We tell our friends who think thus that they are grossly mistaken.

We are not chauvinists, we have neither demanded nor demand rectification of borders. But what we demand, and will continually demand, from the Titoites, and we will expose them to the end for this, is that they give up perpetrating the crime of genocide against the Albanian minority in Kosova and Metohia, that they give up the white terror against the Albanians of Kosova, that they give up driving the Albanians from their native soil and deporting them en masse to Turkey. We demand that the rights of the Albanian minority in Yugoslavia should be recognized according to the Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Is this chauvinist or Marxist?

This is our attitude on these matters. But if the Titoites speak of peaceful coexistence, of peace, of good neighbourly relations, and on the other hand, organize plots, an army of mercenaries and fascists in Yugoslavia for the purpose of attacking our borders and of chopping up socialist Albania, together with the Greek monarcho-fascists, then, you must be certain that not only the Albanians in new Albania, but also the one million Albanians living under Tito's bondage will rise, arms in hand, to stay the hand of the criminal. And this is Marxist, and if anything happens, this is what will be done. The Party of Labour of Albania does not permit any one to play at politics with the rights of the Albanian people.

We do not interfere in the internal affairs of others, but when, as a result of the slackening of the fight against Yugoslav revisionism, things go so far that in a friendly country like Bulgaria a map of the Balkans is printed in which Albania is included within the boundaries of Federal Yugoslavia, we cannot remain silent. We are told that this happened due to a technical error of an employee, but why had this not happened before?

But this is not an isolated case. At a meeting in Sremska Mitrovitsa, the bandit Rankovich attacked Albania as usual, calling it "a hell where barbed wire and the boots of the frontier guards reign supreme", and saying that the democracy of the Italian neo-fascists was more advanced than ours.

Rankovich's words would be of no significance to us, except that the Soviet and Bulgarian ambassadors to Belgrade, who attended this meeting, listened to these words with the greatest serenity, without making the slightest protest. We protested in a comradely way over this to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Bulgarian Communist Party.

In his letter of reply to the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, comrade Zhivkov dared to reject our protest and called the speech of the bandit Rankovich a positive one. We could never have imagined that the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party could describe as positive the speech of a bandit like Rankovich who so grossly insults socialist Albania, likening it to hell. We not only reject with contempt this impermissible insult by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, but we are dead certain that the Bulgarian Communist Party and the heroic Bulgarian people would be utterly revolted if they came to hear of this. Things will not go any too well if we allow such gross mistakes towards one another.

We can never, never, agree, with comrade Khrushchev, and we protested to him at the time, over the talks he had with Sophocles Venizelos in connection with the Greek minority in Albania. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware that the borders of Albania are inviolable and sacred, and that anyone who touches them is an aggressor. The Albanian people will fight to the last drop of

their blood if any one touches their borders. Comrade Khrushchev was gravely mistaken when he told Venizelos that he had seen Greeks and Albanians working together as brothers in Korça. In Korça, there is no Greek minority whatsoever, but for centuries the Greeks have coveted the Korça district as they do all Albania. There is a very small Greek minority in Gjirokastra. Comrade Khrushchev knows that they enjoy all the rights, use their own language, have their own churches and schools, in addition to all the rights that the other Albanian citizens enjoy.

The claims of the Greeks, among them, those of Sophocles Venizelos, the son of Eleutherios Venizelos who murdered Albanians and put whole districts of Southern Albania to the torch, the most rabid Greek chauvinist and father of the idea of Great Greece, of the partitioning of Albania and annexing it under the slogan of autonomy, are very wellknown. Comrade Khrushchev is well aware of the attitude of the Party of Labour of Albania, the Albanian government and people on this question. Then, to fail to give Sophocles Venizelos the answer he deserves, to leave hopes and illusions and to say that he will transmit to the Albanian comrades the desires of a British agent, a chauvinist, this is unacceptable to us and deserves condemnation.

Comrade Khrushchev, we have given our reply to Sophocles Venizelos, and we believe you have learned of this through the press. We are not opposed to your politicizing with Sophocles Venizelos, but refrain from politicizing with our boundaries and our rights, for we have not allowed nor will we allow such a thing. And it is not as nationalists but as internationalists that we do this.

Some may consider these things I am telling you as out of place, as statements inappropriate to the level of

this meeting. It would not have been hard for me to have put together a speech in an allegedly theoretical tone, to have spoken in generalizations and quotations, to have submitted a report in general terms in order to please you and pass my turn. But to the Party of Labour of Albania it seems that this is not the occasion. What I have said may appear to some as attacks, but these are criticisms which have followed their proper course, which have been made before, when and where necessary, within Leninist norms. But seeing that one error follows another, it would be a mistake to keep silent, because attitudes, deeds, and practice confirm, enrich, and create theory.

How quickly the Bucharest Meeting was organized and how quickly the Communist Party of China was condemned for "dogmatism"! But why has a conference to condemn revisionism not been organized at the same speed?

Has revisionism been totally exposed, as the Soviet comrades claim? No, in no way whatsoever! Revisionism has been and continues to be the main danger. Yugoslav revisionism has not been liquidated, and the way is being dealt with it is leaving it a clear field for all forms of action.

And can it be said that there are no disturbing manifestations of modern revisionism in other parties? Anyone who says "no" is closing his eyes to this danger, and one fine day we will wake to see that unexpected things have happened to us. We are Marxists, and should analyse our work just as Lenin did and taught us to do. He was not afraid of mistakes, he looked them in the eye and corrected them. This is the way the Bolshevik Party was tempered and this is the way our parties have been tempered.

But what is happening in the ranks of our parties? What is happening in our camp since the 20th Congress?

Comrade Suslov may feel optimistic, and he expressed this feeling at the October Committee meeting when he reproached the Head of the Delegation of the Party of Labour of Albania, Hysni Kapo, with pessimism in his view of events. We, Albanian communists, have not been pessimistic even at the blackest moments of the history of our party and people, and never shall be, but we shall always be realists.

Much has been said about our unity. This is essential, and we should fight to strengthen and temper it. But the fact is that on many important issues of principle we have no unity.

The Party of Labour of Albania is of the opinion that things should be re-examined in the light of a Marxist-Leninist analysis and the errors should be corrected. Let us take the question of the criticism of Stalin and his work. Our Party, as a Marxist-Leninist one, is fully aware that the cult of the individual is an alien and dangerous manifestation for the parties and for the communist movement itself. Marxist parties should not only not permit the development of the cult of the individual, which hampers the activity of the masses, negates their role, is at variance with the development of the life of the party and with laws that govern it, but should also fight with might and main to uproot it when it begins to appear or has already appeared in a specific country. Looking at it from this angle, we fully agree that the cult of the individual of Stalin should be criticized as a dangerous manifestation in the life of the party. But in our opinion, the 20th Congress and, especially, comrade Khrushchev's secret report did not put the question of comrade Stalin correctly, in an objective Marxist-Leninist way.

Stalin was severely and unjustly condemned on this question by comrade Khrushchev and the 20th Congress.

Comrade Stalin and his work does not belong to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Union and the Soviet people alone, but to us all. Just as comrade Khrushchev said in Bucharest that the differences are not between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of China, but between the Communist Party of China and international communism, just as it pleases him to say that the decisions of the 20th and 21st Congresses were adopted by all the communist and workers' parties, in the same way he should also be magnanimous and consistent in passing judgment on Stalin's work so that the communist and workers' parties of the world could adopt it in all conscience.

There cannot be two yardsticks, nor two measures of weight over this matter. Then, why was comrade Stalin condemned at the 20th Congress without prior consultation with the other communist and workers' parties of the world? Why was this "anathema" pronounced upon Stalin all of a sudden to the communist and workers' parties of the world, and why did many fraternal parties learn of it only when the imperialist press published comrade Khrushchev's secret report far and wide?

The condemnation of comrade Stalin was imposed on the communist and progressive world by comrade Khrushchev. What could our parties do under these circumstances, when unexpectedly, using the great authority of the Soviet Union, they were imposed on a matter of this kind?

The Party of Labour of Albania found itself in a great dilemma. It was not convinced, and will never be convinced, on the question of condemning comrade Stalin in that way and in those forms that comrade Khrushchev used. Our Party adopted, in general, the formulae of the

20th Congress on this matter, but nevertheless, it did not stick to the limitations set by the congress, nor did it yield to the blackmail and intimidation from outside our country.

The Party of Labour of Albania maintained a realistic stand on the question of Stalin. It was just and grateful towards this glorious Marxist against whom, while he was alive, there was no one among us "brave enough" to come out and criticize, but when he was dead a great deal of mud was thrown, thus creating an intolerable situation in which a whole glorious epoch of the Soviet Union, when the first socialist state in the world was set up, when the Soviet Union waxed strong, successfully defeated the imperialist plots, crushed the Trotskyites, Bukharinites, and the kulaks as a class, when the construction of heavy industry and collectivization triumphed, in a word, when the Soviet Union became a colossal power, succeeding in building socialism, when it fought the Second World War with legendary heroism and defeated fascism, liberated our peoples, when a powerful socialist camp was set up, and so on and so forth — all this glorious epoch of the Soviet Union is left without a helmsman, without a leader.

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that it is not right, normal, or Marxist, to blot out Stalin's name and great work from all this epoch, as is being done at the present time. We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.

As a person, and as the leader of the Bolshevik Communist Party, after Lenin's death, comrade Stalin was, at the same time, the most prominent leader of international communism, helping in a very positive way and with great authority in consolidating and promoting the

victories of communism throughout the world. All of comrade Stalin's theoretical works are a fiery testimony of his loyalty to his teacher of genius, great Lenin, and Leninism.

Stalin fought for the rights of the working class and the working people in the whole world, he fought to the end, with great consistency, for the freedom of the peoples of our countries of people's democracy.

Viewed from this angle alone, Stalin belongs to the entire communist world and not to the Soviet communists only, he belongs to all the workers of the world and not just to the Soviet workers.

Had comrade Khrushchev and the Soviet comrades viewed this matter in this spirit, the gross mistakes that were made would have been avoided. But they viewed the question of Stalin very simply and only from the internal aspect of the Soviet Union. However, in the opinion of the Party of Labour of Albania, even from this aspect, they viewed it in a one-sided way, seeing only his mistakes, almost completely putting aside his great activity, his major contribution to the strengthening of the Soviet Union, to the tempering of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the building of the economy of the Soviet Union, of its industry, its kolkhozian agriculture, to his leading the Soviet people to their great victory over German fascism.

Did Stalin make mistakes? Of course, he did. In so long a period filled with heroism, trials, struggle, triumphs, not only Joseph Stalin personally, but also the leadership as a collective body, could not help making mistakes. Which is the party and who is the leader that can claim to have made no mistakes in their work? When the existing leadership of the Soviet Union is criticized, the comrades of the Soviet leadership advise

us to look ahead and let bygones be bygones, they tell us to avoid polemics, but when it comes to Stalin, they not only did not look ahead but they turned right round, completely backward, in order to track down only the weak spots in Stalin's work.

The cult of the individual of Stalin should, of course, be overcome. But can it be said, as it has been claimed, that Stalin himself was the sponsor of this cult of the individual? The cult of the individual should be overcome without fail, but was it necessary and was it right to go to such lengths as to point the finger at any one who mentioned Stalin's name, to look askance at any one who used a quotation from Stalin? With great speed and zeal certain persons smashed the statues of Stalin and changed the names of cities that had been called after him. But why go any further? At Bucharest, turning to the Chinese comrades, comrade Khrushchev said, "You are hanging on to a dead horse, come and get his bones, if you wish!" These references were to Stalin.

The Party of Labour of Albania declares solemnly that it is opposed to these acts and to these assessments of the work and person of J. V. Stalin.

Soviet comrades, why were these questions raised in this manner and in such a distorted form, while the possibilities existed for both Stalin's mistakes and those of the leadership to be treated properly, to be corrected, without creating that great shock in the hearts of the communists of the world, which only the sense of discipline and the authority of the Soviet Union prevented from bursting out?

Comrade Mikoyan has said that we dared not criticize comrade Stalin when he was alive because he would have cut off our heads. We are sure that comrade Khrushchev will not cut off our heads if we criticize him correctly.

After the 20th Congress, the events we know took place in Poland, the counter-revolution broke out in Hungary, attacks began on the Soviet system, upsets occurred in many communist and workers' parties of the world, and finally this which is going on now.

We pose the question: Why did these things occur in the international communist movement, in the ranks of our camp, after the 20th Congress? Or do these things happen because the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania is sectarian, dogmatic, and pessimistic?

A thing of this kind should be of extraordinary concern to us, and we should look for the source of the malady and cure it. But, certainly, this sickness can not be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back, nor by putting in the Statement that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim.

The authority of Leninism has been and is decisive. It should be established in such a way as to clean up erroneous views everywhere and in a radical way. There is no other way out for us communists. If there are things that must and should be said outright, just as they are, this should be done now, at this conference, before it is too late. Communists, we think, should sleep with a clear conscience. They should strive to consolidate their unity, but without keeping back their reservation, without nurturing feelings of favouritism and hatred. A communist says openly what he feels in his heart, and matters will be judged correctly.

There may be people who are not pleased with what our small Party is saying. Our small Party can be isolated, our country may be subjected to economic pressure in order to prove, allegedly, to our people that their leadership is no good, our Party may be and is being attacked, Mikhail Suslov equates the Party of Labour of Albania with the bourgeois parties and likens its leaders to

Kerensky[8]. But this does not intimidate us. We have learned some lessons. Rankovich has not said worse things about the Party of Labour of Albania, Tito has called us Goebels, but again, we are Leninists, and they are Trotskyites, traitors, lackeys and agents of imperialism.

I wish to emphasize that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people have shown in practice how much they love, how much they respect, and how loyal they remain to the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and that when the Party of Labour of Albania criticizes the wrong-doings of certain Soviet leaders, that does not mean that our views and our attitude have changed. We, Albanians, as Marxists, take the courage to criticize these comrades, not because we hate them, but because we think highly of them, and because we love above everything else the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet peoples.

This is how we love the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership. With Marxist severity we tell them in a comradely way, we open our hearts, and tell them frankly what we think. Hypocrites we have never been nor will ever be.

In spite of the severity we show, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will hold us dear, regardless of errors we may make, but the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the other communist and workers' parties of the world will not accuse us of lacking sincerity, of talking behind their backs, or of swearing allegiance to a hundred banners.

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[8] Head of the provisional counter-revolutionary government in Russia in 1917.

In conclusion, I wish to say a few words about the draft-statement submitted to us by the Editorial Commission. Our Delegation acquainted itself with this draft and scrutinized it carefully. In the new draft-statement many amendments have been made to the first variant submitted by the Soviet Delegation, which was taken as a basis for the work of the said Commission. With the amendments made to it, the new draft-statement has been considerably improved, many important ideas have been stressed, a number of theses have been formulated more correctly, and the overwhelming majority of the allusions against the Communist Party of China have been deleted.

At the meeting of this Commission, the Delegation of our Party offered many suggestions some of which were adopted. Although our Delegation was not in agreement that certain important matters of principle should remain in the drafted document, it agreed that this document should be submitted to this meeting, reserving its right to express its views once again on all the issues on which it disagreed. Above all, we think that those five issues which remain uncoordinated, should be settled so that we may draw up a document which has the unanimous approval of all.

We think that it is essential to make clear in the Statement the idea of Lenin expressed recently by comrade Maurice Thorez, as well as by comrade Suslov in his speech at the meeting of the Editorial Commission, that there can be an absolute guarantee of the prohibition of war only when socialism has triumphed throughout the world or, at least, in a number of other major imperialist countries. At the same time, that paragraph which refers to factionist or group activity in the international communist movement should be deleted, since this, as we have pointed out at the meeting of the Com-

mission, too, does not help consolidate unity, on the contrary, it undermines it. We are also in favour of deleting the words referring to the overcoming of the dangerous consequences of the cult of the individual, or else, of adding the phrase "which occurred in a number of parties", a thing which corresponds better to the reality.

I do not want to take the time of this meeting over these questions and other opinions which we have on the draft-statement. Our Delegation will make its concrete remarks when the draft-statement itself is under discussion.

We shall do well and it will be salutary if we take the courage at this conference to look our mistakes in the face and treat the wounds, wherever they may be, but which are threatening to become aggravated and dangerous. We do not consider it an offense when comrades criticize us justly and on facts, but we never, never, accept that, without any facts, they may call us "dogmatic", "sectarian", "narrow nationalists", simply because we fight with persistence against modern revisionism, and especially against Yugoslav revisionism. If anyone considers our struggle against revisionism as dogmatic or sectarian, we say to him, "Take off your revisionist spectacles, and you will see more clearly."

The Party of Labour of Albania thinks that this conference will remain an historic one, for it will be a conference in the tradition of the Leninist Conferences which the Bolshevik Party has organized in order to expose the distorted views and root them right out, in order to strengthen and steel the unity of our international communist and workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour will continue to strive with determination to strengthen our unity, our fraternal bonds, the joint activity of our communist and workers' parties, for this is the guarantee of the triumph of the

cause of peace and socialism. The unity of the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, the unity of the international communist and workers' movement, with the glorious Communist Party of the Soviet Union at the centre, is the most sacred thing which our Party will guard as the apple of its eye and will strengthen more and more with each passing day.

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